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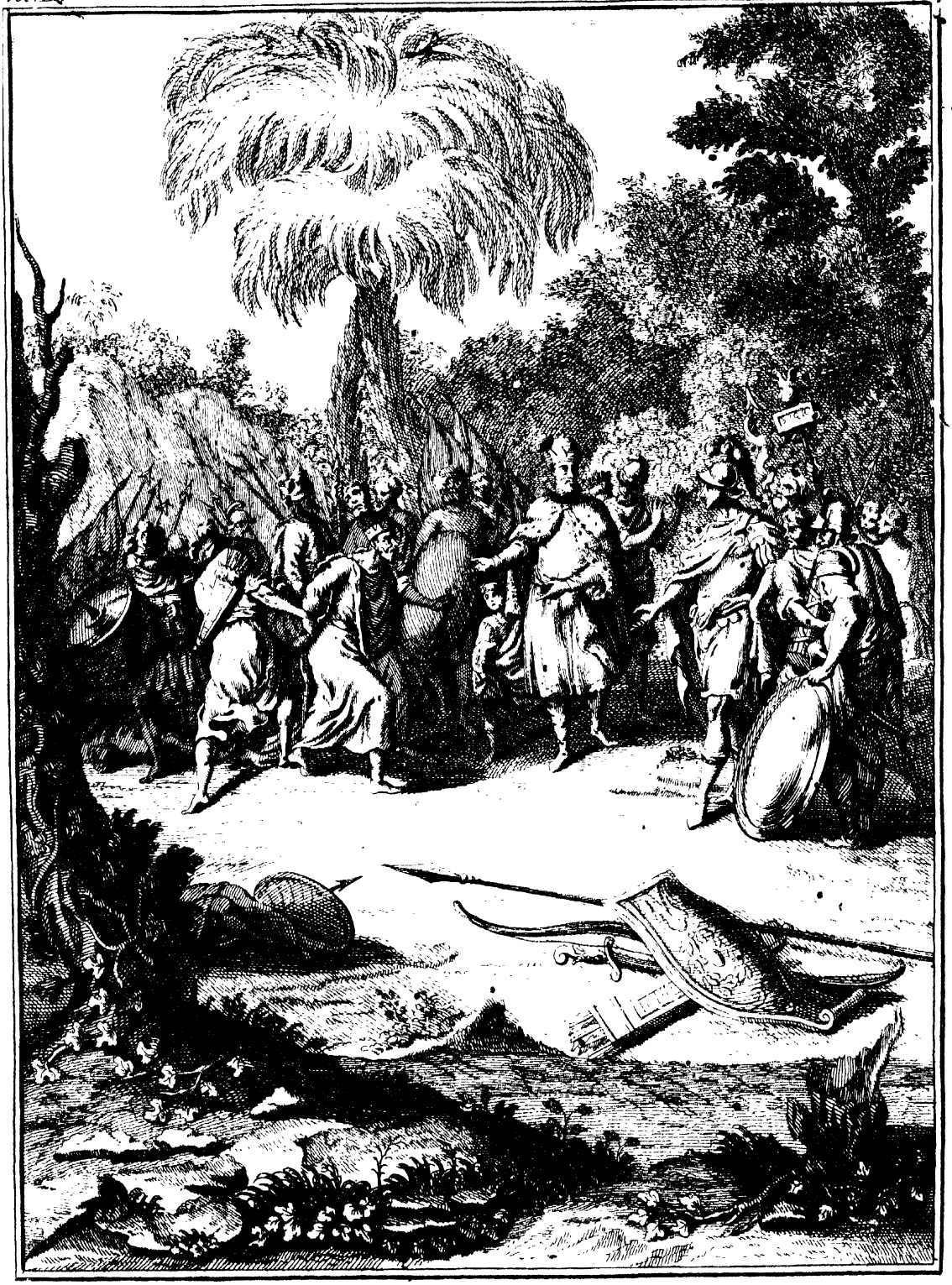

THE

ROMAN HISTORY,

FROM THE BUILDING OF ROME

TO THE RUIN OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND OTHER PLATES.

VOL. III

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THE

Roman Hiſtory.

SEVENTH BOOK.

From the death of the younger GRACCHUS, in the year of *Rome* 632, when, *real Liberty expiring*, the *Form* only of the old Conſtitution remained, to the Dictatorſhip of SYLLA, in 671, who changed the very *Form* of that Conſtitution.

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SEVENTH BOOK.

From the death of the younger GRACCHUS, in the year of *Rome* 632, when, *real Liberty expiring*, the form only of the old Conſtitution remained, to the Dictatorſhip of SYLLA, in 671, who changed the very *Form* of that Conſtitution.

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN, in the year of *Rome* 386, the conteſt between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, on occaſion of the new laws preferred by the Tribune *Licinius*, was come to ſuch a degree of heat, as to threaten a ſudden flame of civil war; the great CAMILLUS, being then Dictator, turned himſelf towards the Capitol, and having prayed the Gods to put an end to the commotion, made a vow to build a temple to CONCORD, if union might be reſtored among his fellow-citizens. To his devotion he added his beſt endeavours to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity, not by a bloody exerciſe of his dictatorial power, but by exhorting the furious diſputants to mutual conceſſions. His perſuaſions proved effectual: the *Patricians* ſuffered the new laws in favour of the *Plebeians* to take place; the *Plebeians* conſented to the creation of a new magiſtracy [the Prætorſhip] in favour of the *Patricians*; and, by this compromiſe, an end was put to the fierce, and dangerous conflict: and what, though already mentioned, is well worthy to be repeated, The domeſtic See Vol. I B. III. C. 4.

peace, thus reſtored, had no conſiderable interruption [a] for the ſpace of 130 years, till thoſe Licinian *laws of freedom and equality*, the obſervance of which had ſo long maintained the happy *coalition*, were outrageouſly violated by the *Nobles* [b]. To put a ſtop to this abuſe, which, if not

[a] In the year 365 there was a *ſeceſſion* of the plebeians and bankrupts to mount *Janiculum*; but, as Mr. *Hooke* obſerves (Vol. I. p. 110.) "this is omitted by ſeveral hiſtorians in the catalogue of the *Roman* ſecceſſions," and "all authors agree that it was "compoſed without bloodſhed by *Hortenſius* "the Dictator, and that it ended in the revival of an excellent but antiquated law." He adds, "From this tumult to the ſedition of "*Gracchus*, in the 620th year of the city, "*Rome* enjoyed a profound quiet and proſperity, not interrupted by the leaſt domeſtic "diſſention; an example of laſting tranquillity that can be paralleled in no monarchy whatſoever. This interval of time was "the moſt happy and moſt glorious period "of the *Roman* Commonwealth, &c." *Ibid.* ch. x.

[b] "During the *Regal State*, and for many years after the eſtabliſhment of the *Commonwealth*, none but the *Patricians*, that is, none but the Senators and their deſcendants, were NOBLE. Hence in many places of *Livy*, and other authors, we find *nobilitas* uſed for the *Patrician* order, and ſo oppoſed to *plebs*. But in aftertimes, when the *Plebeians* obtained acceſs to the *Curule* magiſtracies, they (without ceaſing to be *Plebeian*) procured, by thoſe honours, the title of NOBLE, and left it to their poſterity: [Vid. *Sigon. de Jur. Civ. Rom.* lib. ii. c. xx.] And theſe *Plebeian Nobles* were, generally ſpeaking, united with the *Patrician* in political views and meaſures.

Kenn. Ant.

"The common diviſion of the people "into *nobiles*, *novi*, & *ignobiles*, was taken "from the right of uſing pictures or ſtatues: "an honour only allowed to ſuch whoſe anceſtors or themſelves had borne ſome curule office, that is, had been *Curule Ædile*, "*Cenſor*, *Prætor*, or *Conſul*. He that had "the pictures or ſtatues of his anceſtors, was "termed *Nobilis*; he that had only his own, "*Novus*; he that had neither, *Ignobilis*. So "that *jus imaginis* was much the ſame thing "among them as the right of bearing a "coat of arms among us: and their *Novus Homo* is equivalent to our upſtart gentleman."

Bud. Part II. Book iii. c. 1.

What Mr. *Kennet*, in the ſame chapter, writes concerning another diviſion of the *Romans*, the times we are entering upon make very proper to be here tranſcribed.

"When we find the *Optimates* and the "*Populares* oppoſed in authors, it would be "unreaſonable to make the ſame diſtinction "betwixt theſe parties, as *Sigonius* and others "lay down, *That the* POPULARES *were thoſe* "*who endeavoured by their words and actions* "*to ingratiate themſelves with the multitude*; "*and the* OPTIMATES *thoſe who ſo behaved* "*themſelves in all affairs as to make their* "*conduct approved by every good man.* This "explication agrees much better with the "ſound of the words, than with the ſenſe "of the things. For at this rate the *Optimates* and the *Populares* will be only other "terms for the *virtuous* and the *vicious*; "and it would be equally hard on ſuch large "diviſions of men, to acknowledge one ſide "to have been wholly HONEST, and to affirm the other to have been entirely *wicked*. "I know that this opinion is built on the "authority of *Cicero*; [*Duo genera ſemper* "*in hac civitate fuerunt —— ex quibus alteri* "*ſe populares, alteri optimates et haberi et eſſe* "*voluerunt. Qui ea, quæ faciebant, quæque* "*dicebant, jucunda multitudini eſſe volebant,* "*populares; qui autem ita ſe gerebant, ut ſua* "*conſilia optimo cuique probarent, optimates* "*habebantur.* Cic. pro Sext. 45.] but if we "look on him, not only as a prejudiced "perſon, but as an orator too, we ſhall not "wonder, that in diſtinguiſhing the two "parties he gave ſo infamous a mark to "the enemies ſide, and ſo honourable a one "to his own. Otherwiſe the murderers of "*Cæſar* (who were the *Optimates*) muſt paſs "for men of the higheſt probity; and the "followers of *Auguſtus* (who were of the "oppoſite faction) muſt ſeem in general a "pack of profligate knaves. It would therefore be a much more moderate judgment, "to found the difference rather on *Policy* than "on *Morality*, rather on the principles of Government, than of Religion and private "Duty."

checked,

checked, muſt totally ruin the free conſtitution of *Rome*, was the chief principle of *Tiberius Gracchus*, for which he was murdered by a band of Ruffian-Senators, headed by *Scipio Naſica*, who had neither magiſtracy, nor even the warrant of a ſpecial commiſſion from the Senate; though the greater part of its members approved the attempt, and aſſiſted him in the execution. But when *Caius Gracchus* was to be taken off, for having renewed his brother's enterprize, the nobles, who remembered the diſadvantages they brought themſelves under, by acts of violence without the ſhew of authority, and who had now a Conſul fit for their purpoſe, and wholly at their devotion, armed him with a deſpotic power to execute the dictates of their rage. And when *Opimius*, by maſſacres and by executions, without previous forms of proceſs, had cut off the moſt active partiſans of the popular cauſe, he had the piety (in this, without queſtion, an emulator of the devout CAMILLUS) to erect, in memory of his exploit, a temple to CONCORD, as if by the ſoft arts of perſuaſion, and by mutual conceſſions, the civil commotion had been quieted. The people could not behold this monument of tyrannical outrage without indignation. Under the inſcription, on the frontiſpiece of the temple, was fixed up in the night, by an unknown hand, a line to this effect:

Bower.

Plut.

SENSELESS FURY BUILDS A TEMPLE TO CONCORD[c].

And, indeed, what could be more extravagant than to hope, that domeſtic peace and union would be the effect of ſuch meaſures; or that any meaſures could be effectual to thoſe ends, ſo long as the ſource of the diſunion remained?

A late celebrated writer conſiders the government of *Rome* as then "brought to its *perfect* ſtate, when its honours were no longer confined "to particular families [the *Patrician*], but propoſed equally and indif- "ferently to every citizen; who by his virtue and ſervices, either in war "or in peace, could recommend himſelf to the notice and favor of his "countrymen;" and therefore he commends the *Tribunes of the Commons* (as I have elſewhere obſerved) for their labouring this point, and ſays, "they were certainly in the right, and acted like true patriots." Nevertheleſs the ſame writer, in the very ſame diſcourſe, preſently adds, "The "Tribunes however would not ſtop here; *nor were content with ſecuring* "*the rights of the Commons without deſtroying thoſe of the Senate*; and as "oft as they were diſappointed in their private views, and obſtructed in "the courſe of their ambition, uſed to recur always to the populace; "whom they could eaſily inflame to what degree they thought fit, by "the propoſal of *factious* laws for *dividing the public lands to the poorer* "*Citizens*; or by *the free diſtribution of corn*; or *the abolition of all debts*;

Dr. Middl. Pref. to L. of Cic. p. 37.

See Vol. I. 3d Edit. p. 471, and Hooke's Obſerv. on Rom. Sen. p. 193.

[c] VECORDIAE. OPVS. ALDEM. FACIT. CONCORDIAE.

" which are all contrary to the quiet, and diſcipline, and public faith of " ſocieties. This abuſe of the tribunician power was carried to its greateſt height by the *two Gracchi*, who left nothing unattempted, that could " mortify the Senate, or gratify the People; till by their *Agrarian Laws*, " and other *ſeditious* act, which were greedily received by the city, they " had in great meaſure overturned the *Æquilibrium* of power in the Re- " public, on which its peace and proſperity depended."

Surely it muſt appear ſomewhat ſtrange, that this admired author ſhould applaud the *Tribunes*, as true *Patriots*, for effecting that which it was impoſſible for them to effect by any other meaſures than thoſe which he condemns as *factious* and *ſeditious*. Should it be granted, that what he ſays of *dividing the public lands*, *diſtribution of corn*, and *abolition of debts*, is, in the general, true, yet certainly it is not true with regard to the particular caſe of the *Roman* Republic. In vain would *Licinius* (in 386) have obtained the law which capacitated PLEBEIANS for the higheſt offices in the ſtate, had the *Patricians* been ſtill permitted to engroſs to themſelves the *lands* and poſſeſſions belonging to it[a]. Nor, to make that *law* effectual, and thereby eſtabliſh an *Æquilibrium* of power in the Republic, would his *Agrarian Law* have been ſufficient, without the *Abolition of the Debts*; thoſe debts retaining the debtors in a real ſervitude to the *Patrician* creditors, the noble uſurers. (There was experience of this during many years after the *Plebeians* were, by a law enacted in 308, made capable of the military Tribuneſhip.) Whatever portion, in the diſtribution of the public lands, might have fallen to any poor indebted commoner, his creditor would ſoon have got it from him in payment either of the principal ſum, or of exorbitant intereſt. And ſo long as the nobles were poſſeſſors

See Vol. I. p. 465, 3d Edit.

Ib. B. III. c. iv. § 1.

Ib. § 3.

See Hooke's Obſerv. on Rom. Sen. p. 66.

[a] Dr. *Middleton*, in judging of theſe matters, ſeems to have paid too blind a deference to the authority of *Cicero*. The ingenious tranſlator of ſome of *Cicero*'s orations into *Engliſh*, not dazzled by the ſplendor of his author's amazing talents, writes thus, in the preface to his third volume, p. 7. " I am " ſorry to ſay it, but it appears that our " author, though an excellent *Senator*, was " but an indifferent *Patriot*; and, though " always an advocate for the *Government*, he " ſeems often to have loſt ſight of the *Con-* " *ſtitution*.——

" As our author, from his firſt entering " upon public life, was a party in all the " tranſactions of his own times, it is unjuſt " to form a deciſive notion of public meaſures, perſons, or characters, from his writings.—— If I find that the people of *Rome*, " from the confeſſion of our author, from the " concurring teſtimonies of all writers, and " from the nature of their conſtitution, had " not only a *natural* but a *poſitive* right to the benefit of *Agrarian Laws*, I am warranted by hiſtorical credibility to look upon this as an indiſputable fact. Therefore when I ſee them ſtruggling for the *enjoyment of thoſe privileges*, I am bound in common juſtice to think them *in the right*, and thoſe who oppoſe them *in the wrong*. ——When I ſee a juſtifiable meaſure purſued, and all the reaſon that I know for oppoſing that meaſure, muſt be gathered from the repreſentations of the other party, with whom there is *no difference as to facts*, common ſenſe obliges me to be very cautious, and diſtruſtful in believing the repreſentations of that party, and look upon them as colourings deſigned to *heighten the beauty* of his own *features*, and to give a ſtronger *relief* to the *deformity* of his antagoniſt."

of

of all the lands, ſo long they could not but be abſolute Lords of the State. "Land (ſays a very ingenious writer) is the true center of power; and the "balance of dominion changes with the balance of property.—This is an "eternal truth, and confirmed by the experience of all ages and govern- "ments; and ſo fully demonſtrated by the great *Harrington*, in his OCEANA, "that it is as difficult to find out new arguments for it, as to reſiſt the co- "gency of the old." The nobles of *Rome*, in the time of *Tiberius Gracchus*, ſeem to have been fully convinced of this; when, even upon the terms of receiving, in money, the value of the lands they had uſurped, they could not with any patience liſten to the propoſal of transferring them to the poor *Plebeians*.

See Moyle's Works, Vol. I. p. 72.

See Rom. Hiſt. Vol. II. B. VI. c. 3.

The *Æquilibrium*, of which the admired writer ſpeaks, had been deſtroyed ſome years before either of the *Gracchi* was in the office of Tribune: their attempt was to re-eſtabliſh equality and liberty. And as to the charge againſt them, that they *were not content with ſecuring the rights of the Commons, without deſtroying thoſe of the Senate*, it may be anſwered, that the proper authority of the Senate, that is, their influence in the direction of thoſe affairs, which concerned the *whole* State, was not the thing in queſtion, in the times of the *Gracchi*: nor does it appear that they had any view or deſire to deſtroy it. *Caius* enlarged the prerogative of the Senate in one inſtance; and, while times continued *regular*, that is, while things ſtood upon a foot of equality, the Senate's authority, its influence, its weight in the councils, and tranſactions of the State, was never diminiſhed. The people did always ſuffer themſelves to be governed by the ſentiments of the Conſcript Fathers, when thoſe ſentiments did not tend to the deſtruction of equality: but the Fathers, intoxicated and blinded by their covetouſneſs and ambition, neither would nor could ſee their own intereſt, as a Senate, in the reformations propoſed by the *Gracchi*; they choſe rather to have power than authority, rather to be feared than reverenced. And therefore it would ſeem that all the miſchiefs which, after the murder of thoſe two excellent patriots, happened to the Republic, from civil diſſentions, ought to be principally imputed to the Senate's inexcuſable folly of returning to its old purſuit of conſtitutional wealth and ſway.

Ib. c. 10.

See Hooke's Obſerv. on Rom. Sen. p. 201.

If it ſhould be ſaid, that, when *Rome* had attained to that prodigious height of power and opulence, to which ſhe was raiſed by the conqueſt of *Macedon* and *Carthage*, the SCHEME of *confining the eſtates of the great men within the limits preſcribed by the* Licinian Law, *or within any fixed limits, and of hindering the* Roman *Freemen of inferior rank from alienating their Lands*, was impracticable; the proper anſwer ſeems to be, That, if ſo, then it was impracticable to preſerve the conſtitution any longer: For nothing can be more abſurd than to imagine *Liberty* and *Equality*, an *Æquilibrium* of power, to endure in a State, where the majority of thoſe, who make the laws, and determine the moſt important affairs of the Public,

have no Land [a], no ſtable Property; and who, for a ſubſiſtence, depend chiefly on what they can get by ſelling their votes to the rich and the ambitious. And from theſe premiſſes this inference will, I think, be unavoidle, That all the ſevere cenſures, which have been paſſed upon thoſe perſons, who, after the murder of the GRACCHI, aimed at *Oligarchy* or *Monarchy*, all the invectives againſt JULIUS CÆSAR, *as the Invader and Deſtroyer of the liberties of his country*, are idle talk, empty, unmeaning declamation.

[a] The ingenious writer, above quoted, imagines (perhaps without ſufficient ground) that *Polybius* was unacquainted with the true cauſes of the Revolutions of the *Roman* Government. I ſhall tranſcribe, from the writer's Eſſay, ſome paſſages that are intrduſtory to his charge againſt the *Greek* Hiſtorian, and are pertinent to our preſent ſubject.

Moyle's Works, Vol. I. p. 62. [Vari. de Re Ruſt. l. i. c. 10.]

" *Romulus* — to reward the good affections of his new ſubjects, made an equal diſtribution among the people, of the territories belonging to *Rome*, except of the Crown and Church Lands: and, as he grew greater, divided all the Conquered Lands among the multitude (a cuſtom followed by moſt of the ſucceeding Kings.) This donation was a falſe ſtep, never to be reconciled to the true intereſt of ſovereign power, from that eternal principle, that *equality of poſſeſſion makes equality of power*: and whenever the balance of property ſways to the People, the Monarchy naturally reſolves into a popular government. ——

P. 63, 64. ----" The generous ambition of extending their Empire, made the Kings of *Rome* ſacrifice the rights of the Monarchy to the liberties of the People; for without Freedom and Property they found it impoſſible to compoſe a brave or a numerous *militia*: both which are the genuine roots of a Commonwealth; for a People that have property in poſſeſſion, and ſwords in their hands, rarely ſubmit to the dominion of one."

---- P. 71. "The [*Roman*] Monarchy reſolved into an Ariſtocracy; and that into a Democracy; and that too relapſed into a Monarchy, as the balance of lands varied from one order to another.

"Theſe periods and revolutions of Empires are the natural tranſmigrations of dominion, from one form of government to another; and make the common circle in the generation and corruption of all States. The ſucceſſion of theſe changes POLYBIUS knew from experience, but not from their true natural cauſes: for he plainly derives theſe alterations from moral reaſons; ſuch as vices and corruptions, the oppreſſion and tyrranny of their Governors, which made the People impatient of the yoke, and fond of new forms; and not from the change of the only true ground and foundation of power, Property."

The Reader, if he conſiders thoſe extracts, from *Polybius*'s ſixth book, which are in p. 118---123 of the *Obſervations on the Roman Senate*, will, perhaps, judge, that he imputes the deſtruction of Liberty, and of the Æquilibrium of Power, in the *Roman* State, to covetouſneſs and ambition, no otherwiſe than as the unequal and undue diſtribution of property among the members of it, in the latter times of the republic, was owing to the prevalency of thoſe vices.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

A brief relation of the domeſtic and foreign Tranſactions of the *Romans*, from the death of *Caius Gracchus*, in the year 632, to the beginning of the *Jugurthine war* in 642.

The Conſuls for the year 633 were *P. Manilius* and *C. Papirius Carbo*.

THAT *Papirius Carbo*, whom we have ſeen a Commiſſioner, for the execution of the *Agrarian Law*, and, profeſſedly, a faſt friend of *Caius Gracchus*, ſhould be immediate ſucceſſor, in the Conſulſhip, to *Opimius*, the principal actor in the murder of *Gracchus*, will appear very ſtrange, if we do not call to mind, that it was cuſtomary to *elect* the Conſuls many months before the time appointed for their entrance on the office. *Carbo* had unqueſtionably been *deſigned* to the Conſulſhip, while *Gracchus*'s friends were the prevailing party: otherwiſe, it would be very hard to account for his being, at this time, in that high ſtation [a]. For, that the late maſſacres, perpetrated by the Nobles, had ſtruck an extreme terror into the minds of their adverſaries, there needs no ſtronger proof than the part which *Carbo* acted, preſently after his taking poſſeſſion of the conſular faſces. When *Opimius* was, by one of the Tribunes, brought into judgment before the people, for having put *Roman* citizens to death without previous trial and condemnation, *Carbo* undertook his defence. Indeed the commencing this proſecution, while the accuſed and his faction were [b] triumphant, ſeems to indicate that it was a mere farce

Y.R. 633. Bef. Chr. 119. 33d Conſ.

[a] Though the time of the Comitia for other matters was undetermined; yet the Magiſtrates, after the year of the City 601, when they began to enter on their place on the kalends of *January*, were conſtantly *deſigned* about the end of *July*, or the beginning of *Auguſt*. *Kenn.* Pt. II. B. III. ch. xvi.

[b] *Popillius*, formerly condemned to baniſhment for the like violent and illegal proceedings againſt the friends of *Tiberius Gracchus*, had juſt been recalled at the motion of *L. Calpurnius Beſtia*, one of the Tribunes. *Cic. in Brut.* *Cicero* boaſts much of this, That, not at the motion of *Opimius*, nor by a decree of the Senate, but at the requeſt of a Tribune, *Popillius* was reſtored, HIS ENEMIES BEING SLAIN. *Nunquam de P. Popillio L. Opimius fortiſſimus conſul----ſenatum aut populum eſt cohortatus.* Poſt Red. ad Quir. IV. *Nihil unquam ſenatus de P. Popillio decrevit: nunquam in hoc ordine Q. Metelli mentio facta eſt: Tribunitiis ſunt illi rogationibus*, INTERFECTIS INIMICIS, *reſtituti.* Poſt Red. in Sen. 15.

And

V.R. 633. Bef. Chr. 119. 3·2 d Conf.

farce, where the *Tribune* acted in concert with the *Nobles*, who knew before-hand what *Carbo*, in his fright, would do, and were sure of a judgment in favour of *Opimius*. Be that as it will, *Carbo* employed all his eloquence (and he was a great orator) to defend the murderer of his friend *Caius Gracchus*. Nor did he content himself with urging, in behalf of his client, the decree of the Senate under which he had acted; but maintained that the action itself was just, and that the killing *Gracchus* was for the public good [a]. His rhetoric being assisted by the influence of his consular authority, and by the whole weight of the Senate, who were made parties in the cause, it is no great wonder if, at this juncture, *Opimius* was acquitted. The Comitia, likewise, at the motion of *Octavius*, one of the Tribunes, abrogated the law of *Caius Gracchus* in relation to the distribution of corn, and past another where the largess was less; and, according to *Cicero*, necessary for the people.

Liv. Ep. l. 61. Cic. in Brut. c. 62. Cic. pro Sex. 48. Cic. Off. l. ii. c. 21.

V.R. 634. Bef. Chr. 118. 3·3 d Conf.

But *Carbo*, who had thus basely deserted one party, was himself in the following Consulship of *L. Cæcilius Metellus* and *L. Aurelius Cotta*, deserted by both parties, and suffered to fall a victim to the early glory of the celebrated LUCIUS CRASSUS, an orator, at that time but one and twenty years of age: who picked out this hated offender, as a proper subject whereon to make the first trial of his talent for accusing at the bar [b]. *Crassus*, being naturally bashful, and having to do with a man of eminent abilities, no sooner began to speak, but his heart failed him, he turned pale, trembled, and was unable to proceed. The Prætor, *Fabius Eburnus*, who presided in the court, perceiving his distress, adjourned the trial to the next day.

Cic. de Orat. l. iii. c. 2[illegible].

Cic. de Orat. l. i. c. 26.

The matter of the charge is no where mentioned; but from passages which *Cicero* has preserved of *Crassus*'s oration, it appears, that the prosecution was set on foot by *Carbo*'s new friends. "*Carbo*, (says *Crassus*) "though you *defended Opimius*, the judges will not therefore look upon "you as a good citizen; for that you then dissembled, and in your *de*-"*fence* of *Opimius* had something else in view, is manifest: because you "have often in public assemblies deplored the death of *Tiberius Gracchus*; "were an accomplice in the murder of *Publius Scipio*; in your Tribune-

Cic. de Orat. l. ii. c. 40.

And again, *Illis qui expulsi sunt iniquè, sed tamen legibus reducti*, INIMICIS INTERFECTIS, *rogationibus tribunitiis, inimicorum injuria probro non fuit.* Pro Dom. 33.

[a] *Cum L. Opimii causam defendebat apud populum---C. Carbo consul nihil de C. Gracchi nece negabat, sed in jure pro salute patriæ factum esse dicebat.* Cic. de Orat. l. ii. c. 25.

[b] *Val. Max.* l. vi. cap. 5. reports, that one of *Carbo*'s slaves, having stolen from him a little box, in which were many papers that would have served to convict him, brought it to *Crassus*, who generously sent back the slave in chains to his master, together with the box unopened; and the same author, l. iii. c. 7. says, that *Carbo* was condemned to banishment, but in this disagrees with *Cicero*; and though the former story has in itself nothing improbable, yet as *Cicero* never mentioned it in any of his panegyrics on *Crassus*, the truth of it may very well be doubted.

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" ſhip propoſed *that* law [the law[a] empowering the People to re-elect " as often as they pleaſed the ſame men to be their Tribunes] and always " diſſented from the *honeſt*." Y R 634. Bef. Chr. 118. 333d Conſ.

Cicero tells us[b], that *Carbo's* coming over to the *honeſt* not being ſufficient to engage the *honeſt* to protect him, he, to avoid an ignominious ſentence[c], put an end to his own life, and (as the report went) by poiſoning himſelf[d] with Cantharides.

It was in this Conſulſhip that the renowned CAIUS MARIUS firſt became a Stateſman, being now one of the[e] Tribunes of the People; a Hero who had no Statutes nor Pictures of his Anceſtors to ſhew, had no eloquence, no *Greek*; but whom, nevertheleſs, we ſhall hereafter ſee a match for the learned, and illuſtrious NOBLES, in their own way of carrying on buſineſs; of talents not inferior to theirs for terminating civil diſputes and promoting CONCORD. At the time of his election to the Tribuneſhip, he was known only for a brave ſoldier, and ſkilful officer, of ſingular aſſiduity and alacrity in ſervice, unblemiſhed life, ſtrict probity, exemplary ſobriety, and a peculiar patience of hardſhips and diſcipline. By theſe qualities, eſpecially the laſt, he had, during the *Numantine* war, recommended himſelf to the eſteem and favour of *Scipio Æmilianus*, whoſe only difficulty in that war was to baniſh luxury from his camp, and reſtore the ancient diſcipline among his troops. *Scipio*, from his obſervation of the martial talents of *Marius*, who was then but twenty-three years of age, gave a kind of prophetic teſtimony of his future glory: for, being aſked in flattery, by ſome of his officers, *where, in caſe of any accident to himſelf, the Republic would find a general?* he, gently clapping *Marius* on the ſhoulder, anſwered, *Perhaps, here:* words, which, as *Plutarch* reports, were heard by *Marius* as oracular, and which animated him with the hope of being one day able to make a figure in his country. Yet he laboured under great diſadvantages with regard to this ambition, by reaſon of his obſcure birth, and illiberal education. Born at *Arpinum**, or in a village near it, he had there paſſed all his early youth with his Parents, who Plut. Mar.

* A City anciently of the Samnites, now in the Kingdom of Naples.

[a] The law did not paſs in the Tribuneſhip of *Carbo*. See Vol. II. p. 542.

[b] De leg. l. iii. c. xvi. Cui ne reditus quidem ab bonos ſalutem a bonis potuit afferre.

[c] *Cic.* in *Brut.* cap. xxvii. ſpeaking of *T. Gracchus* and *Carbo*: *ſed eorum alter propter turbulentiſſimum tribunatum ab ipſâ Republicâ interfectus eſt; alter propter perpetuam in populari ratione levitatem morte voluntaria ſe a ſeveritate judicum vindicavit.*

N. B. By this it would ſeem that *Carbo* was proſecuted for the part he had acted in the diſpute, before his Conſulſhip; and ſo *Pighius* conjectures that the inquiſition was continued concerning the ſedition, and the accuſed tried by the Prætors.

[d] *Cic. Ep. Fam.* l. ix. ep. 21. *Caius* [Papirius Carbo] *accuſante L. Craſſo, cantharidas ſumſiſſe dicitur.*

[e] *Pighius* conjectures he was Quæſtor in 629, and his Province *Sicily*; though it does not evidently appear that he was ever Quæſtor, ſince nothing certain can be built upon this paſſage of *Valerius Maximus*, which is the only foundation of his ſuppoſed Quæſtorſhip: *Arpini honoribus judicetus inferior, quæſturam Romæ petere auſus eſt: patientia deinde repulſarum, erupit magis in curiam quam venit.* Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. ix.

Y. R. 634. Bef. Chr. 118. 533d Conſ. * Sallust.

were poor, and earned their bread by the labour of their hands: As ſoon * as he was able to bear arms, he had entered himſelf a ſoldier [a], and, from that time, had lived, almoſt wholly, in camps and the toils of war; and (to uſe the phraſe which *Plutarch* has borrowed from *Plato*) had never ſacrificed to the *Muſes* or the *Graces*: However, in the military road to Honour, he took ſuch effectual care to diſtinguiſh himſelf, that, when [after ſerving the term, by law required, for a qualification] he put in for the poſt of *Tribune in a Legion*, he had the vote of every Tribe: For though few of the Citizens knew his face, none of them were ſtrangers to his Name and Character.

That Intrepidity, Reſolution, Steadineſs, would be the ſtile of his behaviour in *Civil* offices, no leſs than in *Military*, he gave ſufficient ground to expect, preſently after his commencing *Tribune of the Commons*, which (as above mentioned) was in this year 634. Having propoſed to the People a law more effectually to prevent candidates for offices from tampering with the voters, the Senate (who did not like the meaſure) made a decree that the law in queſtion ſhould not be put to the vote, and they ſent for *Marius* to give an account of his conduct in this matter. *Marius* appeared indeed, but not as to anſwer for his conduct. Without any ceremony, he let the Conſul know that he would ſend him to priſon, if the decree were not inſtantly revoked. *Cotta*, turning to Metellus, aſked his opinion, who ſignifying his approbation of the decree, *Marius* called in one of his ſerjeants, and bade him lead *Metellus* to priſon. *Metellus* appealed to the other Tribunes; but not one of them interpoſed, and the Senate were obliged to revoke their decree. Then *Marius* haſtened to the Comitia, and got his law paſt.

This action of their new Tribune made the People imagine they had found a champion who would fight all their battles againſt the Senate, with the like inflexible reſolution: He very ſoon undeceived them: for, with a ſteadineſs equal to that, with which he had oppoſed the Senate's decree, he oppoſed a motion of one of his Colleagues, for a free diſtribution of

[a] Is natus, et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, *ubi primùm ætas militiæ patiens fuit, Stipendiis faciundis*, non Græca facundia *neque urbanis munditiis, ſeſe exercuit*; ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo ubi primùm tribunatum militarem, &c.

Plutarch reports, that *Marius* made his firſt campaign under Scipio Æmilianus, at the ſiege of Numantia, and was then about 18 years old. But neither of theſe can be true if, as Plutarch himſelf repeatedly tells us, *Marius* died at the age of 70. For it is certain that the death of Marius happened in the year of Rome 667; conſequently he was born in 597, and was twenty-three, in the year 620, when Scipio beſieged Numantia. And as 17 was the age when the *Romans* were reckoned capable of bearing arms, and, according to both Salluſt and Plutarch, Marius became a ſoldier about that age, we muſt ſuppoſe that he had ſerved five or ſix years before he came under *Scipio*'s command; who had no military employment from the year 606 to 619. It is alſo reaſonable to think, that *Marius*, when *Scipio* made him the compliment above-mentioned (in the Text) was an officer, and had more experience in war than is to be got by ſerving one year, or a year and a half. Dr. Middleton, nevertheleſs, in Vol. I. p. 24. of his Life of *Cicero*, has adopted Plutarch's miſtake.

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A MAP OF PART OF THE ROMAN PROVINCE

corn to the citizens, and defeated the deſign: ſo that now, ſays *Plutarch*, he gained the eſteem of both parties, being looked upon as a man who would gratify neither at the expence of what he thought the public good. He ſeems however to have loſt a great part of his credit, when, not long after, ſtanding ſucceſſively for the Curule Ædileſhip, and the Plebeian, both in one and the ſame day (the firſt inſtance of the kind), he could carry neither; and when, three years after his Tribuneſhip, though choſen Prætor, he was the laſt named, and even the validity of his election diſputed, as if procured by illegal methods. It ſeems a ſlave of one *Caſſius Sabaco*, a particular friend of *Marius*, had been ſeen in the voting-place among the citizens, who were giving their ſuffrages. *Sabaco*, upon his examination, could not deny the fact, but pretended, that, being extremely thirſty, he had called for ſome water, and that his ſervant, though he had indeed brought it, did not ſtay a moment[a]. Among thoſe, whom the accuſers of *Marius* deſired might be examined, was his patron *Caius Herennius*, who pleading that the law exempted patrons from giving teſtimony againſt their clients, the Judges would have admitted the excuſe; but *Marius* himſelf oppoſed it: he ſaid, that, from the time any man became a Magiſtrate, he was nobody's client; which, if we may believe *Plutarch*, was not true but of thoſe who obtained the *Curule Magiſtracies*. It does not appear what evidence *Herennius* gave, or whether he gave any; not what foundation there was for the charge; but in the end, the Judges being equally divided in opinion, *Marius* ſtood confirmed in his office. We are not told where his juriſdiction was. The next year he went *Proprætor* into further *Spain*, where he had ſome ſucceſs againſt the *Luſitanians*, and ſettled a Colony of *Celtiberians* at *Colenda*, in reward for their having aſſiſted him in his expedition. From this time we hear no more of him as acting any part in public life, till the *Jugurthine* war, a memorable period of the *Roman* ſtory, on account both of the ſurpriſing events of the war itſelf, and of the civil commotions it gave birth to at *Rome*. But before we enter on the war with *Jugurtha*, it will be proper to ſee what had been doing in the military way, while the affair of *Caius Gracchus* was depending, and what was afterwards done during the ten years between his murder and that war.

Y. R. 634. Bef. Chr. 118. 333d Conſ.

The conqueſts of the Romans *in* Tranſalpine Gaul.

OF all the Nations beyond the *Alps*, the *Salyi*, ſays *Florus*, were the firſt who felt the *Roman* arms. The city of *Maſſilia* *, ever faithful and friendly to *Rome*, had complained of the hoſtile incurſion of thoſe her

Or Sallu-vii. See Vol. II. p. 550.

* Marſeilles.

[a] *Sabaco* for this affair, was the next year, 638, expelled the Senate by the Cenſors *Metellus Dalmaticus*, and *Domitius Ænobarbus*, (two very wrong-headed men, if we judge of them by their behaviour when Generals.) They ſaid that *Sabaco* deſerved to be ſtigmatized, whether he ſpoke true or falſe; if falſe, for his perjury; if true, for his intemperance. They alſo degraded 32 of the Senators, among whom was *C. Licinius Geta*, a man of conſular dignity, and who was himſelf afterwards choſen Cenſor. *Liv. Epit.* lib. lxii. *Cic. in Cluent. Val. Max.* lib. ii. cap. ix.

neighbours. It has been already mentioned, that in the years 628 *Fulvius Flaccus*[a], then Conſul, *began* the war, and that it was *continued* by one of the ſucceeding Conſuls, *Sextius Calvinus*, who vanquiſhed the enemy in a pitched battle, made a complete conqueſt of their country, and, the next year, when Proconſul, having built the city of *Aix*, planted there a *Roman* Colony, the firſt that ever paſt into *Tranſalpine Gaul.*

See Vol. II. p. 554.

After this ſucceſs there could not be wanting a pretext to make further acquiſitions. It was alledged, that the *Allobroges* (who inhabited a tract of country that lies between the *Rhone* and the *Alps*, from the *Iſere* to the lake of *Geneva*, and whoſe capital was *Vienne*) had granted protection to *Teutomalius*, king of the *Salyi*, when diſpoſſeſt of his kingdom. This was ſufficient. But it was further alledged, that they had ravaged the lands of the *Ædui*, at that time in alliance with the Republic: for the *Romans* ſeldom failed to have allies at the back of whatever people they purpoſed to ſubdue. It is ſaid however, that the *Ædui* had of their own motion ſought the friendſhip of the *Romans*, and were proud to be by them called Brethren. Over theſe *Allobroges*, aſſiſted by the forces of *Bituitus*, king of the *Arveni*, the Conſul *Domitius*[b], in 631 obtained, by means chiefly of his elephants, a victory, in which he ſlew 20000 of the enemy, and took 3000 priſoners. The vanquiſhed brought a new army into the field. Their whole force is ſaid to have amounted to 200,000 men; yet *Fabius* (ſucceſſor of *Domitius*) with only 30000 gave them an intire overthrow upon the banks of the *Rhone*; in which river, the bridge breaking under them in their flight, moſt of them were drowned. *Domitius*, who was ſtill in the Province, hearing that *Bituitus*, totally diſcouraged by his ſecond defeat, was diſpoſed to aſk peace of the Conſul, and ſubmit, invited him to an amicable conference; and, when the King came, ſeized on his perſon, and ſent him priſoner to *Rome*, the Proconſul being angry that he choſe rather to yield to the Conſul than to him. The Senate, ſays *Valerius Maximus*, could not approve the deed, yet would not releaſe the King, leſt he ſhould renew the war; but having got his ſon into their hands, they gave him a *Roman* education, and then ſent him home[c].

Auvergne.

Y. R. 632. Bef. Chr. 120.

Fabius,

[a] The ſame *Fulvius* who was afterwards ſlain with *Caius Gracchus*.

[b] Collegue of that *Fannius*, who, being elected Conſul on the recommendation of *C. Gracchus*, employed his conſular power in oppoſing him.

[c] This year *Q. Mucius Scævola*, called the *Augur*, to diſtinguiſh him from *Q. Mucius Scævola*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, went Prætor into *Aſia*, where he reformed the abuſes of the Publicans, and regulated the affairs of the province with ſo much juſtice and integrety, that the *Aſiatics* inſtituted a feſtival in honour of him, and called it *Mucia*, from his name. *P. Rutilius Rufus*, one of the moſt worthy men in *Rome*, aſſiſted him in quality of Quæſtor. *Cic. de Fin.* lib. i. cap. iii. *Aſcon. Ped. in Divinat. & 2 Verr. Val. Max.* lib. viii. cap. xv. § 6.

Val. Max. (lib. viii. cap. xv. § 6.) ſays, that *Q. Mucius Scævola*, collegue to *Craſſus* in the Conſulſhip (which *Scævola* was the *Pontifex Maximus*) ſo excellently adminiſtered affairs in *Aſia*, that the Senate uſed to propoſe his Government as an example to the Magiſtrates that were ſent into the provinces.

Pighius

Fabius, at his return to *Rome*, called himſelf *Allobrogicus*, and had a triumph, of which the captive Monarch, clad in the ſpendid arms he uſed to wear, was the principal ornament. *Domitius*, ſome time after, with the ſame King to attend him, had the like honour of the *triumph:* though indeed he had already triumphed abroad; for with his army following him in proceſſion, he had been riding up and down the conquered countries, like an overgrown idiot, upon an elephant. *Florus* remarks, that theſe two Generals were the firſt of the *Romans* that ever inſulted the vanquiſhed nations, by erecting, in their countries, trophies of the victories obtained over them. Sueton. in Ner. cap. 2.

In this ſame year *Quintus Metellus* (the eldeſt ſon of *Macedonicus)* had his triumph, as conqueror [in 630] of the iſlands called *Baleares:* and the vain man, for having with his heavy-arm'd Legionaries defeated a number of Fiſhermen, who went naked, and fought only with ſlings, fooliſhly took the title of *Balearicus.*

In 634 the Conſul *L. Metellus* leading an army into *Illyricum*, the *Segeſtani*, a people of that country, ſurrendered to him: after which, he, without any provocation, entered *Dalmatia*, where, being received amicably, he took up his winter quarters in the capital, and, for this exploit, he had a triumph upon his return to *Rome*, and called himſelf *Dalmaticus.* Y. R. 634. Bef. Chr. 118. App. in Illyricis.

The next year *M. Porcius Cato*, and *Q. Marcius Rex*, being Conſuls, the former was ſent into *Africa*, (on what occaſion is not known) and there died. *Marcius*, who had *Tranſalpine Gaul* for his province, ſubdued the *Stæni*, at the foot of the *Alps*, and planted a Colony at *Narbonne*, called from him *Narbo Marcius*, which became the capital of the *Roman* conqueſts in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, when, four years after, they erected them into the form of a Prætorian province. Y. R. 635. Bef. Chr. 117.

[a] In the following Conſulſhips of *L. Metellus Diadematus*, (ſecond ſon of *Macedonicus)* and *Q. Mucius Scævola*; *C. Licinius Geta*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus*, it does not appear that any thing was done in the way of conqueſt. Y. R. 636. Y. R. 637.

But in the year following, *M. Æmilius* [b] *Scaurus* (collegue to *M. Metellus*, third ſon of *Macedonicus)* having *Tranſalpine Gaul* for his province, made a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the *Carni*, at the foot of the *Alpes Penninæ.* He afterwards employed his army in draining the marſhes near the *Trebia* and *Placentia*, and making roads in that country. At his return home, he Y. R. 638. Auct. de Vir. Illuſt. Strab. lib. v. p. 217.

Pighius (in anno 632 & 654) ſays, that both *Scævolas* were Prætors in *Aſia*, and that both employed *Rutilius*, the one as his Quæſtor, the other as his Lieutenant; and applies the two Quotations above from *Aſconius Pædianus* to *Scævola* the Pontifex, though *Aſconius* ſpeaks of *Rutilius* as being Quæſtor, not Lieutenant to *Scævola.*

[a] It was in the former of theſe Conſulſhips that *Marius* ſuffered the affront before mentioned, when he ſtood for the Ædileſhip, and in the latter, that being choſen Prætor he was proſecuted for briguing.

[b] A further account of *Scaurus* will be given where the knowledge of his character is more neceſſary.

Faſt. Capit. Plin. l. ii. c. 54. Vell. Pater. l. i. c. 11.

was decreed a triumph; and, by the Cenſors *Metellus Dalmaticus*, and *Domitius Ænobarbus*, named Preſident of the Senate, in the place of *Metellus Macedonicus*, who died this year, and whoſe bier was carried by his four ſons, of whom one had been Conſul and was now Cenſor, the ſecond had alſo been Conſul, the third was at this time Conſul, and the fourth ſoon after [the very next year] obtained the Conſulſhip.

Plin. l. viii. c. 57.

Scaurus this year got two new laws paſſed; the one, forbidding the uſe of ſome foreign dainties; the other concerning the votes of the Freedmen[a].

Y. R. 639. Bef. Chr. 113. Flor. l. iii. c. 4. Liv. Epit. l. lxiii.

The *Scordiſci*, a People of *Thrace*, originally deſcended from the *Gauls*, who followed *Brennus*, having made an irruption into *Macedon*, *C. Porcius Cato* (who had been raiſed to the Conſulſhip with *M. Acilius Balbus*) was ſent with an army to defend the province. Surpriſed by the Barbarians in an ambuſh, his army was routed with ſuch ſlaughter that ſcarce a man, except himſelf, eſcaped. The conquerors immediately ſpread themſelves over *Theſſaly* and *Dalmatia*, as far as to the *Adriatic*, where finding a vaſt extent of waters that put a ſtop to their progreſs, they, in deſpite and rage, darted a ſhower of javelins into the ſea. Soon after, *Didius*, Prætor of *Illyricum*, falling upon them ſuddenly, while they were plundering the country, put them to the rout, and drove them back into *Thrace*. *Cato*, at his return to *Rome*, was proſecuted for extortion in his province, and being condemned, went into baniſhment to *Tarraco* in *Spain*. The ſum in queſtion was no more than about 32 pounds, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, or 150 according to *Cicero*; a mere trifle; but *Paterculus* moſt gravely remarks, that men had more attention to the nature of the crime, and the diſpoſition of the criminal, than the extent of the injuſtice done. The Knights, who were the Judges at this time, muſt have been very worthy men, contrary to what *Cicero* would have us believe; or this remark of *Paterculus* is very much miſplaced. The condemnation of *Cato* was undoubtedly owing to ſome private ſpleen, or perhaps the public indignation againſt him, for letting himſelf be ſurpriſed by the enemy, and thereby loſing the lives of ſo many citizens, whoſe kinſmen and friends could not forgive him.

Cic. pro Balb. l. ii. Cic. in Verr. iii. c. 80. & iv. c. 10. L. ii. c. 8.

In this Conſulſhip happened an accident which alarmed the *Roman* ſuperſtition, and was followed by a diſcovery that occaſioned a good deal of noiſe and buſtle at *Rome*. *Helvius*, a *Roman* Knight, going with his daughter into *Apulia*, was overtaken upon the road by a ſtorm of thunder.

Jul. Obſeq. c. 97. Oroſ. l. v. c. 15. Plut. in Quæſt. Rom. c. 83.

[a] Freedman. This, as *Pighius* conjectures enacted that the Freedman ſhould vote in the four Urban Tribes, whereas from the time of *Sempronius* (the father of the *Gracchi*) they had been confined to one Tribe.

It is ſaid that this haughty Conſul was ſo offended with the Prætor *Decius Mus*, for not riſing up when he paſſed by him, that he made his Lictors force him to it, and break his Curule Chair to pieces. He alſo by edict prohibited the bringing cauſes before that Prætor's tribunal. *Auct. de Vir. Illuſtr. in Scaur.*

A flaſh of lightning killed the young woman, and the horſe ſhe rode upon, at the ſame time ſtripping her of her clothes, and the horſe of his ſaddle, and bridle. The Augurs declared that this miſchance portended diſgrace to unmarried women, and the Equeſtrian order. Soon after a criminal correſpondence was diſcovered between three *Roman* Knights and three Veſtals.

And the next year, when *C. Metellus*, ſurnamed *Caprarius* (the fourth ſon of *Macedonicus*) and *Cn. Papirius Carbo*, were Conſuls, *L. Metellus* the Pontifex, and the pontifical college condemned *Æmilia*, the moſt guilty of the three prieſteſſes, to the uſual puniſhment in ſuch caſes; but acquitted the other two, *Marcia* and *Licinia*, the latter of whom was defended by her relation *Craſſus* the Orator, he being then 27 years old. Y. R. 640. Bef. Chr. 112. Feneſtell. ap. Macrob. Sat. l. i. c. 10.

The People, diſſatisfied with this ſentence, ordered the cauſe to be tried anew; and by a ſpecial commiſſion appointed *L. Caſſius* to be Judge; a man ſo ſevere, that his Tribunal was called *Scopulus Reorum*; that is, the rock, on which, thoſe who were arraigned before him, were ſure to ſplit, if they were guilty. He condemned *Marcia* and *Licinia*, and ſeveral others; and, to expiate their crime, the Senate, after conſulting the [e] *Sibylline* books, ordered a temple to be built to *Venus Verticordia*, who was to be implored to change the hearts of the *Roman* women, and make them more chaſte. When the ſtatue of this Goddeſs was to be conſecrated, the *Romans* judged it proper to give the honour to her of all the ladies who had the beſt reputation for chaſtity. Firſt a hundred ladies of the moſt irreproachable manners were ſelected from the reſt; then from this number ten were taken by lot; and theſe ten gave the preference to *Sulpitia*, daughter of *Paterculus*, and wife of *Fulvius Flaccus*. Aſcon. Paed. in Cic. Orat. pro Mil. c. 12. Cic. in Brut. c. 43. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 7. § 9. Ovid. Faſt. l. v. Jul. Obſeq. Plin. l. vii. c. 35. Val. Max l. viii. c. 15. § 12.

Among the accuſed was *M. Antonius*, the famous orator, and grandfather of the Triumvir. He was at this time Quæſtor, and juſt ſetting out from *Brunduſium* for *Aſia*, when he received notice that an accuſation was lodged againſt him before *Caſſius*. By the law he might have declined appearing, as being employed in the ſervice of the Commonwealth; but chuſing to ſtand a trial, he came back to *Rome*. It is ſaid that, though innocent, he was ſomewhat alarmed, when the proſecutors demanded that a young ſlave, who was ſuppoſed to be privy to his intrigue, ſhould be examined by torture, becauſe he doubted of the reſolution and ſteadineſs of the youth. But the boy bid his maſter fear nothing, offered himſelf to the torture, and ſupported it with an unſhaken conſtancy. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 7. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 7.

An inundation of Barbarians from the North, at this time threatened *Italy*. The *Cimbri*, a People whoſe origin is uncertain, but who not long before this inhabited the *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus* (now *Jutland* and *Holſtein*) had

[e] *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Sibylline* books directed the *Romans* to bury alive two *Greeks* and two *Gauls*, as offerings to certain ſtrange malignant Genii. *Plut. in Quæſt. Rom.* c. lxxxiii.

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in confederacy with the *Teutoni*, their neighbours, left that country to ſeek for new habitations. *Plutarch* makes their number amount to 300,000 fighting men, who were followed by a yet greater number of women and children. At firſt they fell upon the *Boian Gauls*, who inhabited part of the *Hercynian* foreſt (which part had from them the name of *Bohemia*) by whom being repulſed, they turned towards the *Roman* provinces, penetrating into *Noricum*. The Conſul *Papirius*, whom the Senate immediately ordered into *Illyricum*, to oppoſe their progreſs, poſted himſelf in the paſſes of the *Alps*, and thence ſent to aſk why they ravaged the territory of the *Norici*, who, he ſaid, were *Friends of the Romans*, though in truth, the *Romans* had no treaty of friendſhip with them. The *Cimbri*, by their Ambaſſadors, anſwered, that they reſpected the *Roman* name, had no intention to attack any nation in alliance with *Rome*, were going to quit *Noricum*, and to ſeek a ſettlement in countries where the *Romans* had no concern. *Papirius*, believing this anſwer to proceed from fear, and wiſely projecting to gain abundance of honour by a ſtroke of perfidy, furniſhed the *Cimbrian* Ambaſſadors with guides, who, under pretence of conducting them back by the beſt road, were to lead them by ſuch a round-about way, as to give him an opportunity, by taking a ſhorter, to ſurprize them, and with his whole army fall upon them at once. The ſtratagem did not ſucceed; the *Cimbri*, though ſurpriſed, were not diſconcerted; they drove the Conſul out of the field, and, had it not been for the ſudden tempeſtuouſneſs of the weather, would have deſtroyed his whole army. The Barbarians made no advantage againſt the *Romans* of their victory; but, for ſome reaſon unknown, turned away to the country of the *Helvetii*, where they were probably joined by the *Ambrones* (who are thought to have been a Canton of the *Helvetii*) and from thence ſpread themſelves over *Tranſalpine Gaul*, carrying with them ſlaughter and deſolation.

Liv. Epit. 63. Tacit. de Mor. Germ. Strab. l. v. p. 214.

Metellus, the other Conſul, made a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the *Scordiſci*.

And the next year *M. Livius Druſus* (who was in the conſulſhip with *L. Calpurnius Piſo*) forced them to repaſs the *Danube*, which ſerved ever after as a barrier between them and the *Roman* provinces.

Liv. Epit. 64. Flor. l. iii. c. 4.

A. R. 641.

According to *Liv. Epit.* l. lxvii. and *Jul. Obſequ. de Prodig.* 103. the *Teutoni* did not join the *Cimbri* till ſome years after this: but *Velleius Paterculus*, *Plutarch*, *Florus*, *Eutropius*, and *Oroſius*, ſpeak of the *Teutoni* as joined with the *Cimbri* in all their wars with the *Romans*.

CHAP

CHAP. II.

The occaſion of the *Jugurthine war*; its commencement, progreſs, and concluſion.

SALUST tells us, that he wrote the Hiſtory of the *Jugurthine* war for theſe two reaſons, That it was an important and bloody *war*, and of great variety in the fortune of it; and that, during this war, the *firſt ſtand* was made againſt the inſolent pride of the Nobility; the *commencement* of a ſtruggle maintained with ſuch party rage as at length to produce a civil war, and the deſolation of *Italy*.

To give an account of the cauſe and origin of the *Numidian war*, it will be neceſſary to go a little back. It has been formerly obſerved, that *Maſiniſſa* received from the *Romans* the Kingdom of *Numidia*, in reward of the ſervices he had done them againſt the *Carthaginians*. At his death he left three legitimate ſons, *Micipſa*, *Guluſſa*, and *Manaſtabal*, who, without dividing their father's *Kingdom*, ſhared [a] the *Government* of it among them. The two latter dying, *Micipſa* reigned alone. This Prince had two ſons, *Adherbal* the elder, *Hiempſal* the younger. He had alſo a nephew, named *Jugurtha*, the ſon of his brother *Manaſtabal*, but whom, being born of a concubine, *Maſiniſſa* had left in a private condition. *Micipſa* however took him into his own houſe, and educated him with his own ſons. *Jugurtha* had great natural talents, was remarkably handſome, and excelled in ſtrength. Active and induſtrious, he continually exerciſed himſelf in riding, throwing the lance, diſputing the prize with his companions in the race, or in hunting lions and other wild beaſts; at which ſports he always endeavoured to be the firſt, or among the foremoſt, to wound the beaſt. And though he performed more hardy exploits than any of his companions, and was much ſuperior to them all in his exerciſes, yet, never boaſting of his advantages, he was by all extremely beloved. At firſt the King of *Numidia* rejoiced in the good ſucceſs of his care, as thinking *Jugurtha* would be an honour to the Kingdom. But afterwards reflecting on his own great age, the tender years of his ſons, the temptation of a throne, and the fondneſs of the *Numidians* for his nephew, he began to fear, leſt the daring and ambitious ſpirit of that Prince ſhould meet with too favourable an opportunity to diſplay itſelf. Under theſe apprehenſions the King would have privately made away with him, had he not been afraid of a ſedition, or a general rebellion, as the probable conſequence of ſuch

[a] The elder *Scipio* is ſaid to have made this diſtribution in virtue of a power given him by the verbal will of *Maſiniſſa* when dying. See Vol. II. Book V. ch. xxvi.

an act. Being at this time to furniſh the *Romans* with a body of troops to ſerve under *Scipio* at the ſiege of *Numantia*, he reſolved to give *Jugurtha* the command of them, entertaining ſome hope of getting rid of him by the chance of war; a hope founded on the forward and enterpriſing ſpirit of the youth. But this meaſure, taken for the deſtruction of *Jugurtha*, turned to his advantage. By his ability in council, his bravery in fight, his ſtrict obedience to orders, and his ſucceſs in every enterprize, he gained in a ſhort time the eſteem and love both of the *Roman* ſoldiers and of their General. There were at that thime in the army many perſons, both of the old and new Nobility, with whom wealth was preferable to virtue and honour, all furious party men, very powerful at *Rome*, and more known than eſteemed among the confederates. Theſe men inflamed the ambition of *Jugurtha*, by telling him that, at the death of *Micipſa*, he might eaſily make himſelf the maſter of *Numidia*; that he did not want ability for ſuch an enterprize, and that at *Rome* all things were venal.

When *Scipio*, after the reduction of *Numantia*, was about to ſend back the auxiliary troops, he, in the preſence of the whole army, made *Jugurtha* magnificent preſents, accompanied with extraordinary praiſes; and then leading him into his own pavilion, there admoniſhed him privately, to cultivate the friendſhip of the *Roman* people, rather by ſervices to the public, than by gifts to private men; adding, that it would be dangerous to attempt to purchaſe of a few, what belonged to many; that if he would continue in the diligent exerciſe of his talents and virtues, he could not fail of acquiring both glory and a CROWN [a]; but that if he ſhould be ſo haſty to attain his purpoſe as to have recourſe to bribery, his money would prove his deſtruction. After this advice, he diſmiſſed him with a letter for *Micipſa* to the following effect:

"Your *Jugurtha* has behaved himſelf incomparably well in the war "of *Numantia*; to know this, will, I am ſure, give you much joy. To "me his merit has made him very dear: and I ſhall uſe my beſt endea- "vours that he be equally ſo to the ſenate and people of *Rome*. I con- "gratulate you on this occaſion with the cordiality that our friendſhip "requires. Your nephew is indeed worthy of you, and of his grandfather "*Maſiniſſa*."

Micipſa, finding the reports he had already heard of his nephew's merit, confirmed by the *Roman* General, and, perhaps, now finding his

[a] If we call to mind the unprecedented diviſion, which the firſt *Africanus*, upon the death of King *Maſiniſſa*, made of the regal power among his three ſons; and if we compare it with the diſcourſe of the *Roman* Nobles, in the camp, to *Jugurtha*; the *encouragement*, which accompanied the more *ſage* advice of the ſecond *Africanus* to the youth, *to hope a* CROWN; and the proceedings of the *Roman* Senate, in relation to the affairs of *Numidia*, after the death of *Micipſa* and *Jugurtha*'s uſurpation of the kingdom; may we not from the whole, without too great refinement, conclude, that the *Romans* had, at leaſt, from the demiſe of *Maſiniſſa*, if not long before, formed the deſign of taking *Numidia* into their own poſſeſſion?

former

former ſcheme leſs practicable than before, turned his thoughts how to gain the affection of *Jugurtha*, and to ſecure, for a friend and protector of his children, him, whom he could not deſtroy as an enemy; and with this view he adopted him, and, by his will, left him joint heir with his own ſons. And when, a few years after, he found himſelf drawing near his end, he is ſaid to have preſſed his nephew, in a very pathetic manner, to be friendly to his ſons, and to have exhorted his ſons to imitate the virtues of his nephew, their adopted brother, telling them what a reproach it would be to them, if it ſhould appear to the world, that their father had been more happy in adopting, than in begetting ſons.

The old King died, and, when the funeral was over, the three Princes met to conſult about their affairs. At this meeting, *Hiempſal*, the younger of the legitimate ſons, a youth of high ſpirit, ſeated himſelf on *Adherbal's* right hand, that *Jugurtha*, whom he had always deſpiſed for his mean birth, might not be in the middle, the place of honour among the *Numidians*; and it was with great difficulty he was prevailed upon by the earneſt intreaties of his brother to remove to the left of *Jugurtha*. And when *Jugurtha* propoſed the repealing all the acts and edicts made by *Micipſa* in the five laſt years of his reign, becauſe the King was then old, and his intellects impaired, *Hiempſal* briſkly anſwered, "by all means; I am entirely of your opinion; for within the three laſt years you were adopted "into the family." Words, which ſunk deeper into the mind of *Jugurtha* than any one at that time imagined. His whole ſtudy from that moment was how to accompliſh a ſpeedy revenge.

According to *Salluſt*, *Jugurtha* compaſſed his deſign by corrupting the hoſt, with whom *Hiempſal* had taken up a temporary reſidence. This traitor admitted by night into the houſe a party of ſoldiers, who having found *Hiempſal* in a loft, where he had hid himſelf upon the firſt alarm, cut off his head, and carried it to their maſter[a]. Upon the news of this baſe murder, the *Numidians* divided themſelves into two parties; the greater number declared for *Adherbal*; but all the beſt ſoldiers adhered to *Jugurtha*. The latter ſoon appeared in the field, and took ſome towns by force; others voluntarily ſubmitted to him; and he puſhed for the entire monarchy of *Numidia*.

Adherbal, though he had diſpatched Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to inform the Senate of the murder of his brother, and his own ſituation, yet, depending upon his ſuperiority in number, ventured a battle with the enemy. Being vanquiſhed, he fled into the *Roman* province, and from thence proceeded to *Rome*.

Jugurtha, now maſter of all *Numidia*, and having leiſure to reflect upon what he had done, began to dread leſt the *Romans* ſhould take up the quarrel of his rival. His only hope of being ſcreened from their

[a] If we believe the epitome of *Livy*, *Hiempſal*, was vanquiſhed and ſlain in battle by *Jugurtha*.

reſentment was in his own treaſures, and the covetouſneſs of the Roman Nobles. He diſpatched Ambaſſadors therefore in all haſte to *Rome*, with immenſe ſums of money, and with orders, firſt, by moſt ample preſents, to ſecure his old friends, then to acquire new; and laſtly, to buy all who were to be bought. The Ambaſſadors executed their commiſſion with unwearied diligence; and ſuch a change, ſays *Salluſt*, enſued, that *Jugurtha*, from being hated and deteſted, became a great favourite of the Nobility, inſomuch that ſome, engaged by hope, others, gained by actual bribes, made themſelves ſolicitors to the reſt of the Senate, that no ſevere decree might paſs againſt the King. When the Ambaſſadors thought themſelves ſufficiently ſecure of their point, the Senate gave audience to both parties. *Adherbal* is ſaid to have made a long ſpeech, wherein he diſplayed the uncommon kindneſs which his father *Micipſa* had ſhewn to *Jugurtha*, from his very infancy to the time when he adopted him; the extreme baſeneſs of the latter, whom no obligations could engage to gratitude. He repeatedly expreſſed a concern that he ſhould be troubleſome to the Senate before he had merited their favour by any ſervice, yet he hoped that the remembrance of *Maſiniſſa's* ſervices, and conſtant zeal for the glory of the Roman name, would be ſufficient to procure, from the Roman Senate and People, a protection for his grandſon.

As ſoon as the King had done ſpeaking, *Jugurtha's* Ambaſſadors, relying more on the force of their preſents than the juſtice of their cauſe, returned a ſhort anſwer; That *Hiempſal* had been ſlain by the *Numidians* for his cruelty; that *Adherbal* had been the aggreſſor in the late war; that becauſe, being vanquiſhed, he could not do the injury he intended, he now complained; and that as to *Jugurtha*, he earneſtly requeſted of the Senate not to think, that *he* was a different man from him they had known at *Numantia*, nor give leſs credit to his actions than to his enemy's words.

This ſaid, *Adherbal* and the Ambaſſadors withdrew, and the Senate went upon the affair. Not only all thoſe of the *Fathers* whom *Jugurtha* had corrupted, but thoſe who were under their influence, treated with ſcorn whatever had been alledged by *Adherbal*, extolled, in the higheſt ſtrains of praiſe, the virtue of the King, pleaded for him, ſolicited for him, and, in ſhort, expreſſed as much zeal for the juſtification of his infamous actions, as if their own honour had been in queſtion. Some few there were, who, preferring juſtice and good conſcience to money, declared for ſuccouring *Adherbal*, and ſeverely revenging the murder of his brother. The man who ſpoke the moſt warmly for this meaſure, but not from any love of virtue or juſtice, was *Æmilius Scaurus*[a], a perſon of high birth, of active ſpirit, factious, greedy of power, honours and riches, but very ſkilful in concealing his vices. He obſerving in how open and ſhameleſs a manner the King's money was diſtributed among the Senators, and

[a] He was afterwards Conſul and Prince of the Senate, as we have obſerved, in the year 638.

apprehending

apprehending leſt ſuch proſtitute venality ſhould rouſe the popular indignation, laid a reſtraint, for the preſent, on his habitual covetouſneſs.

The party, however, which favoured *Jugurtha*, prevailed; and it was voted that ten Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent into *Africa*, to divide *Numidia* between the two rivals. At the head of theſe Commiſſioners was *L. Opimius*, a perſon of great diſtinction, and at that time of great weight in the Senate, becauſe he had ſo cruelly executed the revenge of the Nobles upon *C. Gracchus* and the commons. Though *Opimius* had been bought by *Jugurtha*, and had appeared his friend at *Rome*, yet, when that Senator landed in *Africa* with the other Commiſſioners, he was received with wonderful ceremony by the *Numidian*; who, preſently after, by rich preſents, in private, and a promiſe of richer, gained him ſo effectually, that he preferred the intereſt of the King's ambition to his own reputation, honour, and every other concern. The greater part of his collegues were likewiſe gained to the King by the ſame means; ſo that, in the diviſion of *Numidia*, the moſt populous and moſt fertile provinces, which are thoſe bordering upon *Mauritania*, were aſſigned to *Jugurtha*. *Adherbal's* ſhare had a better appearance, as being better provided with harbours, and fine buildings, but, in reality, had more of ſhew than of ſtrength.

Jugurtha perceiving, by this new partition of *Numidia*, that his crimes, inſtead of being puniſhed, were rewarded by the Roman deputies, became perfectly convinced of the truth of what his friends at *Numantia* had told him, that all things were venal at *Rome*; and being likewiſe animated by the promiſes of thoſe whom he had juſt loaded with preſents, he boldly reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of the territory allotted to *Adherbal*. With this view, at the head of a great army, he made incurſions upon his frontiers, carrying thence abundance of captives, cattle, and other booty, into his own dominions. He ſuppoſed that *Adherbal* would reſent and revenge the injury, and, by making repriſals, furniſh him with ſome ſhadow of pretence to commence a war in form. But *Adherbal*, being a weak and ſpiritleſs Prince, conſcious of his inferiority to his brother, not only in troops, but in the art of war, and depending more upon the friendſhip of the *Romans* than upon his *Numidian* ſubjects, ſent deputies to *Jugurtha* to complain of his depredations; and, though he received an inſulting anſwer, he choſe to bear every thing rather than expoſe himſelf to an open war. *Jugurtha* finding that he could not provoke *Adherbal* to have recourſe to arms, and being eager to attain his purpoſe, threw off all diſguiſe, and with a numerous and regular army invaded his neighbour's kingdom, with a manifeſt purpoſe to make a conqueſt of it. *Adherbal* had now no other choice, but either to abandon his kingdom a ſecond time, or attempt to defend it with the ſword. He choſe the latter. The armies of the two Kings advanced to meet each other, and both encamped near *Cirta*. *Jugurtha*, the night following, ſurpriſed the camp of his enemy, and forced it. *Adherbal*, with a few horſe, fled to

Cirta,

Cirta, and, had it not been for a conſiderable number of *Romans* then in the town, who defended the walls againſt the purſuers, the ſame day had ſeen the beginning and end of the war between the two Kings.

Jugurtha laid cloſe ſiege to the place, employing his utmoſt efforts to take it before any meſſage ſhould arrive from *Rome*; for he had learnt that the diſtreſſed King had ſent Ambaſſadors thither before the late battle. The Senate having advice that the Kings were at war, diſpatched three young *Romans* to ſignify to both, that it was the will and appointment of the Senate and people of *Rome*, they ſhould deſiſt from the war, and have recourſe to reaſon, inſtead of arms, for terminating their differences. Theſe Ambaſſadors made the more expedition, becauſe, while they were preparing for their departure, a report arrived (though not much credited) of the battle, and of the ſiege of *Cirta*. When, after their arrival, they had declared their commiſſion to *Jugurtha*, he anſwered to this effect, that there was nothing he ſo perfectly revered as the authority of the Roman Senate —that from his earlieſt youth he had always endeavoured to behave himſelf ſo as to merit the approbation of every good man—that it was by a virtuous, not a vicious, conduct, he had gained the favour of that great man, *P. Scipio*---that *Micipſa*, for the ſame reaſon, and not for want of ſons, had adopted him---that the more praiſe-worthy his courſe of life had been, the leſs patiently was he able to bear with inſults and injuries---that *Adherbal* had inſidiouſly attempted his life; and that, for his part, he had only taken meaſures to preſerve himſelf---that the Roman people would not do juſtly, if they forbad him to defend what was his right by the law of nations; and he concluded with ſaying, that he would ſhortly ſend Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to ſatisfy the Senate in every particular.

With this anſwer, and without having been permitted to ſee *Adherbal*, the Ambaſſadors returned to *Italy*, while *Jugurtha* renewed his attacks on the place with freſh vigour.

Adherbal, after five months ſiege, driven to extremity by famine, engaged two of his followers to attempt making their way through the enemy's quarters to the next ſea-port, and thence to *Rome*, with a letter from him to the Senate. His meſſengers had the fortune to ſucceed; they arrived at *Rome*, and delivered the letter. It contained a moving complaint of *Jugurtha's* unjuſt violences, and more cruel intentions. In the moſt preſſing terms, he begged of the *Fathers*, not that they would reſtore him to his kingdom (they might give *that* to whom they pleaſed; it was theirs); not that they would preſerve him from death; but only that they would ſave him from falling into the hands of *Jugurtha*, the moſt cruel of men, and who would not fail to tear away his life by the moſt exquiſite tortures.

Some of the Fathers were of opinion, that they ought, with all poſſible expedition, to ſend an army into *Africa*; and, in the mean time, come to a reſolution concerning what puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on *Jugurtha*,

for

for his diſobedience to the orders of the Senate. His friends however beſtirred themſelves ſo effectually in his behalf, that they hindered this advice from being followed. All that the favourers of *Adherbal* could obtain was, that new Commiſſioners, men of dignity and weight in the Republic, ſhould be ſent into *Africa* to decide the differences between the two Kings. At the head of theſe Commiſſioners was *Æmilius Scaurus*, now Prince of the Senate. They ſet ſail three days after their being named; and landing at *Utica*, ſent orders to *Jugurtha* to repair to them immediately, they having a meſſage to him from the Senate. The King was much diſconcerted to find that men of ſuch high rank and diſtinction were come to oppoſe his deſigns. But though he feared the reſentment of the Senate, ſhould he diſobey their orders, yet, urged by the eager deſire he had to accompliſh his grand deſign, he made a general aſſault, in hopes to carry the place at once, deſtroy his rival, and ſo leave nothing to be adjuſted between them by the Commiſſioners. Failing in this attempt, and fearing to provoke *Scaurus*, whom he chiefly dreaded, by any further delay, he repaired to the Commiſſioners, attended by a few of his cavalry, leaving the greater part of his army to continue the ſiege. Many uſeleſs conferences were held; terrible menaces were ſounded by the Commiſſioners in the name of the Senate for his not having raiſed the ſiege. The *Numidian* heard them with much reſpect, but a total diſregard as to any change of his meaſures. He truſted doubtleſs to his money; and *Scaurus* and his collegues were not aſhamed to return to *Rome* without having obtained any thing in favour of *Adherbal.*

When the ill ſucceſs of this commiſſion was once known at *Cirta*, the *Italians*, by whoſe ſteady courage the town had been chiefly defended, and who hoped they ſhould be ſpared out of reſpect to *Rome*, adviſed *Adherbal* to ſurrender himſelf and the city to *Jugurtha*, to covenant only for his life, and leave the reſt to the Senate. The unhappy Prince, knowing that it was in their power to force him to a compliance, followed their advice. *Jugurtha*, admitted into the place, diſcharged his firſt fury upon *Adherbal*, whom he put to death by torture; and then maſſacred all whom he found in arms, whether *Numidians* or ſtrangers.

Notwithſtanding this new murder, with all its aggravating circumſtances, *Jugurtha* did not want advocates, who, when the matter was brought before the Senate, endeavoured to extenuate the crime, and leſſen the horror of it in the minds of thoſe whom at firſt it had extremely ſhocked; and ſo aſſiduous were theſe penſioners of the King in his defence, that if *C. Memmius*, Tribune of the People elect, a man of ſpirit, and a declared enemy to the uſurped power of the Nobles, had not fully apprized the *Roman* People, that a few leading men of a faction were bent upon ſcreening *Jugurtha* from the puniſhment due to his crimes, the affair had been entirely dropt: ſuch a mighty influence had the gold of *Jugurtha* upon the minds of the *venerable Fathers.*

But

But when the Senate, conſcious of their own guilt, began in earneſt to fear the People's reſentment, they (in conformity to the *Sempronian Law*) decreed that the provinces of the Conſuls elect ſhould be *Italy* and *Numidia*. *Numidia* fell to *L. Calpurnius Beſtia*, *Italy* to *P. Scipio Naſica*. Soon after an army was enrolled for the expedition into *Africa*, and all the funds decreed for its ſupport.

See Vol. II. p. 554.

Jugurtha receiving advice, that, contary to his expectation, the *Romans* were determined to commence a war againſt him, diſpatched his ſon and two of the moſt truſty friends to the Senate, with private orders (like thoſe which he had formerly given to his Ambaſſadors on occaſion of the murder of *Hiempſal*) to buy every man that was to be purchaſed. But when theſe drew near to *Rome*, *Beſtia* moved to know the pleaſure of the Senate, whether they ſhould be admitted within the walls, or not. Whereupon it was decreed, that unleſs they were come to ſurrender both the King and his kingdom, they ſhould leave *Italy* in ten days. The Conſul ſignified to them this reſolution, and they returned to *Numidia*.

Beſtia, in the mean while, having compleated his troops, choſe for his Lieutenants, men eminent by their quality, and no leſs diſtinguiſhed for their ſkill in intrigues, (among whom was *Scaurus* before-mentioned) under the ſhelter of whoſe authority he flattered himſelf he might, with impunity, do whatever his paſſions ſhould dictate. The Conſul was a brave man, patient of fatigues, a vigilant and able General; but theſe excellent qualities were rendered fruitleſs by a ſordid avarice; ſo that, though, upon his firſt entering into *Numidia*, he acted with vigour; yet *Jugurtha* being informed of his ruling paſſion, very ſoon made court to it with ſucceſs. *Scaurus* entered into the infamous traffic; and it was not the firſt time that he had been corrupted by *Jugurtha*'s gold. The king, at firſt, had hoped no more than to purchaſe a ſuſpenſion of the war, while he might carry on his intrigues at *Rome*; but when he learnt from his Agents that they had entirely gained *Scaurus*, he preſently entertained the flattering project of concluding a peace, in perſon, with theſe worthy Generals. But, before he repaired to the Conſul, he took care to have an hoſtage for his ſecurity. *Sextus*, the Quæſtor, was diſpatched to *Vacca*, a town belonging to *Jugurtha*, under pretence of receiving a quantity of corn which *Calpurnius* had publicly ordered the King's Deputies to provide, there being now a truce in order to the King's ſurrendry in form.

When *Jugurtha* was come to the *Roman* camp, *Calpurnius*, to blind the public, aſſembled his council, where the King, after making a ſhort apology for his conduct, offered to ſurrender himſelf and his kingdom to the Senate and People of *Rome*. The particular conditions were adjuſted in private with *Calpurnius* and *Scaurus*; and, the next day, the King's ſurrendry was formally accepted by the Council, as if the terms had been regularly debated, and unanimouſly approved; and, in purſuance of an order of the Council, thirty elephants, ſome cattle, and a conſiderable number

of horſes, with a ſmall ſum of money, were delivered up to the Quæſtor. The peace thus concluded, the Conſul, leaving his army behind him, returned home, to preſide in the Comitia for the election of Magiſtrates.

When the tranſactions in *Africa*, and the manner in which they had been carried on, were publicly known at *Rome*, they became the matter of common converſation in all companies, and were every where ſpoken of by the people with deteſtation. The Senate knew not what reſolution to take, whether to diſavow or ratify the ſhameful treaty made by their Conſul. What chiefly hindered them from breaking it, was the great influence of *Scaurus*, ſaid to have been the adviſer and aſſociate of *Beſtia* in the late tranſactions. The anger and indignation of the Tribune *Memmius*, before ſpoken of, brought them to a determination. Having called the People together, he upbraided them with their ſervile patience under oppreſſion from the Nobles; with having infamouſly ſuffered their protectors and defenders to periſh undefended and unrevenged; and with fearing, even now, thoſe whom they ought to make tremble, and whom they ſaw lying at their mercy. "I mean not to excite you to arms in order to do your-" ſelves juſtice, a method our forefathers had frequent recourſe to; there " is no need of violence, none of *ſeceding*; the oppreſſors have taken infal-" lible meaſures for their own deſtruction. When they had cut off *T. Grac-*" *chus*, whom they charged with aiming at the ſovereignty, terrible were " the proſecutions againſt the people of *Rome*. After they had ſlain *C. Grac-*" *chus* and *M. Fulvius*, they put great numbers of the *Plebeians* to death " in priſon; nor were they induced to end thoſe violent proceedings, by " any regard which they had to the Laws, but by their own caprice. " Well; let the attempt to reſtore to the Commons their rights paſs for " a deſign to ſeize the Government; be it, that it was lawful, even by " ſpilling the blood of Roman citizens, to revenge an offence which could " not otherwiſe be revenged. Let us grant theſe things. But have " you not ſeen with indignation, though you winked at it, and ſaid no-" thing, the public treaſury robbed, Kings and Republics paying taxes " to a few of the Nobility, who ingroſſed to themſelves all the honours, " and all the riches of the ſtate? Nor were they content to commit theſe " iniquities with impunity; but at length our Laws, the majeſty of the " Roman People, all things divine and human, were betrayed by them to " a foreign enemy. Nor do the guilty feel any ſhame or ſorrow for what " they have done; they ſtalk magnificent before your eyes, boaſting " of their ſacerdotal and conſular dignities, and ſome, of their triumphs; " as if they really prized theſe things for the honour, not the lucre, " which they brought. Slaves, purchaſed with money, obey not the " unjuſt commands of their maſters; and will you, Romans, who are " born to empire, tamely endure to be enſlaved? But who are they " that have thus poſſeſſed themſelves of the Commonwealth? The moſt " flagitious of men, with hands embrued in blood, inſatiably covetous,

" men of matchleſs wickedneſs, and matchleſs arrogance, who make " a traffic of faith, honour, religion, diſregarding all diſtinction of right " and wrong. Some have provided for their own ſafety by murder- " ing your Tribunes, others by unjuſt proſecutions, the greater part by " maſſacres of the Commons; and thus the more loaded any man is " with crimes, the more ſecure he is from puniſhment. Yet, inſtead of " fearing you, after ſo many crimes, they take advantage of your want of " ſpirit to make you fear them. As they have, all, the ſame objects of " hate, deſire, and fear, they are thence united. And this union among " good men is friendſhip; among bad men faction. — But will not you " exert your endeavours to throw off the yoke of theſe men, and to " maintain that liberty which your forefathers procured to themſelves " by their virtue, and delivered down to you? You will aſk me, per- " haps, what meaſures I would adviſe? My anſwer is, I would have you " proſecute the betrayers of the Republic; not in the way of venge- " ful violence, not by acts of power, but by the method of legal pro- " ceſs, and by the evidence of *Jugurtha*, who, if he has in good ear- " neſt made a ſurrendry of himſelf and his kingdom to the Roman People, " will be obedient to your orders. If he ſlight them, you may thereby " judge what ſort of peace and ſurrendry that is, by virtue of which " *Jugurtha* reaps impunity for his crimes, a few great men immenſe " riches, and the Republic nothing but loſs and diſgrace. But perhaps " you are not yet weary of their domination, and, rather than do as I " adviſe, chuſe to have kingdoms, provinces, laws, rights, tribunals, war " and peace, in ſhort, every thing divine and human, depend on the will " of a few men; while you, the Roman People, victorious over all your " enemies abroad, and giving laws to other nations, are content with " barely living and breathing. For who among you has had the reſolu- " tion to refuſe the yoke of ſervitude? But, though I think it very diſho- " nourable to have ſuffered an injury without revenging it, I could well " enough bear that you ſhould pardon theſe guilty men, becauſe they are " your fellow-citizens, if it were not that your mercy to them would be " deſtruction to yourſelves; for ſo obſtinately bent are they upon evil, " that they would think it nothing to have eſcaped puniſhment for the " miſchief they have done, unleſs they might thence be authorized to con- " tinue their wicked courſes; and you will find yourſelves under a neceſ- " ſity of ſubmitting to perpetual ſervitude, or of defending your liberty " by force of arms.—

" I adviſe you therefore once more, and exhort you, not to let ſo great " iniquity eſcape unpuniſhed. The matter in queſtion, at preſent, is, not " any embezzlement of the public money, any oppreſſion of our allies " by extortion; thoſe crimes, though of a very heinous nature, are " grown ſo cuſtomary as to be overlooked. The authority of the Se- " nate, the empire of the Roman People, the Commonwealth itſelf, has

" been

" been ſet to ſale both at home and abroad; and unleſs ſtrict enquiry be " made into this miſconduct, and the guilty be puniſhed, what remains for " us but to live in bondage under their tyranny? For to do with impunity " whatever a man pleaſes, is to be a King.

" After all, my intention, Romans, is not to raiſe in your minds a " wiſh that your fellow-citizens may be found guilty rather than innocent, " but only to exhort you not to pardon the guilty to the ruin of the in- " nocent. Conſider, that, in the affair of government, it is not of ſo ill " conſequence to forget a benefit done to the public, as to forget an in- " jury. A good man, if he be neglected, will only be the leſs active in " doing good; but a bad man more active in doing evil. Beſides, if the " State ſuffers no injury from bad men, it ſeldom wants any aſſiſtance " from the good."

Memmius, by frequently haranguing the People in this ſtrain, perſuaded them to ſend *L. Caſſius* (at this time Prætor) into *Africa*, to bring *Jugurtha* thence to *Rome*, upon the public faith; that, by the evidence of the King himſelf, *Scaurus*, and the reſt, who were accuſed of taking the King's money, might be convicted.

While theſe things were doing at *Rome*, thoſe who were left by *Beſtia* to command the army in *Numidia*, following the example of their General, became guilty of the moſt ſcandalous practices. Some, corrupted by *Jugurtha*'s gold, reſtored to him his elephants; others ſold him his deſerters; others again plundered countries with which the *Romans* were not at war. To ſo exceſſive a degree had a ſpirit of covetouſneſs prevailed, and, like a plague, infected them all!

Caſſius had not much difficulty in perſuading the King to make trial of the clemency of the Roman People, rather than of their power; and the Prætor's character of integrity was ſuch, that, having privately engaged his own faith for *Jugurtha*'s ſafe return, this Prince conſidered it as a ſecurity equal to that of the public faith.

The *Numidian*, when he came to *Rome* with *Caſſius*, appeared not in the magnificence of a King, but in the garb and with the behaviour of a perſon in diſtreſs. *Memmius* aſſembled the People. Their rage againſt *Jugurtha* was ſuch, that ſome of them were for laying him in irons, others for putting him to death without delay, unleſs he diſcovered his aſſociates in wickedneſs. Yet the Tribune, more ſtudious to maintain the dignity of the Roman People, than to gratify their anger, declared, that, for himſelf, he would have no part in violating the public faith. After which, having ordered ſilence, and *Jugurtha* being brought forth, the Tribune rehearſed all his foul deeds in *Numidia*, and (by his agents at *Rome*) giving him to underſtand, that though the Roman People knew by whoſe advice and aſſiſtance he had perpetrated all his crimes againſt that Father who adopted him, and againſt the two ſons of that Father; yet they were deſirous to have a more diſtinct information from himſelf; which information, if he

faithfully gave, he might hope much from the honour and clemency of the Roman People; but if he ſuppreſſed the truth, he would not thereby ſave his accomplices, but ruin himſelf and all his hopes. When *Memmius* had ended theſe words, and the Aſſembly were all attention to hear what the King would anſwer, *Bæbius*, another of the Tribunes, inſtantly called out, forbidding the King to ſpeak. The multitude expreſſed their indignation by clamour, menacing looks and geſtures, and, in ſhort, all the ways by which violent anger is uſed to expreſs itſelf, in order to deter him from his purpoſe. Nevertheleſs, as he had received an ample bribe, impudence carried it. The People, thus fooled, broke up the aſſembly, and ſeparated. There was at this time, at *Rome*, a certain *Numidian*, named *Maſſiva*, the ſon of *Guluſſa*, and grandſon of *Maſiniſſa*, who, upon the ſurrendry of *Cirta*, and the murder of *Adherbal*, had fled from *Africa*, becauſe he had been againſt *Jugurtha* in that quarrel. *Sp. Albinus*, who, with *Q. Minucius Ruſus*, ſucceeded *Beſtia* in the Conſulſhip, and to whom the conduct of the war in *Numidia* had fallen by lot, perſuaded *Maſſiva* to ſue the Senate for the kingdom of *Numidia*, ſince he was deſcended from *Maſiniſſa*, and ſince *Jugurtha*, by his atrocious deeds, had made himſelf both feared and deteſted. *Maſſiva*, readily liſtening to the advice, made and preſſed his ſuit to the Senate. *Jugurtha* finding his friends begin to fail him, ſome of them being reſtrained by a conſciouſneſs of guilt, others by the ill repute they were already in, and the fear of encreaſing their infamy, ordered *Bomilcar*, his moſt intimate and moſt truſty confident, to hire aſſaſſins to take off *Maſſiva*, ſecretly, if poſſible; if not, in any way that it could be done. The Confident quickly found perſons qualified for ſuch work: theſe informed themſelves of all *Maſſiva*'s daily motions and haunts; and, when the buſineſs could be no longer deferred, one of the ruffians, who had waylayed him, did it effectually, but with ſo little caution, that he was ſeized in the very fact; and being urged by many, and eſpecially by the Conſul *Albinus*, confeſſed who had employed him. *Bomilcar* was arraigned for the murder, but more agreeably to natural juſtice, than to the law of nations, he being one of *Jugurtha*'s retinue, who had come to *Rome* upon the public faith. *Jugurtha*, though manifeſtly guilty of the murder, ſpared no pains to bear down the truth, till he perceived that the odium of the fact was not to be ſtifled by favour or money; and then, though he had engaged fifty of his friends to be ſureties for *Bomilcar*'s appearance; yet, being more concerned for the preſervation of his kingdom than the ſafety of the ſureties, and fearing leſt the reſt of his ſubjects would not dare to obey him, if *Bomilcar*, for his obedience, ſhould be puniſhed, he ſent him off privately into *Numidia*. And, in a few days after, he himſelf departed, being ordered by the Senate to leave *Italy*. It is reported of him, that when he was got out of *Rome*, he frequently looked back upon the city without ſaying a word; but at length broke out—"O venal city, ripe for deſtruction, "and ready to ſell thyſelf, whenever there ſhall be found a purchaſer!"

Y. R. 643. Bef. Chr. 109. 342d Conſ.

And

And now the Conſul *Albinus*, with the utmoſt diligence, prepared all neceſſaries for the army, and ſoon appeared there himſelf, eagerly bent on putting a ſpeedy iſſue to the war, either by treaty or victory, before the new elections, which were not far off, could give him a ſucceſſor. On the other hand, *Jugurtha* endeavoured, by all means, to gain time. One while, he would promiſe to ſurrender himſelf; and, preſently after, pretend diſtruſt; now, he would retire before the *Romans*, and then, in his turn, preſs hard upon them, that he might not diſcourage his own men. The war being thus protracted till near the time for the election of Conſuls, *Albinus* left his brother *Aulus*, in quality of Proprætor, to command the army, and returned to *Rome*, without having done any thing either in the way of arms, or by negotiation; which made many conjecture, that he had ſecret intelligence with the King; for they could not believe that, after ſuch diligent preparations for war, it could be ſo eaſily protracted by indolence alone, without fraud.

The elections at *Rome* happened to be retarded by quarrels among the Tribunes; two of whom endeavoured to get themſelves continued in their office for another year. *Aulus* imagined that theſe domeſtic broils would give him time to finiſh the war by a victory; or, at leaſt, by the terror of his arms, to draw a good ſum from *Jugurtha*. In the month of *January*, therefore, he drew his forces out of their winter quarters, and, by long marches, in very bad weather, led them to a town called *Suthul*, where the King had depoſited his treaſures. It was ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall, and ſtood on the top of a ſteep hill, and, at the foot of this hill, was a muddy marſh, formed by the winter floods, which made the place inacceſſible; nevertheleſs, either really blinded by his avarice, or as a feint to terrify the King, he erected moveable galleries, threw up trenches, and made all the other preparations for a ſiege.

Jugurtha, perceiving the vanity and weakneſs of the man, artfully contrived to heighten his preſumption, by ſending to him frequent offers of ſubmiſſion, and by pretending great fear, that made him keep with his army in places difficult of acceſs. At length, by giving *Aulus* hopes of a good bargain, he drew him from *Suthul*, into a retired part of the country, whither the Roman followed him, as if he purſued a flying enemy; but, in reality, that their infamous traffic might be the better concealed. In the mean while the King, by his emiſſaries, practiſed with ſome officers of the Roman army to deſert to him, or abandon their poſts upon a ſignal given. His negotiations ſucceeding to his wiſh, he, on a ſudden, in the dead of night, ſurrounded the camp of *Aulus*. A cohort of *Ligurians*, and two troops of *Thracian* horſe, went over to *Jugurtha*; and the firſt Centurion of the third Legion, abandoning that part of the rampart which he had been appointed to defend, gave the enemy entrance into the camp. Moſt of the *Romans* threw down their arms, and fled to a neighbouring hill, where, when *Jugurtha* had the next day inveſted them, he ſignified

to

to *Aulus*, in a parley, that though, both by famine and the ſword, he had him and his army at mercy; yet, ſenſible of the inſtability of human affairs, he was willing, in caſe *Aulus* would conclude a treaty of peace, to grant him and his ſoldiers life and liberty, on condition of their paſſing under the yoke (a gallows) and quitting *Numidia* in ten days. Hard and ignominious as theſe terms were, death, otherwiſe inevitable, terrified the *Romans* into a ſubmiſſion.

It may well be imagined, that the anger of the people of *Rome*, and eſpecially of the braver ſort, was raiſed to a high pitch againſt *Aulus*, on the firſt news of the late ſcandalous treaty. The Conſul, *Albinus*, fearing the odium which might be brought upon him, on account of his brother's ill behaviour, and fearing likewiſe the danger which might attend that odium, had recourſe to the Senate for their judgment concerning the late treaty. The Fathers decreed, that no treaty could be binding which was made without the authority of the Senate and People of *Rome*. But though *Albinus* had raiſed recruits for the army, and got auxiliary forces from the allies, he was not ſuffered by the Tribunes of the Commons to carry with him thoſe troops into *Africa*. However, he went thither himſelf. His army had, according to the late agreement, quitted *Numidia*, and were now in winter quarters in the Roman province. After his arrival, he would gladly have gone in queſt of *Jugurtha*, in order to leſſen, by ſome exploit, the odium occaſioned by his brother's ill conduct, yet, remembering the ſhameful flight of the ſoldiers, and the licentiouſneſs they were fallen into through a total neglect of diſcipline, he thought it moſt adviſeable to attempt nothing.

In the mean while, *C. Mamilius Limetanus*, one of the Tribunes, preferred a bill to the People at *Rome* for appointing Commiſſioners to make enquiry after thoſe by whoſe encouragement *Jugurtha* had ſlighted the decrees of the Senate; thoſe Ambaſſadors or Generals who had taken the King's money; thoſe who had delivered him up his elephants and deſerters; and thoſe who had made any conventions with him relating to peace or war; and to draw up informations againſt the offenders, in order to their trial. The guilty, though they durſt not openly oppoſe this bill, uſed all clandeſtine means poſſible, by the agency of their friends, and eſpecially thoſe among the *Latine* and other *Italian* allies, to defeat the meaſure. But all their intrigues were ineffectual, the People being incredibly zealous on this occaſion, more from hatred to the Nobles, againſt whom the bill was levelled, than from any concern for the Common-weal. So violent was party rage at that time! Now, while the reſt of the Nobility were ſtruck with fear, *M. Scaurus*, who had been Lieutenant to *Beſtia*, as was abovementioned, found means, in the hurry and confuſion the city was in, by the ſtormy exultations of the Commonalty, and the flight of the *Patricians*, to get himſelf appointed one of the three Inquiſitors, who, by the *Mamilian Law*, were to take cogniſance of the matters in queſtion. But though he

had

had ſuch an amazing influence as to be choſen one of the Triumvirs, it ſeems that he had not ſufficient to ſcreen his aſſociates in iniquity. It is remarkable that *Salluſt* does not mention the perſons who were arraigned and condemned on this occaſion; but ſays, that the proſecutions were carried on with greater ſeverity and violence, according to the then prevailing caprice of the Commons, who now grew inſolent upon victory, as the Nobles had often done before.

On this occaſion *Salluſt* falls into a digreſſion concerning the riſe [that is, the revival] of the oppoſite factions at *Rome*. His words are obſervable, and are to this effect:

"The diſtinction of the People and Senate into oppoſite factions, with all "the evils that followed it, aroſe at *Rome*, not many years before; and was "the effect of profound repoſe, and a full enjoyment of thoſe things which "are in the higheſt eſtimation among men. For, before the deſtruction of "*Carthage*, the People and Senate proceeded with much temper and con- "cord in the adminiſtration of the State: neither was there any contention "among the citizens for ſuperiority and pre-eminence. The fear of their "foreign enemies preſerved good order in the whole community: but, as "ſoon as they were rid of that fear, then inſtantly ruſhed in ambition and "debauchery, exceſſes which proſperity delights in. Inſomuch that the "peace and repoſe which they had ſo paſſionately wiſhed for in times of "war and public danger, proved, now they had obtained it, more deſtruc- "tive and calamitous than either; for now the Nobility began to turn their "dignity into tyranny, the People their liberty into licentiouſneſs; and "each individual, conſidering only himſelf, ſtudied nothing but to gain "wealth by every means poſſible.

"Thus, whilſt the two parties were quarrelling and fighting for power, the "Commonwealth, which lay between them, was miſerably rent in pieces. It "muſt be owned, that, in the efforts of faction, the Nobility proved the more "prevalent: the authority of the populace, as it is looſe and diffuſed, was "found to be of inferior force in the hands of a multitude: ſo that war "abroad, and all affairs at home, were wholly managed by a few men: in "their diſpoſal lay the treaſury, the provinces, the ſeveral magiſtracies, "public dignities and triumphs. The Commonalty were oppreſſed by po- "verty, and by ſerving in the armies, while the ſpoils of victory were en- "groſſed by the Generals, and a few Grandees. Nay, the parents and chil- "dren of thoſe very ſoldiers were, at the ſame time, driven out of their "rightful ſettlements, if they chanced but to border upon a great man's "eſtate. In this manner did avarice, ſupported by power, inſolently, and "unmeaſurably, invade, violate, and lay waſte all things: utterly regard- "leſs of juſtice, and even of common prudence, till, with a blind pre- "cipitation, it ran furious to its own perdition. For from the moment "that, amongſt the Nobility, there aroſe ſuch as preferred genuine glory

"to

" to uſurped power, the State was in an uproar, and ſuch civil feuds en-
" ſued, as if the univerſe had been tumbling into a chaos.

" For after *T. Gracchus* and his brother *Caius*, men whoſe anceſtors had,
" in the Punic and other wars, done ſignal ſervice to the State, began to aſ-
" ſert the liberties of the Commons, and expoſe the wickedneſs of the Oli-
" garchy, the Nobles, conſcious of their own guilt, and thence ſorely diſ-
" mayed, had recourſe, ſometimes to the aid of our *Italian* allies, and to ſuch
" as enjoyed the rights of *Latium*; ſometimes to the Roman Knights, whom
" the hopes of a confederacy in power with the *Patricians* had detached
" from the intereſt of the Commons; and, thus aſſiſted, ſet themſelves for-
" cibly to defeat the purſuits of the *Gracchi*. Firſt, they aſſaſſinated *Tibe-*
" *rius*, while a Tribune of the People: a few years after, *Caius*, while a Tri-
" umvir for planting new colonies; and, with him, his collegue, *Marcus*
" *Fulvius Flaccus*. And, in truth, the *Gracchi*, from an eager deſire of carry-
" ing their point, in ſome inſtances ſhewed a want of temper. But a good
" man would chuſe rather to ſuffer an injuſtice, than, by unjuſt meaſures,
" to ward againſt it. The victory which [by the worſt of means] the Nobles
" obtained againſt the *Gracchi*, they made a moſt inſolent uſe of, dooming
" numbers of citizens to death, or to baniſhment; meaſures which rather
" weakened than ſtrengthened the foundation of their own power. For it
" has proved the ruin of many great States, that the contending parties
" therein have been bent upon gaining victory at any rate, that they might
" wreak their vengeance on the vanquiſhed."

It is ſaid that the Triumvirs proceeded with great ſeverity, which, if we conſider that *Scaurus* was one of them, is as ſtrange and unaccountable as that he ſhould have been choſen to that office. *L. Opimius*, *Sp. Albinus*, *Calpurnius Beſtia*, and *C. Cato*, all men of conſular dignity, were condemned; as alſo *Sulp. Galba*, one of the pontifical college, the firſt Prieſt, according to *Cicero*, who was condemned by a public ſentence. As for *Opimius*, the memory of his cruelties, in the affair of *C. Gracchus*, was ſo freſh, that the People had no compaſſion for him; and he was obliged, ſays *Plutarch*, to paſs his old age in the diſhonour and ſhame, which he had brought upon himſelf by his avarice and corruption. Yet *Cicero* laments the fate of this *Opimius*, calls him *Præſtantiſſimus*; and ſays he was the only Roman that, having deſerved well of the Republic, was ever condemned by the People; and complains, that he who had left ſo illuſtrious a monument in the Forum, ſhould have his own monument, his ſepulchre, totally neglected on the ſhore of *Dyrrachium*. By the monument, which *Opimius* left in the Forum, the Orator doubtleſs means the Temple which *Opimius* erected to Concord, in memory of his having humbled and quieted the People by a maſſacre of three thouſand of the citizens. The ſame writer calls the Judges who condemned *Opimius* and his aſſociates, *Gracchani Judices*; by which it would ſeem he means the

Cic. in Brut. c. 33, 34.

Roman Knights, to whom, by a law of *C. Gracchus*, the right of judging had been transferred. Yet, as the Judges, whoever they were, muſt have formed their ſentence by the report of the Commiſſioners, of whom *Scaurus*, Prince of the Senate, was the chief, a man whom *Cicero* calls *the Guardian of the Republic*, declaring that he not only admired him, but loved him; it is very ſtrange that the report ſhould be ſo little in favour of a perſon who had deſerved ſo well of the Republic as the orator would have us think *Opimius* had done.

Q. *Cæcilius Metellus*, the ſon of *Calvus*, and nephew of *Macedonicus*, was now raiſed to the Conſulſhip with *M. Junius Silanus*. The province of *Numidia* fell by lot to *Metellus*, who having no confidence in the old army, made new levies with great diligence, and got together vaſt quantities of proviſions, arms, and all things neceſſary for a difficult war. Though *Metellus*, ſays *Salluſt*, was of a contrary party to the People, yet on account of his good qualities, and eſpecially becauſe he was proof againſt corruption [by money], a neceſſary virtue at this juncture, they conceived great hopes of his ſucceſs. The Conſul choſe *C. Marius*, and *P. Rutilius* for his Lieutenants. At his arrival in *Numidia* he found the troops ſo extremely diſſolute, ſo unfit for action, or for enduring fatigue, that, though he knew the Roman People impatiently expected an end of the war, he would not venture to lead the army againſt the enemy, till he had reſtored the antient diſcipline. Even the common ſoldiers were grown too indolent to make their own bread, or dreſs their own victuals; they ſold their allowance of corn, and bought bread, and victuals ready dreſſed; and they kept ſervants, and beaſts of burden, to fetch wood, and do all other drudgery, which they ſhould have done themſelves. *Metellus* ſet himſelf to rectify theſe diſorders; and, while he was thus employed, *Jugurtha*, who had intelligence of his proceedings, and knew he was not to be bribed, began now to be really afraid, and to think ſeriouſly of ſurrendering himſelf. To this end, he ſent Ambaſſadors to the Roman General, with humble aſſurances that, if he might have his own life and the lives of his children granted, he was ready to yield every thing elſe to the pleaſure of the Roman People. But *Metellus*, conſidering the *Numidians* as a faithleſs People, fickle, and fond of change, inſtead of hearkening in earneſt to the embaſſy, ſecretly tampered with the Ambaſſadors, each of them ſeparately; and, finding them fit for his purpoſe, engaged them by large promiſes, to deliver up to him *Jugurtha*, alive, if poſſible, and, if that could not be done, his dead body. In public, the Conſul gave ſuch an anſwer to the Ambaſſadors as the King had wiſhed. Not many days after this, *Metellus* marched his forces into *Numidia*, where he found not any thing like a face of war. The country houſes were full of inhabitants, the fields covered with cattle, and the huſbandmen at work in their farms, as in a time of profound peace. From the towns the King's officers came out, and met the Conſul, offering to furniſh him with proviſions, and with carriages;

A. R. 644. Bef. Chr. 108. 343d Conſ.

and, in a word, to obey all his commands. Nevertheleſs he marched on with the ſame caution as if the enemy had been near at hand, cauſing the country on all ſides to be viewed a great way round, becauſe he ſuſpected thoſe tokens of ſubmiſſion to be mere feints, and to be employed to cover ſome inſidious purpoſe. For *Jugurtha* was ſo full of guile, and ſo expert a General, that it was difficult to determine whether he were more to be feared, abſent or preſent, in peace or in war.

Not far from the route that *Metellus* kept, there was a *Numidian* city called *Vacca*, the moſt flouriſhing mart in the whole kingdom, and in which were ſettled many *Italian* merchants. Here the Conſul placed a garriſon, both for the ſake of trying whether this would be quietly borne, and for the conveniency of the army, which, by the means of ſo many traders, might be amply ſupplied with every thing neceſſary.

In the mean while *Jugurtha*, by repeated Ambaſſies, implored peace; offering to ſurrender every thing to *Metellus* without any condition but his own life, and the lives of his children. The Conſul bribed the laſt Ambaſſadors, as he had done the former, to deliver up their maſter to him; and then diſmiſſed them, without either refuſing or promiſing the King the peace he deſired, expecting every hour the execution of the promiſes of thoſe he had corrupted.

When *Jugurtha* compared the words of *Metellus* with his actions, and perceived that arts and devices, like his own, were employed againſt him; that he had only words of peace from the Conſul, and war in fact, that he had loſt his principal city; that the enemy became acquainted with his country, and that his people were excited to revolt; he reſolved, being thus conſtrained by neceſſity, to try the fortune of arms. With this view, having learnt the route taken by the *Romans*, and gathering hopes of victory from the advantages of a certain ſpot where he could poſt himſelf, he raiſed as great a force as he could, and, by private ways, got before the army of *Metellus*.

At a few [a] miles diſtance from the river *Muthul*, which ran from the South, there ſtood, parallel to the river, a waſte uncultivated mountain.

[a] The uſual reading is *twenty* miles. But this ſeems to be a miſtake of the Tranſcribers. For it is evident, from the context, that the mountain was not far from the river, probably not above *three* miles, at moſt. Mr. *Gordin*, and other Tranſlators of *Salluſt*, by not ſufficiently attending to the ſtory, have beſtowed admirable ſenſes on the *Romans*: For, according to them, *Metellus deſcries* [without the help of glaſſes] the *Numidians* in ambuſh at *ten miles* diſtance, and, at the ſame diſtance, his Lieutenant *Rutilius hears* the ſhouts of the two armies when engaged in fight. That the Copyiſt made a miſtake in the *number* of miles, one of the Annotators (iſi the *Var.* Edit.) thinks to be certain, for this reaſon: That it was impoſſible for *Rutilius* to do in one day what he is ſaid to have done, if the mountain had been twenty miles from the river. —— Nec enim fieri potuit, ut Rutilius ab hoc monte præmiſſus a Metello ad flumen, uno eodemque die eo pervenerit, caſtra munierit, et —— rurſus redierit ad Metellum, ſi tantum ſpatii interfuiſſet. URSIN.

Over

Over this mountain the Conſul muſt needs paſs in purſuing his march. In the mid-way between the mountain and the river roſe a high hill, covered with wild olives, myrtles, and ſuch trees as delight in a dry ſandy ſoil; the plain around it being barren and deſert, except thoſe parts that were neareſt the river. Along this hill *Jugurtha* poſted himſelf with all his cavalry, and a body of choſen infantry; the whole extended in a long line not deep in file. He gave the command of his elephants, and part of the foot, to *Bomilcar*, poſting him in that part of the line which was next the river.

After this diſpoſition, he paſſed through the ſeveral diviſions of his troops, urging them to call to mind their former bravery and ſucceſs, and to defend themſelves, and his dominions, from *Roman* covetouſneſs; told them, that they were going to engage with thoſe whom they had before vanquiſhed, and conſtrained to paſs under the yoke, cowards who had only changed their General, not their hearts. He added, that he had taken all the precautions of a provident General to ſecure to them the victory; that they had the advantage of the ground, ſurpaſſed the enemy in number, and were better ſoldiers. While the King was thus encouraging his men, and inſtructing them to keep themſelves ready to fall on, *Metellus*, who as yet knew nothing of the enemy, was coming with his legions down the mountain. When he firſt deſcried *Jugurtha's* army in ambuſh, he knew not what to make of the unuſual appearance; for the objects were not diſtinct, yet the trees and buſhes did not ſufficiently conceal the *Numidians* and their horſes. It was not long before he diſcovered the King's ſtratagem; whereupon he made a halt, and changed the diſpoſition of his troops, ſtrengthening that ſide which was next the enemy, and then marched down into the plain. Perceiving that the *Numidians* did not ſtir from their poſt, and fearing leſt his army ſhould be diſtreſſed by thirſt, in a parched and barren ſoil, he ſent forward *Rutilius*, one of his Lieutenants, with ſome light cohorts, and a part of the cavalry, to mark out a camp near the river; for he imagined that the *Numidians* would retard his march by frequent attacks, and ſince they durſt not venture a pitched battle, attempt to weary out his men with labour and thirſt. He then moved on ſlowly. *Jugurtha* no ſooner perceived that the rear of the *Romans* had paſſed his front, than he detached two thouſand foot to poſſeſs themſelves of that part of the mountain by which the Roman army had deſcended, that it might not ſerve for a place of retreat to them, in caſe they were routed. This done, he ſounded a charge, and, attacking them in the rear, and on both flanks, at the ſame inſtant, threw them into ſome diſorder. The efforts of thoſe who made the ſtouteſt oppoſition were eluded by the manner in which the *Numidians* fought, by whoſe miſſive weapons they were wounded, while unable to bring them to a cloſe engagement. For *Jugurtha's* cavalry, whenever they were preſſed, did not retire in a body, or to any one place, but diſperſed themſelves as widely as poſſible,

and, if the *Romans* did the like, in order to purſue them, the *Numidians* turned ſhort upon the purſuers, and, being the more numerous, were ſure to have the advantage. And when, to ſhun the vengeful fury of their enemies, the hill ſeemed to offer them a more ſecure retreat than the plain, their horſes could eaſily make their way through the thickets, while the horſes of the *Romans*, not being uſed to that work, were not able to follow them.

'*Jugurtha* and *Metellus* ſhewed themſelves, on this occaſion, to be able Generals, and the victory was long conteſted between them. 'Metellus's ſoldiers were better than thoſe of the King, but the King had the advantage in numbers, and in ſituation. The *Romans* being aware that they had no retreat, and that they could not bring the enemy to a cloſe engagement, found it neceſſary, eſpecially as the night was coming on, to force them, if poſſible, in their poſt on the hill. 'Exerting their utmoſt ſtrength and bravery in this attempt, they ſucceeded; yet few of the *Numidians* were ſlain, which was owing to their ſwiftneſs, and the *Romans* being unacquainted with the country.

During this conflict, *Bomilcar*, to whom (as was before obſerved) the King had given the command of the elephants, and a part of the infantry, had, at a diſtance, followed *Rutilius*, whom the Conſul had ſent before to mark out a camp near the river: and, when the *Numidian*, having learnt, by his ſcouts, that *Rutilius* was encamped, heard the ſhouts of the two armies that were engaged, imagining that perhaps *Rutilius* would return to the aſſiſtance of his General, he extended his troops in ſuch a manner as he thought was neceſſary to intercept him, and, in that diſpoſition, advanced towards the Roman camp. The *Romans*, though ſurpriſed at his ſudden appearance, drew themſelves up in order ſo expeditiouſly as to be ready to receive the charge, which they did with great reſolution. The battle did not laſt longer than while the *Numidians* had hope in their elephants; and finding theſe beaſts, by reaſon of the trees and buſhes that hampered them, become wholly unſerviceable, they threw down their arms and fled, eſcaping by favour of the night. Four of the elephants were taken; the reſt, forty in number, were killed. After this victory, the victors, uneaſy becauſe *Metellus* had ſtayed longer than they expected, advanced in good order, to ſeek him. He, in the mean time, was marching towards the river, and, it being dark, the two parties, on their approach, miſtook each other for the enemy. A battle would have enſued, if ſome horſemen, detached to get intelligence, had not diſcovered the truth.

Metellus continued four days in the ſame camp, and thence ſent out ſpies to learn what was become of *Jugurtha*, how he was employed, whether he was ſtill maſter of an army, and how he bore his defeat.

The King had retired into places difficult of acceſs, and was there collecting a more numerous army than he had before; but chiefly of huſbandmen and peaſants; for after a defeat none of the *Numidians* follow the King except his horſe guards, but each man retires whither his inclinations

tions lead him; nor does this bring any ſtain upon their honour, it being the cuſtom of the nation.

Metellus perceiving, by this account, that the King's ſpirit was not yet broken by his defeats, and conſidering that it was impoſſible to force him to fight but upon his own terms, and that the *Romans* loſt more men by a victory, than the *Numidians* by being vanquiſhed, reſolved to change his manner of carrying on the war. He led his forces into the moſt fertile parts of the country, laid waſte the lands, burnt many ſmall towns and caſtles, put all the youth able to bear arms to the ſword, and gave up every thing elſe as a prey to his ſoldiers. This proceeding ſpread ſuch an univerſal terror, that great numbers of the inhabitants ſubmitted to the *Romans*, gave hoſtages, and ſupplied the army with corn and other neceſſaries in abundance. Garriſons alſo were readily received wherever *Metellus* thought fit to place them. By theſe meaſures *Jugurtha* found himſelf more diſtreſſed than by the defeat he had lately ſuffered, being now obliged to purſue an enemy, on the avoiding of whom he had once built his whole hope of ſafety. However, he did not purſue with his whole force, becauſe he would not, on any terms, hazard a general engagement; but, cauſing the main ſtrength of his army to keep together in a proper ſituation, he, by private roads, and in the night, attended the motions of *Metellus* with a choſen body of horſe, and, falling ſuddenly on ſome parties of Roman ſoldiers that had roamed from the army, and were ſtrolling about the country, ſlew a great number of them, and took many priſoners; nor did a ſingle man eſcape unhurt. After which, he, according to the *African* method of making war, again diſappeared[a].

In the mean time, the news of the Conſul's progreſs had cauſed a mighty joy at *Rome*; *Metellus* was the great ſubject of popular applauſe. "He "had conducted himſelf and his army after the old Roman manner; by "reſolute bravery he had gained a victory over enemies who had the ad- "vantage of the ground; he had poſſeſſed himſelf of their country; and "had driven *Jugurtha* (elated by the baſe and daſtardly behaviour of "*Aulus*) to ſeek a refuge in wilds and deſerts." For all theſe favours of heaven, the Senate decreed thankſgiving to the immortal gods; and, when the conſular faſces were transferred to *Serv. Sulpitius Galba* and *M. Aurelius Scaurus*, for the new year, the Senate continued *Metellus* in his command of the army, with the title of Proconſul. The honours done to the merit of this General made him more eager than ever to compleat his glory by a final victory: yet all his marches and motions were with the utmoſt caution. That he might ſpread more widely the terror of the Roman arms, he divided the troops between himſelf and *Marius*; the two leaders

Y. R. 645. Bef. Chr. 107. 344 Conſ.

[a] This year *M. Æmilius Scaurus* and *Livius Druſus* were Cenſors. *Livius* dying, the law required that *Scaurus* ſhould abdicate; yet he refuſed to do it, till ſome of the Tribunes of the Commons threatened to put him in priſon, if he did not obey. *Plut. in Quæſt. Rom.* p. 276.

marching

marching and encamping ſeparately, yet not at two great a diſtance to be able to ſuccour each other on occaſion.

Jugurtha, by ſudden irruptions and frequent attacks, kept the Roman legions in continual alarm, and yet found means to avoid a battle: which *Metellus* having, for ſome time, experienced, he reſolved to lay ſiege to *Zama*, a conſiderable town, and of great ſtrength, in hopes that the King would lead his army thither to relieve it. The King, receiving early notice of the Proconſul's deſign, got to *Zama* before him, and ſtrengthened the garriſon with a body of deſerters, promiſing the inhabitants at the ſame time that he would haſten to their ſuccour. And, accordingly, while *Metellus* was buſy in an aſſault upon the town, and the ſoldiers, whom he had appointed to guard his camp, were negligently beholding the action, the *Numidian* appeared on a ſudden, and forced his way into the camp by one of the gates. The Conſul, upon notice, diſpatched all the Roman cavalry, and, ſoon after, *Marius* with the infantry of the allies, to repel the enemy; and the King did not long abide the charge, but retired to a place of ſecurity. Next day *Metellus* having poſted all his horſe on that ſide of his camp which *Jugurtha* had aſſaulted, renewed his attacks on *Zama*. The *Numidian* appeared again, fell ſuddenly upon the Roman cavalry, and put the foremoſt ranks into diſorder. As he had mixed ſome foot with his horſe, his troops ſtood firmly to the charge, and the engagement was long and obſtinate. *Metellus* finding, after ſome time, that he could neither take the town, nor force *Jugurtha* to a pitched battle, thought proper to raiſe the ſiege; and, the ſeaſon being far advanced, he retired into that part of the Roman province which lay neareſt to *Numidia*, and there paſſed the winter. But he did not ſpend it in idleneſs; for ſince the way of arms had not ſucceeded to his mind, he applied himſelf to deſtroy the King by the treachery of his own friends. To this end, having contrived to draw *Bomilcar* (*Jugurtha's* chief favourite before ſpoken of) to a private conference, he ſolemnly promiſed him that the Senate ſhould grant him pardon, and the poſſeſſion of all his effects, if he would deliver up the King either alive or dead. It is ſaid that *Bomilcar* was eaſily prevailed upon; becauſe he feared, leſt, if a peace with *Rome* were concluded, he ſhould be given up to puniſhment for the murder of *Maſſiva*. Yet it would ſeem that he made ſome ſcruple to aſſaſſinate his maſter: for, at this time, he only endeavoured to perſuade him to a voluntary ſurrendry, exhorting him to take pity upon himſelf, his children, and his ſubjects, and to conſider that he had ſufficiently tried his fortune; that his kingdom was now much weakened; that the *Numidians* had long ſuffered all the calamities of war, and might conſult their own ſafety, if he neglected it. At laſt *Jugurtha* conſented to ſend Ambaſſadors to the Proconſul, with an offer to ſubmit to whatever conditions of peace he ſhould think fit to preſcribe him. *Metellus*, by the advice of his council, firſt ordered him to pay 200,000 pounds weight of ſilver, to deliver up all his

elephants, and a certain quantity of arms and horſes; all which he executed punctually. The Proconſul then demanded that he ſhould yield up the deſerters [a]. *Jugurtha* obeyed in this alſo, and gave up the much greater part of them; ſome few, in the beginning of the negotiation, had eſcaped to *Bocchus* King of *Mauritania*. But when, laſtly, the *Numidian* was ordered to repair to *Tiſidium*, there to receive further directions, he began to heſitate. Conſcious of his crimes, and fearing leſt their due puniſhment was approaching, he ſpent ſeveral days without having power to come to any reſolution. At length, the terrible apprehenſion of being precipitated from the height of Royalty, to the low condition of a Slave, determined him to try once more the chance of war.

SALLUST reports, that, about this time, CAIUS MARIUS, being in winter-quarters at *Utica*, and having offered certain ſacrifices to the Gods, was told by a Diviner [an *Haruſpex*,] *that great and wonderful favours to him were prognoſticated in the entrails of the victims; and he might, therefore, boldly purſue whatever deſigns he had formed, ſecure of ſucceſs by the protection and aſſiſtance of the heavenly powers.* The hiſtorian adds, that MARIUS had, before this, been ſeized with an ardent deſire of the Conſulſhip [b], and that, excepting a noble birth, he had, in truth, every qualification requiſite for riſing to that high ſtation; *induſtry, probity, great military ſkill; in the field, the high and daring ſpirit of a warrior; in the city, moderation, the diſpoſition and deportment proper to civil life. Superior and inſenſible to all the allurements of riches and ſenſuality, he thirſted after glory alone. And ſo well had he behaved himſelf in the ſeveral offices through which he had paſſed, as to be always thought, by thoſe who remarked his conduct, to deſerve a higher ſtation than what he actually filled.* Yet, as worthy a man as MARIUS was TILL THIS TIME [c] (for Ambition hurried him,

[a] According to a fragment of *Appian*, theſe deſerters were *Thracians* and *Ligurians*. The ſame author adds, that *Metellus* cauſed the hands of ſome of them to be cut off; and that, by his orders, the reſt were fixed in the ground, up to the middle, then wounded and tormented by the ſoldiers with darts and arrows, and then burnt while they were yet alive. *App. in Fragm.* lib. viii.

[b] It was ſeven years ſince he had been Prætor; whereas the law required but three years interval between the Prætorſhip and the Conſulate. *Cic de Offic.* l. iii. c. 20.

[c] Tamen is ad id locorum talis Vir (*nam poſtea ambitione præceps datus, eſt*, &c.) I ſhall here take the liberty to offer to the Reader's conſideration the following *Queſtion*, which the preſent caſe ſuggeſts, *Whether the practice, which ſome hiſtorians, of great name, have fallen into, of prefacing their account of a man's actions with giving his* CHARACTER, *either as drawn by former writers, or as it reſulted to themſelves, from a ſurvey of all they knew of his conduct, be not an unfair practice? Unfair, ſometimes with regard to the perſon, whoſe actions they are going to relate; always unfair with regard to the reader: Becauſe ſuch paintings will naturally prevent his making a free uſe of his own judgment, and may oftentimes miſlead him?* It is a trite obſervation, that, in point of moral behaviour, no man is more unlike to another, than one and the ſame man has been to himſelf, in different periods of his life: And yet, if, before we read the hiſtory of a warrior or a ſtateſman, we are impreſſed with a very diſadvantageous opinion of the turn and diſpoſition of his heart, we ſhall be apt, without any other reaſon, to impute

him, afterwards, into ſtrange exceſſes), he had not hitherto ventured to ſtand for the Conſulſhip; the Nobility having for a long time, appropriated

impute to unworthy motives all his public actions, in every ſtage of his life; in which cenſure it is ten to one that we err widely.

And ſo likewiſe, if the character be greatly to the advantage of the perſon characteriſed, this will incline us to overlook, or to conſtrue favourably, or, at leaſt, to ſeek ſome covering to palliate, his very worſt actions, actions of baſeneſs the moſt ſhameful and inexcuſable.

Of each of theſe conſequences of *Character-drawing*, I ſhall give an inſtance.

PLUTARCH, by introducing his account of MARIUS's life and actions, with a very glorious *Character* of him, (ſuch as he, indeed, deſerved in his laſt years) has miſled (as I conceive) certain * modern writers of *Roman hiſtory*, to apply that character to *the whole conduct* of MARIUS from his very firſt entrance into the world at 17 years of age.

* See Hiſt. Rom. by the Jeſuits Catrou and Rouille, Tom. xiv.

Il ne connut JAMAIS (ſays the ingenious † Continuator of Mr. Rollin's Roman hiſtory) *les loix de la droiture, de la franchiſe, de la reconnoiſſance, dés que ſa fortune, ou l'execution de ſes projets s'y trouva intereſſée. C'eſt un homme qui n'eut qu'une paſſion, l'envie de s'aggrandir, mais qui ne ſe fit* JAMAIS *un ſcrupule d'y tout ſacrifier.* CE FUT CETTE AMBITION QUI LE TIRA DE LA CHARRUE *pour lui faire prendre la profeſſion des armes, par laquelle il eſpera pouvoir s'elever. Il fit ſes premieres* ‡ *campagnes au ſiege de Numance ſous Scipion l'Africain*, &c.

† M. Crevier, Tom. ix. p. 277.

‡ Vid. ſupr. p. 10. Note a. Dacier's Plut. Tom. x. p. 281. Vid. ſupr. p 11.

The Continuator has this from the Greek Biographer, whoſe teſtimony concerning MARIUS, when *Tribune of the Commons*, he likewiſe adopts a few pages after. MARIUS — SE FIT EGALEMENT ESTIMER DES DEUX PARTIS, COMME NE CHERCHANT A PLAIRE NI AUX UNS, NI AUX AUTRES, MAIS ENVISEAGEANT UNIQUEMENT LE BIEN PUBLIC.

Theſe two paſſages muſt ſurely appear not to be very conſiſtent; but this, I think, they will ſerve to evince, That an Hiſtoran, by *Character-drawing, at the entrance of his work*, may, ſometimes, bring even himſelf into inconveniences.

Plutarch, indeed, ſeems not to have been diſpoſed to do juſtice to the character of MARIUS. Perhaps, the rough ſoldier's total neglect of *Greek* literature, and his declared contempt of the *Greek* language, may have biaſſed the mind and pen of the *Greek* philoſopher and hiſtorian more ſtrongly than he himſelf was aware of.

"If he could have been perſuaded," ſays *Plutarch* (in the introduction to his life of MARIUS) "to pay his devotions to the *Grecian Muſes and Graces*, he would not, after "bearing ſo many honourable offices, and performing ſo many glorious exploits, have given the reins to implacable anger, ill-timed ambition, and inſatiable avarice; paſſions which carried him to the commiſſion of ſuch horrible injuſtices and cruelties, as rendered him, in his old age, both "infamous and miſerable."

[By the way; we are not bound to reckon this among the moſt judicious of *Plutarch's* reflections, ſeeing, by his own account, SYLLA, who did ſacrifice to the *Muſes and Graces*, had more vices than MARIUS, and ſurpaſſed him in cruelty].

Our Biographer intimates to us, that Metellus laid the foundation of MARIUS's fortune, by appointing him to be one of his Lieutenants, and that MARIUS behaved himſelf *ungratefully* towards his General, *from the very day they landed in Africa.*

Now, in the firſt place, how can this *Lieutenancy* be ſaid, with any propriety, to be *the foundation of* MARIUS's *fortune*, who had, already been raiſed to the *Tribuneſhip of the Commons*, and, after that, to the *Prætorſhip*, and was, at this time, eſteemed the beſt Soldier in the Commonwealth?

And, in the next place, though we find, that MARIUS's *Lieutenancy* proved an immediate ſtep to the *Conſulſhip*, Does it any where appear, that this was the intention of METELLUS? Did he mean ſo great a benefit to MARIUS? No, the contrary is evident; So that no gratitude was due from MARIUS to METELLUS, as to a perſon, to whom he owed either the foundation of his fortune, or the means of riſing to the Conſulſhip.

"MARIUS," ſays *Plutarch*, "did not "conſider himſelf as obliged to the Conſul "for the honourable poſt of Lieutenant, but "to *Fortune* only, who was now pleaſed to "favour him with a fine opportunity of diſplaying his abilities, and, thereby, riſing to "the

priated the office to themſelves; juſt as if, by Law, they had an excluſive right to it; handing it from one to another, and looking upon every *New* Y.R. 645. Bef. Chr. 107. 344 Conf.

" the higheſt dignities in the State. *He diſ-*
" *dained to do any thing for the glory of his*
" GENERAL; but, *In all his actions, had a*
" *view to his own glory, and to that alone.* In
" this view he, on every occaſion, gave ſig-
" nal proofs of his courage; and, as he ne-
" ver declined any great and important en-
" terpriſe, through fear of the difficulties
" and dangers which attended it; ſo he never,
" through *pride*, diſdained to charge himſelf
" with the execution of the moſt inconſider-
" able. Surpaſſing all the other *officers* in
" foreſight and military ſkill, he vied with
" the *common ſoldiers* in temperance and in
" patient enduring of hardſhips and fatigue;
" chuſing to eat and lodge no better than
" they; and, whenever a camp was to be
" fortified, mixing among them, and put-
" ting his hand to the work: by which
" means he not only gained their affections,
" but made them content and chearful in
" the performance of duty. For the *Ro-*
" *man* ſoldiers were much better pleaſed,
" when a commander condeſcended to ſhare
" their labours, than when he indulged them
" in ſloth and idleneſs."

How to reconcile this conduct of MARIUS with *his diſdaining to do any thing for the promotion of* METELLUS's *glory*, ſeems to be ſomewhat difficult: Becauſe certain it is, that, by whatever *paſſions* MARIUS might be ſecretly animated, he well knew, that he could do no exploit under the direction and auſpices of his General; but what would redound to the credit of his GENERAL: and it is not to be doubted, that METELLUS's *principal* view, when he choſe MARIUS for his Lieutenant, was the advancement of his own honour, to which he thought the exemplary behaviour of MARIUS, and his diſtinguiſhed talents for military affairs, would be greatly inſtrumental; and, in this, he was not diſappointed.

Nor is there any ſhadow of proof, that MARIUS, *from the time of his landing in Africa, had malevolent* * *diſpoſitions towards his General.* If he had ſuch diſpoſitions, he kept them concealed from METELLUS; or, if not, SALLUST was perfectly ignorant of this particular, when he wrote the *Jugurthine War*: for this Hiſtorian, having related how *Jugurtha* ſurpriſed the *Roman* camp, and forced his way into it, whilſt METELLUS was employed in the attack of *Zama* (the ſiege of which place he did not undertake 'till the *ſecond* year of his command, and towards the end of the campaign) tells us, that the *Proconſul*, when he detached MARIUS, with the auxiliaries, to recover the camp (from which the guard in their conſternation had fled)
" conjured him, with tears in his eyes, by
" their FRIENDSHIP, and by his regard for
" his country, not to ſuffer a ſpot on the
" honour of her victorious army to remain,
" nor the enemy to eſcape with impunity."
[" *Eumque, lacrumans, per* AMICITIAM, *per*
" *que Rempublicam, obſecrat, ne quam contume-*
" *liam remanere in exercitu victore, neve hoſtes*
" *inultos abire ſinat.*"

It does not appear, that MARIUS, when Lieutenant to METELLUS, acted otherwiſe than as a brave and able officer, zealous for the ſervice of his Country, and the honour of his General; nor that he had a more inordinate ambition, than even the moſt HONEST of the *Nobles*, his cotemporaries. He was now 48 years old, had maintained a conduct hitherto unexceptionable, and, having been *Prætor* ſeven years before, had a legal right to ſtand for the *Conſulſhip*. SALLUST, in his account of MARIUS, has marked the *firſt ſteps* by which this famous *Roman* deviated from the path of virtue into that of the moſt enormous wickedneſs; and has plainly told us the temptation, the provocation, by which he was ſeduced.

It was METELLUS's contemptuous treatment of him, that kindled thoſe paſſions of reſentment and revenge, with which he afterwards flamed. A brave man, and of ſuperior luſtre in that branch of merit which was moſt eſteemed at *Rome*, is it any wonder that he did not eaſily brook the haughty injuſtice of a Grandee, to whoſe ſucceſſes in war, during two years, he had remarkably contributed, and who, yet deſpiſed, and inſulted him, for not being nobly born?

The inſolence of the Nobles, and their violation of thoſe laws of equality which had been the ſource of *Roman* greatneſs, may juſtly be conſidered as the occaſional cauſe of all thoſe miſchiefs which MARIUS brought upon his country.

* See Catrou, tom. xiv. p. 59.

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New Man, how distinguished soever by his merit, as a *prophane* person, unqualified for admission to that *sacred* honour. But now, the prevailing passion

I come now to give an instance of the inconvenient consequence of *Character-drawing*, when it is *to the advantage* of the person characterised.

Tom. ix. p. 251. The Continuator of M. *Rollin's Roman History*, when he first speaks of METELLUS, makes no scruple to say,—" THIS CONSUL " HAD ALL THE QUALITIES THAT CAN " RENDER A MAN ESTIMABLE; *C. Consul* " *avoit tout ce qui peut rendre un homme esti-* " *mable.*" Yet, not many pages after, we find that METELLUS had so little sense of honour, as to think *himself at liberty to use any means by which he might* acquire the glory of successfully terminating the war, committed to his conduct.—" Il prit ses quartiers " d' hyver dans la Province Romaine, à por- " tée de la *Fumidie*. Il ne donna pas ce tems " là à l'oisiveté et aux delices, comme fai- " soient souvent les autres Generaux: et ne " perdant point vûe de *Jugurtha*, il dressa " de nouvelles batteries pour parvenir à finir " la guerre. *Il seroit vraiment louable, s'il* " *n'eut employé que* DES VOIES D'HONEUR. " *Mais nous avons vû qu'*IL N'ETOIT PAS " SCRUPULEUX SUR CET ARTICLE. " TOUT MOYEN LUI ETOIT BON POUR " REUSSIR."

p. 268.

This is said on account of the Proconsul's secretly practising with *Bomilcar*, the King's chief confident, to deliver up his royal master alive or dead into the hands of his enemies: on this condition, METELLUS promises the felon, that the Senate shall not only pardon the murder he had committed at *Rome*, but confirm him in the possession of his whole fortune.

When the ingenious Writer says, *Nous avons vû qu'il n'etoit pas scrupuleux*, &c. he refers to METELLUS's former tampering, for the same purpose, with every one of the many *Ambassadors*, whom *Jugurtha*, from time to time, had sent to him, with offers of submission. *Il sonda ses Deputés, en les entretenant chacun en particulier; et les trouvant assez disposes à ce qu'il souhaita d'eux, il leur proposa et vint à bout de leur persuader de s'engager à lui livrer Jugurtha vif ou mort. Conduite peu genereuse, et qui prouve que même* LES PLUS GENS DE BIEN DU TEMS OU NOUS EN SOMMES SE RESSENTOIENT DU DEPERISSEMENT DES MOEURS. METELLUS, *pour mieux couvrir son jeu fait en public à ces Députés une reponse favorable, & leur donne lieu d'entretenir leur Maître dans de bonnes esperances.*

Tom ix. p. 255

May we not here apply to METELLUS himself, the censure which CICERO passes on MARIUS for having calumniated METELLUS? *Possumusne* MARIUM *virum bonum judicare?* —— Explica, atque excute intelligentiam tuam, ut videas, quæ sit in ea, species, forma, et notio VIRI BONI. *Cadit ergo in* VIRUM BONUM *mentiri emolumenti causâ?* —— *Nihil profecto minus. Est ergo ulla rei tanti, aut commodum ullum tam expetendum, ut* VIRI BONI *et splendorem & nomen amittas?* QUID EST, *quod afferre tantum utilitas ista, quæ dicitur, possit, quantum auferre, si* BONI VIRI *nomen eripuerit? fidem justitiamque detraxerit? Quid enim interest utrum ex homine se quis convertat in belluam, an in hominis figura immanitatem gerat belluæ?* De Off. l. iii. 20.

It may not perhaps be improper, on the present occasion, to add to this passage from *Cicero's* Offices, some few of the many things which he elsewhere speaks in *commendation* of MARIUS,

---Caium Marium *vidimus, qui mihi secundis in rebus unus ex fortunatis hominibus: in adversis, unus ex summis viris videbatur, quo beatius esse mortali nihil potest. Nescis, insane, nescis quantas vires virtus habeat, nomen tantum virtutis usurpas: quid ipsa valeat, ignoras*--- Paradox 2.

---*Quæris aliquem graviorem? constantiorem? præstantiorem virtute, prudentia, religione, æquitate* [C. MARIO?] Orat. pro Balb. 20.

---*Pudicitiam cum eriperet militi tribunus militaris, in exercitu* C. MARII, PROPINQUUS EJUS IMPERATORIS: *interfectus ab eo est, cui vim afferebat: Facere enim probus adolescens periculosè, quam perpeti turpiter maluit. Atque hunc* ILLE VIR SUMMUS, *scelere solutum, periculo liberavit.* Orat. pro Mil. 3.

Plutarch tells us, that MARIUS not only *absolved* the young man, but, with his own hands, crowned him as a victor. But what the Biographer adds is remarkable, and surely discovers an unreasonable prejudice against MARIUS, *Heureux* [I use M. *Dacier's* Translation] *s'il avoit sacrifié ainsi son propre sang*

la

passion of MARIUS being soothed and encouraged by the Diviner's prediction, he confidently requested, of his General, permission to go to *Rome*, there

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la vertu, et à la sagesse, et non à sa propre ambition, et à ses vues d'interêt. So likewise, when Father *Catrou* has related how *Jugurtha* surprised the *Roman* camp while the General was making an assault upon *Zama*, he thus proceeds: "*Metellus, tout occupé du soin* "*de son attaque, n'apprit que des fuiards de* "*son camp, que Jugurtha y avoit pénétré. A* "*l'instant il depute Marius, avec toute la ca-* "*valerie de son armée, pour enchasser l'ennemi.* "Ne souffres pas," *lui dit il, les larmes aux yeux*, [*The good Father omits* per amicitiam perque Rempublicam obsecrat *] "que le "Numide puisse se vanter d'avoir été plus "heureux à nous surprendre, que nous à "forcer Zama." MARIUS EUT EGARD A "SA PROPRE GLOIRE.---IL VOLE OU SON "HONNEUR L'APPELLE." Thus we see, that, according to these Writers, MARIUS never did a virtuous action, never did what was right from a right motive. And this indeed is expresly said by PLUTARCH,---*si pour bien juger des plus belles actions des hommes, il ne faut les considerer ni par elles-memes, ni par la fin qu'ils ont eue, ni par les honneurs qu'ils ont attirés à leurs auteurs, mais seulement par les motifs qui les ont produites, il est certain que ni* LES EXPLOITS *de* Pyrrhus *ni ceux* DE MARIUS, NE MERITENT DES GRANDES LOUANGES, DESTITUES DE CE QUI DOIT SEUL LES FAIRE LOUER, *je veux dire*, D'UN MOTIF JUSTE & HONNETE, *qui est l'ame des grandes actions. Il n'y a que les travaux entrepris pour* LA JUSTICE, *et pour* LE BIEN DES HOMMES *qui soient veritablement louables. Or* CE N'A JAMAIS ETE LE BUT *de Pyrrhus, ni* DE MARIUS. *L'un et l'autre n'ont jamais rien fait que pour satisfaire leur* AMBITION PARTICULIERE, *et pour remplir ce* DESIR INSATIABLE DE GLOIRE QUI LES DEVOROIT.

Tom xiv. p. 80.

* Vid sup p. [illegible]

Comp. of [illegible] and Marius.

* M. *Rolin*, in the Preface to his second volume of *Roman History*, says the same of ALL the *Romans*, That VAIN GLORY was *le* MOTIF UNIQUE *de leurs plus belles actions.* Whether this notion be well founded I shall examine elsewhere; at present let us suppose it an indisputable truth: and then let us ask, What advantage could *Metellus* have over *Marius* in point of *Moral* character? None, most certainly. *Metellus*, if he committed fewer crimes than *Marius*, was not, for that reason, more virtuous than He. They had neither of them any spark of real Virtue.

But let us suppose, as *Plutarch* seems to do, that it was possible for the old *Romans* to undertake and perform great actions, from a *Love of Justice*, and a *regard to Public Good*; or, in other words, that they were capable of Virtue: How does it appear, from any thing, recorded of *Metellus*, that he had more virtue than *Marius*?

If, in imitation of some writers, we were to begin the history of the actions of this *Metellus* with the Character of him, such as he seems, by his Conduct, to have really deserved, it would be to this effect.

That he was haughty and insolent, despising all merit in men, who were not of his own rank and high birth. That he was closely connected with the *Honest*, and imployed his influence to support them in their usurpations on the rights of the people. That, though not to be corrupted himself, by *money*, he was a fast friend to those *honest* men who took bribes from a foreign enemy.

That, to acquire the glory of subduing that enemy, when he was General of the *Roman* army, he did not scruple to employ any means, even the basest and most odious; and that, when he had opportunities of serving his country, by weakening the enemy, he neglected his duty out of private pique and envy.

I say, How greatly would this character, previously given, diminish our admiration of *those parts of his conduct*, on account of which he bears a good name in history, and is, at this day, spoken of, as a man of real and distinguished merit? The particulars, I mean, are.

1. That he steadily refused the oath pressed upon the *Senators* by the Marian faction, an oath which all the other *honest* members, as well as the dishonest, meanly took.

2. That he chose to go into exile rather than commence a civil war.

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there to preſent himſelf a candidate for the Conſular dignity. METELLUS, who, though poſſeſſed of many good qualities, had a mind tainted with the pride and haughtineſs common among the Nobles, pretended, at firſt, to wonder at his Lieutenant's project, and adviſed him, as out of friendſhip, to be ſatisfied with his condition, and not entertain any views above it: and having ſententiouſly intimated to him, *That* ALL *things were not to be coveted by* ALL *men*, exhorted him, *carefully to avoid aſking of the Roman People, what they might with good reaſon refuſe him.* But MARIUS, notwithſtanding this, and a great deal more to the ſame effect, perſevering to ſolicit his diſcharge, the Proconſul, at length, anſwered him ſharply, "You need not be in ſuch haſte to go away; it will be time enough for "you to ſtand for the Conſulſhip, when my ſon may be your collegue." The ſon, at this time, ſerved under his father, and was about *twenty* years of age.

Such contemptuous treatment, far from diverting MARIUS from his purpoſe, ſerved only to make him more eager in the purſuit of it, and to kindle in his breaſt an inextinguiſhable anger againſt METELLUS. FROM THIS TIME, putting himſelf wholly under the guidance of the worſt of counſellors, *Ambition* and *Revenge*, he ſaid and did every thing, which thoſe paſſions dictated to him. To the ſoldiers that were under his command, in their winter quarters, he allowed unuſual liberty, relaxing the rigour of their diſcipline, which he had hitherto always enforced, by his own example, no leſs than by his authority. Amongſt the Roman merchants (of whom there were great numbers at Utica) he ſeverely cenſured his General's conduct, inſinuating, that he was a vain man, had the pride of a King, and, being too fond of command, had protracted the war, without neceſſity: and he boaſted, that, were he himſelf intruſted with only one half of the army, he would, in a few days, have *Jugurtha* in chains. The merchants liſtened to this diſcourſe the more readily, and thought it the more reaſonable, becauſe they had ſuffered, in their commerce, by the continuance of the war, and becauſe no meaſures ſeem expeditious enough to men who are in great haſte to be rich.

Not to neglect any means by which his views might be promoted, he made court, even by flattery, to a poor unhappy *Numidian*, the faculties of whoſe mind were impaired by diſeaſe. His name was *Gauda*; he was grandſon of *Maſiniſſa*, and being a ſon of *Maſtanabal*, was brother to *Jugurtha*, though by a different mother. King *Micipſa*, by his will, had

This was, doubtleſs, very laudable, eſpecially if thoſe who propoſe it to him could have ſupported him: but it might be the effect of mere regard for his own preſervation, it not being likely that he and his friends would have got the better of *Marius*.

[By the way, what ſort of *honeſt* men were thoſe, who, for the ſake of his perſonal intereſt, would have involved their country in a civil war? *Memmius*, the *Tribune of the Commons*, dehorted the people from ways of violence on a much more weighty occaſion. *Vid. ſupr.*]

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named this *Gauda* to be next in ſucceſſion to the crown, after his three immediate heirs. The crazy man having been refuſed by the Proconſul, certain honours, which could not be granted him without violating the *Roman* cuſtoms, was grievouſly affronted. In the height of his diſcontent, MARIUS accoſts him, "*What? a man of regal dignity*——and a man "*of ſuch importance*—— *a grandſon of* MASINISSA *to be treated ſo ignominiouſly?* Demand ſatisfaction at *Rome*, for the inſult you have ſuffered "from the General. You may depend upon my aſſiſtance. Nothing "could hinder your immediate poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Numidia*, "were *Jugurtha* either killed or taken priſoner; and one of theſe would "quickly be effected, if I were Conſul, and intruſted with the command "of the troops." Y.R. 645. Bef. Chr. 107. 344 Conſ.

By theſe, and other ſuch like methods, MARIUS engaged *Gauda*, the *Roman* Knights, the Soldiers, and many of the Merchants (and the hope of a ſpeedy peace engaged ſtill *more*) to write to their friends at *Rome*, inveighing againſt METELLUS for his ſlow procedure in the war, and expreſſing their earneſt deſires, that the conduct of it might be given to MARIUS. The concurrence of ſo many perſons, in ſoliciting for his promotion, did him great honour; and the times too ſeemed much to favour his pretenſions; the NOBLES having lately ſuffered a terrible overthrow by the *Mamilian*,* Law, and the COMMONS, in general, being now diſpoſed to raiſe *New Men* to the higheſt dignities.

* Vid. ſupr. p. 30.

THOUGH *Jugurtha*, by a fraudulent treaty, had been ſtripped of a conſiderable part of his treaſure, his arms and his troops, yet he now, with great diligence, aſſembled an army, fortified the towns in his poſſeſſion, and endeavoured, by promiſes and threatenings, to bring over thoſe which had revolted from him. *Metellus* had put a garriſon into *Vacca*, one of the largeſt and richeſt cities of *Numidia*, and had given the government of the place to *T. Turpilius Silanus*, an *Italian*, his particular friend, with whom he was connected by the ties of hoſpitality, ſubſiſting from father to ſon. The chief men of the city, being gained by *Jugurtha*, took the opportunity of a public feſtival to invite the Governor, the Tribunes, and other officers of the garriſon, to feaſt at their houſes. Each man ſtabbed his gueſt, and then the inhabitants fell upon the Roman ſoldiers, and put them all to the ſword. Of all the *Italians*, *Turpilius* alone eſcaped: whether this was owing to pity in his hoſt, to compact, or to chance, is not clear[b]: but one thing (adds *Salluſt*) ſeems to admit of no doubt, that, by whatſoever way he eſcaped, he was a baſe and deteſtable wretch, ſeeing, in ſo great a calamity (amidſt a general maſſacre of his ſoldiers, countrymen, and friends) he could prefer an inglorious life to unſullied honour.

[b] *Plutarch* ſays, the inhabitants of *Vacca* ſent *Turpilius* away in ſafety, becauſe of the lenity of his government. *Plut. in Mar.*

Metellus,

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Metellus, the ſecond day after his loſs of the town, recovered it by ſurprize, gave it up to be plundered, and put moſt of the inhabitants to death [a].—The Governor *Turpilius*, being brought to a trial, and making but a weak defence, the Council of War condemned him, and, as he was a *Roman* citizen with only the privileges of *Latium*, he ſuffered the puniſhment of being firſt ſcourged, and then beheaded [b].

About the ſame time, *Bomilcar*, perceiving that *Jugurtha* had begun to ſuſpect him, turned all his thoughts to prevent, by a timely murder of his maſter, the probable conſequences of that ſuſpicion: and, the more eaſily, to ſucceed in the enterprize, he engaged a *Numidian* Nobleman, named *Nabdalſa*, to be his aſſociate in it. *Nabdalſa* was very rich and very popular, and had uſed to command a ſeparate army, for performing thoſe military operations, to which *Jugurtha*, when happening either to be employed in others of greater importance, or to be fatigued with buſineſs, could not, in perſon, attend. Theſe two conſpirators having fixed a day for the aſſaſſination, *Nabdalſa* repaired to the army (at that time, poſted in the midſt of the *Roman* winter-quarters, to preſerve the country from being pillaged.) Nevertheleſs, through fear, he failed to keep his appointment. *Bomilcar* therefore ſent a letter to him, reproaching him with his neglect, and encouraging him to continue ſteady in the reſolution they had taken; for that *Jugurtha* would certainly be deſtroyed; and the only queſtion was, whether he ſhould periſh by the bravery of *Metellus*, or by theirs. When this letter arrived, *Nabdalſa* was lying upon his bed, to take a little reſt after fatigue. Having read and conſidered it, he fell aſleep. Soon after, a *Numidian*, who managed the General's private affairs, and was his favourite, and the confident of all his deſigns, except the laſt, entered the tent, and ſeeing a letter upon the pillow, took it up, read it, and then fled to *Jugurtha*. *Nabdalſa*, awaking, miſſed his letter, and, being informed of his ſervant's flight, ſent after him in all haſte, but to no purpoſe. He himſelf therefore went directly to the King, aſſured him that he intended to have diſcovered the whole affair, had he not been prevented by his ſervant, and, with tears, begged he might not lie under the ſuſpicion of ſo great a crime. *Jugurtha*, diſguiſing his real thoughts, returned a mild anſwer; and, when he had put *Bomilcar*, together with many of his accomplices, to death, continued his diſſimulation, fearing, ſhould he give

[a] *Appian* tells us, that the *Roman* General put to death all the Senators of *Vacca*. *App. in Fragm.*

[b] According to *Plutarch*, *Marius* ſo irritated the Council againſt the accuſed, that *Metellus*, though unwilling, could not avoid pronouncing ſentence of death upon him; and when, afterwards, the *innocence* of *Turpilius* appeared, *Marius* every where boaſted that he had lodged in *Metellus*'s breaſt, a Fury that would perpetually torment him for having killed his hoſt.

M. *Dacier* obſerves, that the *innocence* of *Turpilius* had not been diſcovered, when SALLUST wrote.

the reins to his revenge, he might thereby occaſion an inſurrection: but, after this time, he had no repoſe of mind by night or day. Fearing his own ſubjects now, as much as he feared the *Romans*, he could not think himſelf ſecure in any company. He had always a circumſpective eye, was affrighted at every noiſe, and, not knowing where he could ſleep in ſafety, was perpetually ſhifting his apartment, contrary to all regal decorum. Sometimes, ſtarting out of his ſleep, and ſnatching up his ſword, he raiſed an alarm in the dead of night: ſo near to madneſs had the exceſs of his fear reduced him. Y. R. 645. Bef. Chr. 107. 344 Conſ.

The Proconſul, having received intelligence, by deſerters, of the fate of *Bomilcar*, applied himſelf to make preparations for the war, juſt as if it were now at its commencement: and judging, that if, by an exertion of his authority, he detained his Lieutenant, who never ceaſed importuning him for leave to go home, little benefit was to be expected from his preſence, he at length diſmiſſed him [about twelve days, ſays *Plutarch*, before the election of Conſuls.] The letter from *Utica*, and the public harangues of the Tribunes, had ſo prepoſſeſſed *the People* of *Rome* in favour of MARIUS, that the reception he met with there fell nothing ſhort of his ſanguine hopes: for the Comitia not only raiſed him to the Conſulſhip [with *L. Caſſius Longinus*] but voted him the command of the army in *Numidia*, though the Senate had, already, by a decree, aſſigned that province to METELLUS. Y. R. 646. Bef. Chr. 106. 345 Conſ.

MARIUS, whoſe chief object, now, was victory in the war againſt JUGURTHA, immediately demanded of the Senate, recruits for the legions; ſummoning, at the ſame time, all the braveſt men of the *Latin* nation, to attend him: (with the moſt of theſe he was perſonally acquainted, by their having ſerved with him; and of the reſt there were few whoſe characters he had not learned by common fame.) Many even of the diſcharged veterans he prevailed upon, by the force of perſuaſion, to follow him in his *African* expedition: nor did he neglect to aſk auxiliary troops from the Kings and States in alliance with *Rome*.

The recruits, which the Conſul demanded, were moſt readily and chearfully voted by the Senate; who bearing him no good will, and believing that the People, in general, diſliked the ſervice in *Numidia*, hoped that he would either be unable, through want of men, to purſue the war, or would loſe the affection of the multitude, by conſtraining them, againſt their inclinations, to give in their names. But, herein, the Fathers were diſappointed: for the People flocked in crowds to be inliſted; every man pleaſing himſelf with the hope of returning home crowned with victory, and enriched with ſpoil. MARIUS, indeed, by an harangue to the multitude, had contributed, not a little, to raiſe their expectations. Ever ſince his election, he had made it his daily practice to inſult the Nobility, ſometimes particular perſons, ſometimes the whole body; boaſting continually, that he had wreſted the Conſulſhip from them, like ſpoils from a van-

Y. R. 646. Bef. Chr. 106. 345 Conſ.

vanquiſhed enemy: and, when all his demands had been complied with, and he was about to levy ſoldiers, he aſſembled the People, and ſpoke to them in the following manner:

"I know, *Romans*, that the behaviour of thoſe who have obtained "from your favour, the high offices in the State, has, generally ſpeaking, "been very different from what it was before their promotion. While "candidates, they are full of modeſty, humble petitioners, attentive and "active to oblige. Are they elected? inſtantly they become proud, and "lazy for the reſt of their lives. But this is not my turn of mind. The "good of the Commonwealth is, to my apprehenſion, of much greater "moment, than whether this man or that be advanced to the Conſulſhip "or Prætorſhip. Nor am I inſenſible of the weighty charge laid upon "me by your very great kindneſs. '*To make preparations for the war, "and, at the ſame time, to be frugal of the Public money; to compel to "the Service thoſe whom you are unwilling to diſpleaſe, to attend to every "thing that concerns the Public, both at home and abroad; and to do all "this amidſt a confederacy of envious, factious men, determined to oppoſe all "your meaſures*, is a more arduous taſk than you, fellow citizens, can eaſily "imagine.

"I conſider too, that, in the diſcharge of high offices, if other men "fail, they are protected from condemnation and cenſure by the antiquity "and luſtre of their families, the heroic actions of their anceſtors, the "credit of their relations and friends, and the numerous crowd of their "clients and dependants: but that I have nothing of all this to truſt to; "that my ſole hope and confidence muſt be in my own virtue and in-"tegrity.

"I am likewiſe aware, that all eyes are upon me, and that while every "honeſt and candid obſerver (pleaſed with my ſucceſsful endeavours to "ſerve the ſtate) wiſhes well to me, the Nobles are inceſſantly watching "for an opportunity to compaſs my ruin. It concerns me, therefore, to "take the more care, that *your Hopes* be not diſappointed, and that *their "Cabals* prove ineffectual. From my early youth, I have been inured "to toils and dangers. The courſe which I have hitherto purſued from "a diſintereſted principle, ſhall I continue it now, when you have "beſtowed on me ſo noble a reward? Thoſe who have only a ſemblance "of virtue, a diſguiſe which ambition has occaſionally induced them to "put on, find it difficult to preſerve, in their conduct, even that "appearance, when they are actually in power: to me, who have all "my life been in the practice of virtue, the habit of well doing is become "natural.

"You have ordained, that I ſhall have the management of the war "againſt JUGURTHA; an ordinance highly diſpleaſing to the Nobles. "Now, pray conſider with yourſelves, whether it would not be better "to alter your choice, and employ, upon this, or any other like occaſion,

" ſome one out of that worthy body; a man of an ancient family, who V. R. 646.
" has abundance of images, and no experience in military affairs. You will Bef. Chr.
" ſee the hurry, the confuſion he will be in, having much to do, knowing 345 Conſ.
" nothing of the matter, and applying himſelf to ſome poor man of the
" Commons to inſtruct him. For this has, generally, been the caſe: he,
" whom you had appointed to the command, has been obliged to find ſome
" other commander from whom to receive directions. Nay, I myſelf know
" perſons, who did not begin, till they were choſen Conſuls, to read the
" hiſtory of our anceſtors, and the military precepts of the *Greeks*. Pre-
" poſterous proceeding! For though, in the order of time, the election to
" offices be prior to the exerciſe of them, yet, in the order of things, qua-
" lification and experience ſhould precede election.

" *Romans*, compare me, who am but a *New Man*, with theſe haughty
" Nobles. Such exploits as they are wont only to read or hear of, I
" *have*, partly, *ſeen performed*, by other brave men, and *have*, partly, *my-*
" *ſelf performed:* what they have learned from books, I have learned in
" the ſervice. Now, whether Practice or Speculation be of the greater
" value, do you judge.

" They deſpiſe me, for my being a *New Man*; I them, for their
" being *ſlothful cowards:* they reproach me with my want of fortune, I
" them, with the want of virtue. And it is my opinion, that though
" all men have one common nature, thoſe who excel moſt in courage
" and in fortitude, are the moſt noble. If the queſtion could be put to
" the fathers of *Albinus* and *Beſtia*, whether (had it been in their option)
" they would have choſen *them* for their ſons, or ſuch men as I am:
" what anſwer do you think they would make? Doubtleſs, that they
" ſhould have choſen to have the moſt worthy men for their ſons. But,
" if the Nobles have reaſon to deſpiſe me, they have the ſame reaſon
" to deſpiſe their own progenitors, whoſe Nobility, like mine, took its
" riſe from military virtue. They envy my advancement; let them
" envy, too, my integrity, my toils, the dangers I have paſſed through:
" for by theſe I arrived at the Conſular dignity. Blinded with pride,
" theſe men live in ſuch an infamous manner, as if they ſlighted the
" honours you have to beſtow; and yet they ſue for them as confidently
" as if, by their courſe of life, they had deſerved them. Ridiculous
" deluſion! They propoſe to themſelves to riot in the pleaſures of a lazy
" effeminacy; and then to receive the rewards of a laborious virtue!
" When they make harangues before you, or in the Senate, their
" eloquence is chiefly employed in extolling their fore-fathers; from the
" relation of whoſe gallant actions they imagine a luſtre will be derived
" to themſelves. The event is quite contrary to their expectation: for
" the more illuſtrious the lives and exploits of the anceſtors were, the
" more ſcandalous are the ſloth and demerit of the deſcendants. The
" truth is, the glory of anceſtors is as a light, which, ſhining upon their

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" poſterity, makes them conſpicuous to the public eye, and ſuffers neither " their good nor their bad actions to be concealed. There is no ſuch light, " I confeſs, ſhining upon *me*; but, what is far better, my actions have a " luſtre of their own. Mark the equity of theſe Nobles! The honours " which they arrogantly claim to themſelves, in reward of other mens at- " chievements, they think me unworthy to receive in reward of my own. " And for what reaſon am I deemed ſo unworthy? Why, truly, becauſe I " have no images, and my Nobility is recent: but, ſurely, the man who " acquires Nobility to his family, is a much more honourable perſon than " he, who, born of a noble family, becomes a diſgrace to it, debaſes it, " makes it, by his infamous conduct, leſs noble than it was.

" I know very well, that if they were now diſpoſed to anſwer to what I " have been ſaying, they could do it with a moſt copious and flowing elo- " quence, and with great accuracy: nevertheleſs, as they have, in all places, " given a looſe to their tongues againſt me, and againſt *you* too, ever ſince " you conferred this great dignity upon me, I was reſolved to ſpeak my " mind; leſt my ſilence ſhould be interpreted into a conſciouſneſs of guilt: " not that I imagine I can ſuffer any real hurt from harangues: for, if " what the Orator delivers be true, it muſt be to my praiſe; if falſe, my " life and manners confute it. But, ſince *you* are blamed, both for pro- " moting me to this high ſtation, and for intruſting me with a charge ſo " important as the preſent war, pleaſe to conſider again and again, whether " it will not be prudent to revoke your decrees. I have no images, " as I told you before; I cannot, in order to inſpire you with confidence " in my abilities and integrity, boaſt of anceſtors, who have been honoured " with *Conſulſhips* or *Triumphs*: but, if it be neceſſary, I can ſhew you " SPEARS, A BANNER, RICH HORSE-TRAPPINGS, and other military* " rewards, which have been given me by the Generals under whom I " have ſerved; and I can ſhew you, upon my body, ſcars of wounds; and " they are all *before*. Theſe are my images; ſuch is my nobility; not a " Nobility like theirs; not an inheritance, but an acquiſition; a Nobility " which I have myſelf purchaſed at the price of hardſhips, labours, and " perils.

" That I have no eloquence, I readily confeſs; and the want of it gives " me very little concern: virtue needs no paint, no artificial ornament to " ſet it off: let our great men have recourſe to the falſe colouring of " eloquence: for, in truth, they need it, to hide the infamy of their actions: " I never was inſtructed in *Grecian* literature: nor had I any inclination " to learn that, which, I found, did not, in the leaſt, contribute to the " increaſe of virtue in the teachers. But I have learnt leſſons which " qualify a man much better to be a uſeful member of the Commonwealth: " I have learnt to rout an enemy in the field, to force him in his ſtrong

* See Vol. I. B. II. ch. 25. concerning the military rewards in uſe among the Romans.

holds,

" holds, to fear nothing but infamy, to bear cold and heat, to lodge upon Y. R. 646.
" the bare ground, to endure, at the ſame time, both hunger and fatigue. Bef. Chr. 106.
" It is by the practice of theſe leſſons that I ſhall animate my troops; my 345 Conſ.
" glory ſhall not be the fruit of *their* toils *only*; I ſhall not indulge myſelf
" in eaſe, while they are ſuffering hardſhips. To keep your ſoldiers to ſtrict
" diſcipline, while you are taking your pleaſure, this is to act the part of a
" tyrant, not of a General. The other method of proceeding is the only
" one that becomes a commander of his *fellow citizens*; and it was by ſuch
" conduct that our fore-fathers acquired renown, both to the Republic and
" to themſelves. And yet our preſent Nobles, having no likeneſs to *them*,
" deſpiſe *us*, who endeavour after it; and demand of you all places of power
" and truſt, not on account of any thing they have done to deſerve thoſe
" honours, but as due to them by inheritance. How groſsly are the un-
" derſtandings of theſe men deceived by their exceſs of pride! Their an-
" ceſtors left them every thing that it was in their power to leave them;
" their wealth, their images, the glory of their exploits: but they did not
" tranſmit their *virtue* to their deſcendants; this was impoſſible.

" They call me a clowniſh, uncouth, ill-bred fellow: and why? becauſe
" I do not make elegant entertainments, nor keep a buffoon, nor give a
" higher price for a ſlave that is to be my cook, than for one that is to
" work at my farm. Every part of this charge I readily avow. For I re-
" member to have heard my father and other worthy perſons often ſay,
" that delicacies and fineries belong to women; labours and rugged induſtry
" to men: that the *good* aſpire to glory, more than to wealth, and think no
" furniture ſo ornamental as arms.

" But ſince our Nobles are not of this opinion, let them proceed in their
" own way. Leaving ſweat and duſt and ſuch things to us (who indeed
" prefer them to the coſtly banquets of the luxurious), let *them* go on as
" they begun; let them *love*, and *drink*, and *pamper their bellies*; let them
" ſpend their riper years, as they have ſpent their youth, in the loweſt of
" ſenſual gratifications. To *theſe* let all their thoughts be confined.——
" *No, not ſo*, ſay our worthy Nobles: *When we have made ourſelves infamous*
" *and deteſtable by the practice of all the moſt ſcandalous vices, we will then*
" *contrive to ſnatch the rewards due to the virtuous and brave.* And thus
" luxury and ſloth, vices ſo fatally miſchievous to the Commonwealth, are
" to be no hindrance to the ambition of men, the moſt ſhamefully ſtained
" with them; no obſtacle in their way to the public honours, even the
" higheſt dignities of the ſtate!

" And now, having anſwered theſe Nobles ſo far as was neceſſary, not
" indeed to expoſe fully the baſe enormities of their conduct, but to vin-
" dicate my own character; I ſhall add a word or two in relation to the
" preſent ſtate of public affairs. In the firſt place, as to *Numidia*, fear
" nothing, *Romans*; in effect, the victory is yours; for you have now
" removed every thing that hitherto defended *Jugurtha*; every thing,

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" indeed, that could defend him, *covetouſneſs*, *ignorance*, *pride*. Add to " this, that you have an army there, well acquainted with the country. " It is an army, I confeſs, not ſo fortunate as courageous: for, through " the covetouſneſs or temerity of its commanders, it has ſuffered a great " diminution: and it is for this reaſon, I would have you, that are of an " age to bear arms, join with me, and take upon you the care and defence " of the Commonwealth. And do not ſuffer yourſelves to be diſcouraged " by the miſhaps of others, or by the haughty behaviour of ſome former " generals. Both in marches and in battles, you ſhall always have me " near at hand to conſult with, and to ſhare with you every danger into " which I lead you: I and you ſhall be upon an equal foot, with regard " to the fatigues, hardſhips, and perils of war. Never doubt, then, but, " with the help of the Gods, we ſhall conquer; we ſhall *certainly* and " *ſpeedily* acquire both wealth and honour. And, were theſe *uncertain*, " or *at a diſtance*, yet ſurely it becomes all honeſt men to ſupport the " cauſe of their country: for no mortal will be made immortal by ſloth; " nor did ever any father wiſh that his children might never die, but that, " while they lived, they might live and act like worthy men. *Romans*, I " ſhould ſay more, if words could put courage into cowards: to the brave, " I think, I have ſaid enough."

Marius, perceiving that the ſpirits of the multitude were elated by his diſcourſe, cauſed proviſions, money, and other neceſſaries for the war, to be, with all expedition, embarked; and he ſent them away under the care of his Lieutenant, *A. Manlius*. His own diligence he applied wholly to the buſineſs of levying ſoldiers: nor did he, on this occaſion, obſerve the ancient cuſtom of admitting into the army thoſe only, who had ſome eſtate, and belonged to one or other of the five firſt claſſes; without diſtinction, he accepted of all* that preſented themſelves; ſo that the greater part of his recruits were of the *Capite-cenſi*, citizens, ſo poor, that they paid only a ſmall poll-tax. His conduct, in this particular, (ſays *Salluſt*) was, by ſome, imputed to the ſcarcity of better men; by others, to his ambition; the moſt needy, thoſe who have nothing to loſe, and who think no action diſhonourable that is gainful, being the propereſt aids to a man, whoſe enterpriſe is the acquiſition of power.

During theſe tranſactions at *Rome*, *Metellus*, in *Africa*, had been engaged, partly in military expeditions, partly in fruitleſs negotiations.

After the departure of *Marius*, the Proconſul led his forces againſt *Jugurtha*, and obtained an eaſy victory over him: for the King, having put to death a great number of his old friends, and the reſt having, through fear, deſerted him (ſome flying for refuge to *Bocchus* King of *Mauritania*, others going over to the *Romans*), was fallen into the extremeſt perplexity. It was impoſſible for him to carry on the war without miniſters and without

* *Plutarch* reports, that *Marius* did not refuſe to inliſt even ſlaves. *Plut.* in *Mar.*

generals; and yet, whom could he truſt after ſo much perfidiouſneſs as he had lately experienced? no advice, no perſon, nothing could pleaſe him: he marched, and countermarched; and changed his general officers every day: one while he advanced towards the enemy, and preſently after turned away to the deſerts; nor could he determine which he had more reaſon to diſtruſt, the courage of his people, or their fidelity. Whilſt he was in this wavering and diſtreſsful condition of mind, *Metellus*, on a ſudden, came upon him. That part of the *Numidian* army, which the King commanded in perſon, maintained its ground for ſome time; but the reſt was routed and put to flight at the very firſt ſhock. *Jugurtha* made his eſcape, through the deſerts, to *Thala*, a large and wealthy town, the chief repoſitory of his treaſures, and the place where his ſons received their education. Upon advice of theſe particulars, *Metellus*, believing he ſhould put an end to the war, could he but take *Thala*, reſolved to march thither, and inveſt it; though the river that was neareſt to the town was fifty miles diſtant from it, and the whole ſpace, between them, waſte and without water. Leaving his baggage behind, he took with him only ten days proviſion, loading with water, from the river, the beaſts of burthen, and commanding thoſe of the *Numidians* who, after the late battle, had ſubmitted to the *Romans*, to bring him water and proviſions on a certain day at a certain place. It is related that, when he arrived at this place (where the *Numidians* punctually met him according to the orders they had received), there fell ſuch a vaſt quantity of rain, as was alone more than ſufficient for the army; and that the ſoldiers, from a ſuperſtitious turn of mind, preferred the rain-water to that of the river; perſuading themſelves, that the plenteous ſhower was an evidence of their being under the ſpecial protection of the immortal Gods: and this perſuaſion greatly heightened their courage. The next day, contrary to *Jugurtha's* expectation, the *Roman* army appeared before *Thala*. The towns-people, though aſtoniſhed at ſo ſtrange an event (for they had thought themſelves ſufficiently ſecured by the deſert), were not the leſs active and diligent in taking the neceſſary meaſures for defence. But the King, imagining now, that no enterprize of war was too difficult for the *Roman* General, quitted the town in the night, taking with him his children, and a great quantity of his money: nor did he ever, after this, ſtay above one day or one night in the ſame place. He pretended to be upon buſineſs that required haſte; but, in truth, was apprehenſive of treachery, which he hoped to prevent by ſuch continued motion, as muſt hinder the diſaffected from having convenient leiſure and opportunity to form combinations and conſpiracies.

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It was forty days before the *Romans* could, by indefatigable labour and many ſharp conflicts, make themſelves maſters of *Thala*; and even then they were diſappointed of the hoped-for ſpoil: for the *Roman* deſerters, ſo ſoon as they perceived the wall ſhaken by the battering rams, carried the gold and ſilver, and whatever elſe was deemed valuable, into the royal palace;

palace; and when they had there filled themſelves with wine and good cheer, ſet fire to the edifice, chuſing rather to periſh in the flames with the palace and its treaſures, than to fall into the hands of *Metellus* [a General noted for being *cruel**, rather than *juſtly ſevere* to deſerters.]

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* Vid. ſupr. p. 39.

Jugurtha, on his leaving *Thala*, had retired among the *Getulians*, a ſavage [a] people to the ſouth of *Numidia*, who had never heard of the *Roman* name. He gathered a great multitude of theſe together, and taught them ſomething of military diſcipline. Then, by preſents and promiſes, he gained to his intereſt the favourites of his father-in-law [b] *Bocchus*, King of *Mauritania*; and, by their means, engaged him to arm againſt the *Romans*. To this *Bocchus* was the more eaſily perſuaded, becauſe, in the beginning of the war, he had, without ſucceſs, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, with the offer of his friendſhip and alliance. (For though, at that time, nothing could be more ſeaſonable or more advantageous to the Republic than a treaty of alliance with the *Mauritanian*, yet, through the avarice and influence of a few men in power, who would do nothing, right or wrong, but for money, his offer had been rejected).

When the two armies were joined, and the Kings had mutually pledged their faith to each other, *Jugurtha*, to raiſe the anger of the *Mauritanian* againſt the *Romans*, repreſented them as a people injurious, oppreſſive, inſatiably covetous, and the common enemies of mankind. "*They have juſt* "*the ſame cauſe for waging war againſt you, and againſt every independent* "*Prince and State, as againſt me*—THEIR LUST OF DOMINATION. *I* am "*now* regarded as their enemy; *not long ago*, the *Carthaginians* and King "*Perſes* were conſidered in the ſame light; and ſo will every King, here-"after, who ſhall be thought *rich* enough to merit that diſtinction."

The combined armies, upon advice that *Metellus* had lodged his booty and priſoners, together with his heavy baggage, in *Cirta*, bent their march thither. It would amply reward the labour of the enterprize, could they poſſeſs themſelves of the place; and in caſe they ſhould be hindered from ſeizing it, by the *Romans* coming to its relief, yet, at leaſt, a battle would enſue, which, at this time, was what the politic *Numidian* moſt eagerly deſired; leſt *Bocchus*, having leiſure to reflect, ſhould lay aſide his hoſtile purpoſes, and entertain thoughts very different from thoſe of war.

As the *Moors* were a new enemy, with whoſe manner of fighting the *Roman* General was unacquainted, he had not now the ſame forwardneſs, as heretofore, to come to an engagement at all adventures: but, fortifying a camp at a ſmall diſtance from *Cirta*, he there waited an opportunity of giving battle with advantage.

[a] A great part of *Getulia* was ſubject to *Jugurtha*.

[b] *Salluſt* tells us, that ſuch ties of affinity were of little ſtrength among the *Numidians* and *Moors*; becauſe every man being free to take as many wives as he could maintain, the huſband's heart was divided among this variety, and never ſo captivated and engroſſed by any one of his wives, as to make her his companion and friend: he treated them all with equal contempt.

It was during this inaction he received notice, by letters from *Rome*, that the People had aſſigned the province of *Numidia* to *Marius* (their advancing him to the Conſulſhip he had learnt before). *Salluſt* reports, that the grief and vexation of *Metellus* were far beyond what either decency or virtue could allow; "he reſtrained neither his tears nor his tongue; and, "though, in other reſpects, an excellent man, wanted fortitude to maintain "a character of dignity in ſuch adverſe and trying events. Some imputed "his impatience to pride; others to that quick ſenſe, which every man, "conſcious of worthineſs, muſt unavoidably have of contumelious treat-"ment; many thought, that to ſee a victory, which he had gained, "ſnatched out of his hands, was the principal cauſe of his immoderate "concern: but I have been ſufficiently aſſured, that the advancement "of *Marius*, not the wrong done to himſelf, was the inſupportable tor-"ment; and that he would have borne his removal from the province "with more temper, had any other than *Marius* been appointed to ſuc-"ceed him." Y. R. 646. Bef. Chr. 106. 345 Conſ.

Reſtrained, therefore, by the diſcontent of his mind, and *thinking it a folly to purchaſe advantages to another with danger to himſelf, he attempted nothing farther in the way of arms*; but diſpatched deputies to King *Bocchus*, to admoniſh him, "Not to become an enemy of the *Roman* People, "without provocation: that he had now a fine opportunity of entering into "friendſhip and alliance with them, which would be more for his benefit "than a war. That, whatever confidence he might place in his riches or "in his military force, it would be highly imprudent to change cer-"tainties for uncertainties, and blend the affairs of his kingdom, that "were now in a flouriſhing condition, with the deſperate fortune of "*Jugurtha*."

To this the King, with a courteous calmneſs, anſwered, "That *peace* was "what he earneſtly deſired, but that he pitied the misfortunes of *Jugur-"tha*; that if *he* might be included in the treaty, all other matters would, "with eaſe, be amicably adjuſted." The *Roman* General ſent a reply to the King's anſwer; meſſengers from both ſides went backwards and forwards; the time paſſed away; and, *agreeably to the deſire of* Metellus, *no progreſs was made in the war.*

But now the Conſul, *Marius*, who, by his diligence and popularity, had raiſed ſoldiers ſufficient (and ſomewhat more than had been granted him) to compleat the legions, arrived with his recruits at *Utica*. Here the army was delivered up to him by *P. Rutilius*, the Lieutenant of *Metellus*: for this angry General, that he might not have the pain of *ſeeing* thoſe things, which he could not even *hear of* with patience, carefully avoided an encounter with his hated ſucceſſor; and made the beſt of his way to *Rome*. Contrary to his expectation, he was there received with the utmoſt demonſtrations of public joy, and as a man equally dear to the *Senate* and to the *Commons*;

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Commons; the envy of the *latter* [who had triumphantly carried their point] being now entirely ſubſided [a].

It would ſeem, that, after the *Roman* army had been ſtrengthened by the troops which *Marius* brought with him into *Africa*, *Jugurtha* had not the ſame eagerneſs as before to come to a general battle. For no ſooner did the two Kings hear of the Conſul's arrival, than, ſeparating their forces, they retired into places difficult of acceſs, there to watch opportunities when they might ſuddenly iſſue out and fall with advantage upon ſtraggling parties of the *Romans*, who, they hoped, would grow ſecure and remiſs in diſcipline; this being commonly the caſe of ſoldiers, who have laid aſide all fear of an enemy. But *Marius* was too active and cautious to be eaſily ſurprized. By *exerciſing* his new raiſed men in frequent ſkirmiſhes, and in reducing many caſtles and ſmall towns (neither ſtrong by nature, nor well garriſoned), he brought them gradually to be upon an equality with his veterans, both in courage and in the exact obſervance of diſcipline. And, in order to raiſe yet higher the ſpirits of *all* his ſoldiers by experienced proſperity, and by hope ſtill more pleaſing, having led them into a rich and fertile country, and there amaſſed abundance of ſpoil, he moſt graciouſly divided among them the whole.

On the other hand, the two Kings had no ſucceſs in the method, they had choſen, of carrying on the war, for the Conſul ſo watched their motions, as to prevent the execution of any important deſign they could form; and, in frequent inſtances, when either the *Getulians* or the *Numidians*, having pillaged the territories of the *Roman* allies, were going off with their booty, he intercepted, and routed them; and, once, near *Cirta*, he puſhed *Jugurtha* to ſuch extremity, that, to make his eſcape, he was forced to throw off his armour.

But *Marius*, conſidering that enterprizes of this kind, how fortunate ſoever, had more of ſhow than of ſubſtance, and contributed little towards bringing the war to a concluſion, reſolved now to inveſt, one after another, all thoſe fortreſſes and towns of *Numidia*, which, by their ſituation, or garriſons, or numerous inhabitants, gave the enemy any advantage in the

[a] That *Metellus*, for his victories over the *Numidian* King, was honoured with a magnificent triumph, and the ſurname of *Numidicus*, we learn from *Velleius Paterculus*, l. II. c. xi. and from other writers. Nevertheleſs, from what *A. Gellius* reports to have been ſaid by *Metellus*, in a ſpeech to the People, it is concluded, that his triumph had been oppoſed by one of the Tribunes. Qua in re quanto univerſi me unum antiſtatis; tanto vobis quàm mihi majorem injuriam atque contumeliam facit, Quirites: et quanto probi injuriam facilius accipiunt quàm alteri tradunt, tanto ille vobis quàm mihi pejorem honorem habuit: nam me injuriam ferre, vos facere æquum fuit, Quirites: ut hic conqueſtio, iſtic vituperatio relinquatur. *A. Gell.* xii. 9. It is likewiſe reported, that an accuſation of having embezzled the public money was brought againſt *Metellus*: but that, when the accuſer had obliged him (according to cuſtom) to produce his books of account, none of the Judges would look into them, leſt they ſhould ſeem to doubt of his integrity. *Val. Max.* l. II. c. x. *Cic. pro. C. Balb.* c. v. and *Ep. ad* [illegible] l. I. ep. xvi.

war.

war. By this means *Jugurtha*, would be deprived of his ſtrong holds; if he did not come to their relief; or, if he did, would be forced to a battle; in which (for any thing that appeared to the contrary) he muſt depend wholly upon his own forces. For *Bocchus*, either from the levity and inconſtancy of his character, or with a view to deceive and ſurprize the *Roman* army, had frequently ſent meſſengers to the Conſul, with aſſurances, *That he earneſtly deſired to be in friendſhip with the* Romans; who *might, therefore*, (he ſaid) *lay aſide all apprehenſion of hoſtilities from* him. Y. R. 646. Ant. Chr. 106. 115 Coſſ.

Marius, in purſuit of his reſolution, began with caſtles, and certain inconſiderable, but well fortified, towns. Some of theſe he took by aſſault; others he terrified into a ſurrendry; and he reduced others by fair words and promiſes. But when he found that *Jugurtha*, inſtead of coming to their defence, and offering him battle, continued to keep at a great diſtance, wholly buſied in other affairs, he thought the proper time was come for enterprizes of greater importance, and more difficult execution, than any of thoſe in which he had hitherto employed his troops.

Capſa, a large and ſtrong town, ſaid to have been built by the *Lybian Hercules*, ſtood in the midſt of a vaſt deſart: and, as the inhabitants were exempted from paying taxes, and enjoyed other advantages of a gentle government, it was with reaſon believed, that *Jugurtha* might depend upon their fidelity. Againſt an enemy they were well fortified by bulwarks, arms, and men; and ſtill better by the difficulty of approaching them: for, excepting the lands near the town, the whole country around was waſte and barren, without water, and infeſted by ſerpents, animals always pernicious, but more ſo when inflamed by thirſt. The *Roman* General conceived a ſtrong deſire to attempt this place, not only becauſe the reduction of it would be uſeful with regard to the operations of the war, but becauſe it was difficult to effect, and he remembered, that *Metellus* had acquired great honour by the conqueſt of *Thala*, a town for ſituation and ſtrength much like *Capſa*: the difference was, that not far from *Thala* were ſome ſprings of water, whereas the *Capſenſes* had but one ſpring, and *that* was within the town: nor had they any other ſupply of water, but from the heavens [a].

Marius, to conceal his purpoſe, ſent away his Lieutenant, *A. Manlius*, with a detachment of light-armed ſoldiers to the city *Laris*, (where he had placed his military cheſt and his ſtores) telling him that he was going to pillage the country, and would join him in a few days. He then marched directly towards the river *Tana*. As corn was ſcarce [b] and water too, the General made the beſt proviſion he could to ſupply both wants. He had,

[a] *Salluſt* obſerves, that the ſcarcity of water in *Numidia*, and the other inland parts of *Africa*, was by the inhabitants the more eaſily borne, as they lived moſtly upon milk and veniſon, without the uſe of ſalt or any other ſeaſoning that provokes appetite or increaſes thirſt: the purpoſe of eating and drinking, among them, being to ſatisfy a natural hunger and thirſt, not to gratify a fantaſtic luxury.

[b] The *Numidians* were much more ſolicitous about grals for their cattle, than the production of grain; and what corn the land had produced this year, had, by the King's order, been carried into places of defence.

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a few days before, collected a good quantity of cattle: and during his march, he diſtributed, in equal proportions, among the companies of foot and troops of horſe, a certain number of thoſe beaſts, directing that, as faſt as they were killed, bottles ſhould be made of their hides: ſo that when, after ſix days, he arrived at the river, the ſoldiers had made a conſiderable number of leather bottles. Here he halted, and pitched a camp; but gave orders to his men, that, after taking due refreſhment, they ſhould be ready to march at ſun-ſet; at which time, leaving their baggage behind, they were to load themſelves and their beaſts of burden with water, and with nothing elſe.

At the hour appointed *Marius* led out his troops, and having marched all night, encamped again in the morning. Next night he renewed his march; and the third, long before day-break, arrived at a place full of ſmall hills, not above two miles from *Capſa*: there he paſſed the remaining part of the night, taking all poſſible care to avoid being diſcovered. So ſoon as day appeared, the *Capſenſes*, who had no apprehenſion of an enemy in their neighbourhood, came out of the city in great numbers; *Marius* perceived it, and ſtrait commanded his whole cavalry, and likewiſe the ſwifteſt of his infantry, to fly inſtantly to the city, and ſeize the gates: he himſelf followed with all poſſible expedition, nor ſuffered a man of his army to ſtray, for the ſake of plunder. The inhabitants, terrified to exceſs, quite ſtunned with the ſuddenneſs of their calamity, and ſeeing many of their fellow-citizens already in the hands of the enemy, ſurrendered without reſiſtance. *Marius*, nevertheleſs, put to the ſword all the *Numidians* that were able to bear arms, ſold the reſt for ſlaves, and burnt the city, when he had firſt given the plunder of it to his ſoldiers [a].

The execution of ſo important an enterprize without any loſs of men, added greatly to the renown of *Marius*. His ſoldiers (whom he governed with a gentle hand, and enriched with ſpoil) extolled him to the ſkies; while the *Numidians*, on the other hand, dreaded him as a being more than human. Allies and enemies all believed him to be, at leaſt, inſpired, and to act in every thing by the direction of the Gods. After what had happened to the *Capſenſes*, few of the towns, againſt which he advanced,

[a] *Salluſt*, though he confeſſes, that the General's proceeding, in this inſtance, was contrary to the laws of war, ſeems diſpoſed to extenuate the iniquity, by telling us, that *Marius* did not act thus from a ſpirit of covetouſneſs or cruelty, but becauſe the place was very commodious to *Jugurtha*, and not acceſſible to the *Romans* without much difficulty; and *becauſe the people were an inconſtant, perfidious race, not to be kept to duty either by kindneſs or by ſeverity.* But it may here be obſerved, that, if the hiſtorian ſpeaks of the diſpoſition of the *Capſenſes* towards their own Prince, he contradicts what he told us before, *viz.* that *they were eſteemed a people whoſe fidelity might be depended upon*, [fideliſſumi habebantur]. If he means, that *they were perfidious to the* Romans, of *this* the *Romans* could have no experience. The truth ſeems to be, that *Marius* committed this unjuſtifiable, cruel act, in order to bring the war to a ſpeedy concluſion, by terrifying the *Numidians* into a deſertion of all their towns, without waiting till they were attacked: for we find, by the ſequel of the ſtory, that his cruelty had this effect with regard to moſt of them.

made

nade any oppoſition; thoſe which did, he forced; the greater number were deſerted upon his approach; and he gave them all to the flames: over the whole country were ſpread fire, ſlaughter, and deſolation. V. R. 645. Ant. Chr. 106. 345 Conſ.

The Conſul cloſed this campaign with an exploit not leſs difficult in proſpect (if we except what regarded *the march of the army*) than [illegible] been.

Not far from the river *Muluccha*, which divided the kingdom of *Jugurtha* from that of *Bocchus*, there was, in the midſt of a plain, a high and rocky hill, of conſiderable breadth at top; on which ſtood a ſmall fortreſs, or caſtle, well ſtored with men, arms, and proviſions, and furniſhed with a ſpring of water. The way up to this caſtle was very narrow, and, on each ſide, bordered with a precipice: the reſt of the hill nature had formed in every part, with ſuch a declivity, as, for its ſteepneſs, might well be taken for the effect of human contrivance and induſtry; mounds and turrets, and the other machinery commonly uſed in ſieges, could not be employed here. Nevertheleſs, as *Jugurtha* had here depoſited his treaſures, *Marius* ſet his heart upon making the conqueſt. The ſucceſs of his firſt efforts did not correſpond to his hope. To get up to the caſtle, by the narrow way above mentioned, was repeatedly attempted in vain. The enemy, with eaſe, broke to pieces his covered galleries [*vineæ*,] or deſtroyed them with fire: inſomuch that, after loſing a conſiderable number of his braveſt ſoldiers, he began to think of entirely dropping the enterprize. While his mind was in reſtleſs anxiety, fluctuating and undetermined, a *Ligurian*, of the auxiliary troops, going out of the camp, in ſearch of water, obſerved, on the ſide of the hill (oppoſite to that ſide where the *Romans* made their attack) ſome ſnails crawling about the rocks: he picked up one, and then another, and continued climbing, in purſuit of more, till inſenſibly he got almoſt to the ſummit. Not meeting with any thing to check his progreſs, natural curioſity prompted him to proceed. In the place, where he chanced then to be, was a tall oak, which, growing out of the ſide of the hill, had been forced, by the rocky ſoil, to tend downward at firſt; but, when freed from that conſtraint, had taken a turn, and ſprung upward, as all trees naturally do. The *Ligurian*, availing himſelf, one while of the branches of this tree, and then of the prominences of the rocks, mounted, at length, ſo high, as to be able to take a view of the level on which the fortreſs ſtood; nor was he, in any degree, diſturbed in his ſurvey, the attention of the *Numidians* being wholly engroſſed by the conflict on the oppoſite ſide. When he had made ſuch obſervations above, as he thought might afterwards be of uſe, he came down by the ſame way he had gone up, but with more thought and circumſpection, conſidering carefully every ſtep of the deſcent.

And now highly pleaſed with his important diſcoveries, away he ſpeeds to the General, informs him of all, preſſes him to attempt the fortreſs on that ſide, and offers to be himſelf foremoſt in the danger, conductor of

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the troops that ſhould be appointed to the ſervice. The General immediately orders ſome of his attendants to go with the *Ligurian*, and examine into the truth of his report. Of theſe though ſome bring word that the thing is difficult, yet, others affirming it to be eaſy, *Marius*'s hope of conqueſt is revived, and he reſolves to make the experiment.

Out of the trumpeters belonging to the army, the Conſul choſe five, that were deemed the moſt active and nimble of the whole corps; and he gave to theſe, for a guard, four centurions [with their companies], commanding all to obſerve the directions of the *Ligurian*, and appointing the very next day for the execution of the deſign.

The ſoldiers of the detachment were bareheaded (that they might the better ſee their way,) and barefooted (that they might climb the more eaſily) and being wonderfully aſſiſted by the dextrous activity of their guide (as the hiſtorian relates the adventure), made a ſhift, though with great difficulty, to mount to the top of the hill. *Marius*, in the mean time, had only kept the enemy in a continued alarm, in order to fix their attention wholly to his ſide; but now, having learnt how far his detachment had ſucceeded, he ſallied out of his covered galleries, and, cauſing his men to form a *Tortoiſe*, that is, to cover themſelves with their ſhields cloſe compacted, led them on towards the fort: his archers, ſlingers, and engines for caſting ſtones and darts, he employed, at the ſame time, to diſtreſs the enemy. The beſieged, emboldened by former ſucceſſes, fought now, not behind, but before the walls of their caſtle; and the defence they made was vigorous and reſolute, till, on a ſudden, they heard the ſound of trumpets behind them. Conſternation, flight, diſperſion and deſpair, enſued. The *Romans* puſhing on, over heaps of ſlain, quite to the caſtle, entered with the fugitives (or ſcaled the walls), and became maſters of the place[a]. And thus had *Marius* the good fortune to draw glory to himſelf, even from his own inexcuſable temerity.

It was during the ſiege of this fortreſs, that the Conſul's Quæſtor, *Lucius Cornelius Sylla*, made his firſt appearance in the camp; bringing with him a conſiderable body of horſe, which, in purſuance of orders from his General, he had raiſed in *Latium*, and among the Allies.

[a] The particulars of this action, as related by *Salluſt*, if the reader underſtands them, it is well; the tranſcriber confeſſes he does not. The fort ſeems to have been taken by ſurprize, much in the ſame manner as the *Engliſh* ſailors took *Gibraltar*, in 1704: but, as to *Marius*'s advancing his *vineæ* almoſt to the walls of the caſtle, and his being engaged in conflict with the *Numidians* under the walls of it, this ſeems inconſiſtent with the hiſtorian's account of the difficulty of aſcending thither. MONS SAXEUS *mediocri caſtello, ſatis patens;* IN IMMENSUM EDITUS, UNO PER ANGUSTO ADITU RELICTO, *omnis natura, velut opere, atque conſulto præceps.*—ITER *caſtellanorum* ANGUSTUM *admodum,* UTRINQUE PRÆCISUM; VINEÆ *cum ingenti periculo* FRUSTRA *agebantur. Nam* CUM EA PAULO PROCESSERANT, IGNI, AUT, LAPIDIBUS CORRUMPEBANTUR; MILITES NEQUE PRO OPERE CONSISTERE PROPTER INIQUITATEM LOCI; *neque inter vineas ſine periculo adminiſtrare; optumus quiſque cadere, aut ſauciari; cæteris metus augeri.*

Sylla

Sylla was descended from *Cornelius Ruffinus*, whom, in the year 478, after he had been twice Consul and once Dictator, the Censors *Fabricius* and *Æmilius* expelled the Senate for having ten pounds of silver plate in his house[4]: and this branch of the noble *Cornelian* family had made no figure in the Republic since that time, and was almost sunk into obscurity, as well as poverty, when "*Sylla* produced it again into light, by aspiring to the "honours of the State. He had been carefully instituted in all the learning of *Greece* and *Rome*; but, from a peculiar gaiety of temper, and "fondness for the company of mimics and players, was drawn, when young, "into a life of luxury and pleasure; so that *Marius*, [if we may believe "*Valerius Maxim.*] complained, that, in so rough and desperate a service, "Chance had given him *so soft and delicate a Quæstor*. When he arrived "in *Africa* he knew nothing of the art of war: but, whether roused by "the example, or stung by the reproach, of his General, he behaved himself in the *Quæstorship* with the greatest vigour and courage, suffering no "man to out-do him in any part of military duty or labour." Backward to receive favours, eager to *requite*, when he had received; ready to assist all who asked his assistance, and even doing kind offices to many without waiting to be asked; making himself equal and familiar to the lowest of the soldiers, and yet, in his converse with them, never seeking to wound the reputation of his General, or of any other worthy person (the common practice, says *Sallust*, of wicked ambition); by all this he soon acquired, not only the character of a brave and skilful officer, but the affection both of *Marius* and of the whole army.

Y. R 646. Bef. Chr. 106. 745 Cons.

Middleton's Life of Cicero.

Jugurtha, after the loss of *Capsa*, and other his best fortified and most important places, together with an immense treasure, became sensible that nothing could retrieve his affairs, but a victory in the field: he sent messengers therefore to King *Bocchus* to urge him to march his forces with all possible expedition into *Numidia*; for that now was the time to give battle to the enemy. The *Mauritanian* demurred; it was found necessary to bribe his Ministers; nor could these prevail till he himself was bribed with the promise from *Jugurtha*, of a *third part* of *Numidia*, in case the *Romans* should be driven out of *Africa*; or the *Numidian* King, by a treaty of Peace, be left in possession of his dominions entire. Allured by this offer. *Bocchus* came with a numerous army to the assistance of his ally. *Marius* was moving off towards his winter-quarters, when, about an hour before night, he found himself, on a sudden, encompassed on all sides by the united forces of the two Kings. They had chosen not to appear till towards the close of the day, because *darkness*, in case they were defeated, would be advantageous to them; and, in case they proved victorious, would be no disadvantage, they being well acquainted with the country; whereas, in both cases, to the *Romans*, who were strangers, the

Plut. in *Sylla*. *Vell. Pat.* l. ii. *Val. Max.* VI. ix. *Sallust.*

night

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night would unavoidably create difficulties and perplexity. The Conſul's army being attacked and broken in upon in divers parts, before he could put it in any order for battle, or give out any word of command, the ſoldiers, both old and new (for theſe latter had learnt ſo much of the art of war, threw themſelves into circular bodies, and thus, fronting every way, ſuſtained the charge of the enemy. In this ſurprize, hurry, and confuſion, *Marius*, though unable to perform *all* the functions of a General, yet, with a troop which conſtantly attended him (and which he had filled with men choſen rather for their bravery than on account of any perſonal regard), flew about to every quarter, one while ſuccouring his own people in diſtreſs, then falling in amongſt the thickeſt of the enemy, and ſtill fighting valiantly in perſon; ſo that he both aſſiſted his ſoldiers and gave them an example of courage unappalled by danger. The day was now ſpent, and the ardour of the barbarians did not ſlacken, but rather increaſed, from the perſuaſion they had, that the night would be favourable to them.

Marius, counſelled by the diſtreſs of his ſituation, in order to ſecure a retreat for his men, ſeized upon two hills that ſtood very near each other; on the one, not ſpacious enough for an encampment, yet happily furniſhing a plenteous ſpring of water, he directed *Sylla* to paſs the night with the cavalry: he himſelf, having gradually drawn together his diſordered infantry, led them up the other hill, which, for the moſt part being high and ſteep, and, therefore, requiring little fortification, was very commodious for a camp. The two Kings, though compelled to ceaſe the fight by the difficulty of following him, did not ſuffer their forces to retire, but made them ſpread themſelves round both hills: and theſe barbarians, having kindled many fires, ſpent the greater part of the night in mirth and riot, dancing and ſhouting; which was their cuſtomary manner on the like occaſions: even the leaders, becauſe they had not run away, were highly elated, and behaved themſelves as if they had been victorious. *Marius*, from his hill, perceiving their folly, forbad the uſual ſounding of the trumpets at the watches of the night, and ordered a perfect ſilence to be kept throughout his camp: but, when morning approached, and the barbarians, fatigued with their ſports, were fallen aſleep he commanded the trumpeters of his army to ſound all at once, and all the ſoldiers to give a ſhout, pouring down at the ſame time, upon the enemy; who, awaking ſuddenly at the noiſe, were ſo ſtruck and ſtupified with fear, as to be incapable of attempting a defence. More of the *Africans* are ſaid to have periſhed in this ſurprize, than in all the former battles.

And now the Conſul renewed his purpoſe of retiring into winter-quarters; and, becauſe of the plenty of proviſions always to be had in the maritime towns, thither he bent his courſe. In this march, notwithſtanding his late ſucceſs, and the total diſappearing of the enemy, he

uſed the ſame circumſpection and precaution, as if their forces had been in ſight. The army advanced in the form of a ſquare: on the *right* of which were the cavalry, commanded by *Sylla*; on the *left*, *Manlius* with the archers and ſlingers and the *Ligurian* cohorts: before the front and behind the rear of the main body marched the light-armed infantry, under the conduct of the Tribunes: the deſerters, of ſmall account as ſoldiers, yet uſeful, becauſe acquainted with the country, were ſent out to *diſcover*. At the ſame time, the Conſul, as if he had appointed no officers under him, was himſelf every where, attentive to every thing, commending, and reprimanding, with juſt diſtinction. Nor was he leſs careful in a camp, than on a march. Going the rounds in perſon, he viſited the watch and every quarter; not ſo much from any diſtruſt of thoſe employed to execute his orders, as from a perſuaſion, that the ſoldiers would more willingly ſubmit to labour and fatigue, if they ſaw their General partake with them therein. And, indeed, during the whole time that he had the conduct of this war, he kept his men in good diſcipline more by the fear of ſhame, than of puniſhment. Many imputed this to ambition, and to a deſire of ingratiating himſelf with the ſoldiers; while ſome imagined, that being inured, from his early youth, to hardſhips and labours, he took a real delight in what the reſt of the world call diſtreſs and miſery. Be that as it will, this is certain, the intereſt and honour of the Republic could not have been more advanced by the exerciſe of the utmoſt rigour in command, than they were by his mild and gentle methods. Y.R. 646. Bef. Chr. 106. 345 Conf.

After four days march, when the *Roman* army drew near to *Cirta*, the ſcouts, which *Marius* had ſent out, appearing on a ſudden, haſtening back, all at the ſame time; a ſure ſign that the forces of the enemy were not far off. But as theſe ſcouts came from different quarters, and yet made one and the ſame report of the enemy's approach, the Conſul could not poſſibly know on which ſide he ſhould be attacked. To be prepared, therefore, on every ſide, to ſuſtain the charge, he kept his men in the very order of their march, and halted where he then was. This meaſure diſappointed *Jugurtha*: for he had divided his ſtrength into four parts, flattering himſelf that ſome one of them would certainly have an opportunity of coming upon the backs of the *Romans*. The *Mooriſh* horſe began the action, boldly charging the *Roman* cavalry, commanded by *Sylla*, who diſcovered great ability as well as reſolution in ſuſtaining the ſhock and repulſing the enemy. During this conflict King *Bocchus*, at the head of a body of foot, juſt brought him by his ſon *Volux* (who, loitering in his march, had not been in the former battle), attacked the rear-guard of the *Roman* army. *Jugurtha*, with the moſt numerous diviſion of his troops, faced the *Roman* van, conducted by *Marius* in perſon: but he no ſooner received advice of *Bocchus*'s being come up, than he privately, with a few attendants, wheeled

V. R. 646. Bef. Chr. 106. 745 Conſ.

wheeled off to that King's body of Infantry, crying aloud, as he joined them, *It is in vain for the* Romans *to continue the fight; for I have juſt now killed* Marius *with my own hand.* And this he ſpoke in *Latin*[b], that the *Roman* ſoldiers might underſtand him: at the ſame time he ſhewed them his ſword, red with the blood of a foot ſoldier, whom, with his own hand, he had killed a little before. How much reaſon ſoever the *Romans* had to ſuſpect the veracity of the reporter, it did not hinder the report from having, in great meaſure, the deſired effect. They were terrified and diſheartened; while, on the other hand, the barbarians, inſpired with freſh courage, puſhed their enemies with more vigour and fury than before: inſomuch that theſe were on the very point of running away, when *Sylla*, who had routed the cavalry of the *Moors*, and was happily returned from the purſuit, recovered the day by falling ſuddenly on the flank of their infantry. King *Bocchus* inſtantly fled. *Jugurtha*, tenacious of the advantage gained by means of his ſtratagem, obſtinately continued the fight, till the few horſemen that attended him were all ſlain, and he found himſelf incloſed on the right and left by the *Roman* cavalry: ſingle he then broke through all oppoſition, eſcaping unhurt by a ſhower of darts that were thrown at him as he went off. About the ſame time, the Conſul, who, after putting the *Numidian* horſe to flight, received notice, that his rear-guard had given ground, was coming with all diligence to their ſuccour. In concluſion, the *Africans* were totally routed on every ſide[c].

Marius, now unqueſtionably conqueror, and purſuing his march without further moleſtation, arrived at *Cirta*. Hither, about five days after the battle, came Ambaſſadors from King *Bocchus*, with this requeſt, "That "the Conſul would be pleaſed to ſend to him two perſons, of principal "truſt, with whom he might amicably confer upon matters which con- "cerned both his intereſt and that of the *Roman* people." The Conſul, without delay, diſpatched *Manlius* and *Sylla*, to negotiate with the *Moor*. Theſe deputies, though ſent to the King at *his* deſire, judged it adviſeable to ſpeak to him, before they heard what he had to ſay to them: to the end that, if he were inclined to war, they might, by their rhetoric, diſpoſe him to peace, and, if deſirous of peace, add more warmth to that deſire.

Sylla, to whom, not as ſenior, but as the more eloquent, *Manlius*, on this occaſion, yeilded the precedence, addreſſed the King in words to the following effect.

[b] *Jugurtha* had learnt the *Latin* tongue in *Spain*, while he ſerved under *Scipio*, at the ſiege of *Numantia*.

[c] According to *Oroſius*, (lib. V. cap. xv.) the action, near *Cirta* laſted three days. At length, the victory fell to *Marius* by means of a mighty fall of rain, which, while it refreſhed the *Romans*, faint with thirſt, rendered uſeleſs the ſhields of the barbarians. For being covered with elephants ſkin, the nature of which (he ſays) is to ſuck in water like a ſponge, they became too heavy for the arm.

"King

" King *Bocchus*, it is a ſingular pleaſure to us, that the Gods have Y.R. 646.
" at length diſpoſed ſo great and worthy a man as you to be our friend Bef. Chr.
" rather than our foe; and have admoniſhed you to break that unnatu- 106.
" ral union, which, to the injury of your own moſt excellent character, 345 Conſ.
" you had formed with *Jugurtha*, the very worſt of men. We, to
" our inexpreſſible joy, are hereby freed from the odious neceſſity of pur-
" ſuing, with one and the ſame undiſtinguiſhing ſword of vengeance, *him*,
" the moſt criminal of offenders, and *you*, who have only been led into a
" miſtake."

Having thus paid the due compliment to the King's tranſcendent merit, the orator proceeded to *inform* him, " That the *Romans* had always, even
" from their low beginning, made it their choice to have friends rather
" than ſlaves, and had thought it ſafer to rule over willing ſubjects than
" ſuch as are compelled to obedience. [Do you want an ally?] It is im-
" poſſible for you to have a more commodious alliance than ours: be-
" cauſe, in the firſt place, we are at a great diſtance from you, ſo that
" there cannot eaſily happen any occaſion of quarrel between us; and yet
" we can be as friendly and ſerviceable to you, as if we were your near
" neighbours; and, in the next place, we have vaſſals in abundance,
" more than enough; but neither we nor any other people ever ſo aboun-
" ded with friends, as not to wiſh for more."

After theſe, and ſome other ſuch like empty words, they intimated to him, " that he had now a fine opportunity of correcting his miſtake, and
" that the *Romans* were a people who never ſuffered themſelves to be out-
" done in acts of kindneſs."

Bocchus is ſaid to have anſwered in very ſoft and gentle terms, apologizing for his error, and aſſuring the deputies, " That he had taken arms
" with no purpoſe of hoſtility againſt the *Romans*, but purely to defend
" his own territories, being unable patiently to ſee a part of *Numidia*,
" which, by right of war, belonged to him, as having conquered it from
" *Jugurtha*, laid waſte by *Marius*. That he had formerly ſent Ambaſſa- Vide ſupr.
" dors to *Rome* with an offer of his friendſhip, and that his offer had been p. 54.
" rejected: that, however, he choſe to be ſilent on that head, and ſhould
" willingly now, if *Marius* would give permiſſion, diſpatch a ſecond Em-
" baſſy to the *Roman* Senate."

It would ſeem that *Manlius* and *Sylla* expreſſed their approbation of this propoſal: yet we find that it was not put in execution till ſome time after their departure. For *Jugurtha*, being informed of their arrival, and fearing the conſequences, had, by rich bribes, gained to his intereſt ſome of the King's favourites; and, through the influence of theſe, the *Moor* fluctuated awhile in uncertainty and irreſolution. At length his fear of the *Romans* got the aſcendant in his mind; and he then appointed five of his chief confidents, men of approved fidelity and ability, to be his Ambaſſadors to *Marius*: and they were ſecretly empowered to conclude a peace upon *any*

Y.R. 646. Bef. Chr. 106. 345 Conſ. *terms*, in caſe the Conſul permitted their proceeding to *Rome*, to negotiate that affair.

Marius, after diſpoſing his troops in winter-quarters, had, with a detachment of his cavalry and light-armed cohorts, made an excurſion into a ſolitary part of the country, there to beſiege a tower, wholly garriſoned by *Roman* deſerters; and he was at this time engaged in that enterpriſe.

The *Mooriſh* Ambaſſadors, in their journey to the winter-quarters of the *Roman* army, fell into the hands of ſome *Getulian* robbers, and were by them ſtript ſo bare, that when they appeared before *Sylla*, who, in the abſence of *Marius*, commanded in chief, they made a moſt deſpicable figure. *Sylla*, nevertheleſs, received them with all the reſpectful civility due to their character, and not only ſupplied them with every thing neceſſary, but, over and above, made them noble preſents; a liberality, which wrought on their minds with ſuch power, as to convince them fully, that all the reports, they had heard of *Roman avarice*, were falſe: and that *Sylla* was ſincerely their friend. *For, even at that time* (ſays the* hiſtorian) *there were many perſons ignorant of the practice of* giving, *in order to* corrupt, *and who imagined that no man was munificent but from good-will: that all preſents were unqueſtionable proofs of kindneſs.* Under the force of this perſuaſion, the Ambaſſadors of King *Bocchus* diſcloſed to their *Roman* friend the whole of their inſtructions, requeſting his advice and aſſiſtance in the buſineſs committed to their care. *Sylla* promiſed every thing they aſked, and counſelled them in what manner to addreſs the Conſul, and, afterwards, the Senate.

* Cap. cxi.

Forty days they had been waiting to perform their commiſſion to *Marius*, when he, having failed in his enterpriſe, returned to *Cirta*; and from thence (being there informed of their arrival) ſignified his pleaſure, that they and *Sylla* ſhould come to him from *Utica*: he ſummoned likewiſe the Prætor of that place, and from every quarter of the province, ſuch of the *Romans* as were of Senatorian rank. Before this Council he laid the buſineſs with which the King had charged his miniſters; and the reſult of the deliberation was, *Permiſſion to them to proceed to* Rome; *and a ceſſation of all hoſtilities till their return.* Of the five *Moors*, three ſet out for *Italy*; the other two returned to the King; who, though he heard with pleaſure all the particulars of their report, was with nothing ſo much delighted as with their account of that extraordinary warmth of friendſhip which *Sylla* had for him.

Y.R. 647. Bef. Chr. 105. 346 Conſ. About this time the conſular faſces were transferred to *C. Atilius Serranus*, and *Q. Servilius Cæpio* [b]; but *Marius*, in quality of Proconſul, remained, by order, at the head of affairs in *Africa.*

[b] This Conſulſhip was memorable for the birth of *Pompey the Great*, and of *Cicero*. *Vell. Pat.* lib. ii. *A. Gell.* lib. xv. cap. 28.]

The

The *Mooriſh* Ambaſſadors arrived at *Rome*, and had an audience of the Senate; where, having firſt confeſſed that their maſter, miſled by the wicked artifices of *Jugurtha*, had been faulty, they prayed, that he might be forgiven his fault, and be admitted into *friendſhip* and an *alliance* with the *Roman* Republic. Y. R. 647. Bef. Chr. 105. 346 Conſ.

To which humble addreſs they received this anſwer:

"The Senate and People of *Rome* are not accuſtomed to forget either "ſervices or injuries. Since *Bocchus* repents of his fault, they grant him "pardon. Friendſhip and an alliance he ſhall obtain, when he has de- "ſerved them."

Bocchus, on receiving advice of what had paſſed, requeſted of *Marius*, by letter, to ſend *Sylla* to him once more. The Proconſul complied: *Sylla*, eſcorted by a detachment of cavalry and light armed infantry, ſet out for *Mauritania*. On the fifth day of his journey, a body of horſe appeared on a ſudden, in a wide plain. They did not exceed 1000, yet, by the looſe order of their march, were ſo ſpread as to ſeem much more numerous to the *Romans*; who likewiſe imagined them to be enemies, and therefore inſtantly prepared to receive them as ſuch. This apprehenſion of danger was, however, quickly removed by the return and report of ſome horſemen ſent out to *diſcover*. And preſently after, VOLUX, the ſon of *Bocchus*, riding up, and addreſſing himſelf to the Quæſtor, informed him, that *The troops he ſaw had been ſent by the King to meet him, and to be his guard.* After this, the two corps joined; and they marched that day and the next without any alarm. But, in the evening, when they had pitched their camp, *Volux*, with a look of conſternation and diſtreſs, comes haſtily to *Sylla*, tells him, *Jugurtha is not far off; the ſcouts have brought this intelligence*; entreats and preſſes him to ſteal away privately in the night, and begs to be the ſole companion of his flight.

Sylla diſdainfully anſwered, That *he neither feared the* Numidian, *who had been ſo often routed; nor diſtruſted the courage of his own men; but, were he ſure to periſh, he would ſtand his ground, rather than, by treacherouſly deſerting ſoldiers committed to his conduct, preſerve an uncertain life, which he might poſſibly loſe in a very ſhort time by ſome natural and common diſtemper.*

Nevertheleſs, when *Volux* adviſed that the whole army ſhould move off in the dark, the Quæſtor approved of this meaſure; and, accordingly, gave orders, that the ſoldiers, when they had ſupped and lighted many fires in the camp, ſhould ſet forward at the firſt watch of the night.

At ſun-riſe, when, all being thoroughly fatigued with their nocturnal march, *Sylla* was marking out ground for a camp, the *Mooriſh* ſcouts brought tidings, that about two miles before them, directly in their way, *Jugurtha* had poſted himſelf with all his forces. The *Roman* ſoldiers, in mighty conſternation, preſently imagined themſelves betrayed by *Volux*; and ſome were for executing vengeance upon the traitor without delay.

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Sylla had the ſame ſuſpicion of the young Prince, yet would not ſuffer him to be hurt. He exhorted his *Romans* to call up all their courage, putting them in mind, that, in frequent inſtances, a few brave men had prevailed againſt multitudes: he invoked *Jupiter* to witneſs the perfidious wickedneſs of *Bocchus*; and then, turning to the Prince, "Volux, *you* "*have the heart and intentions of an enemy*; *begone out of my camp this* "*inſtant!*" The Prince, with tears in his eyes, begged of the Quæſtor *not to harbour that ſuſpicion*, aſſuring him, that *what had happened was wholly owing to the vigilant ſubtilty of* Jugurtha. "By his ſpies, he "got notice of my coming to meet you, and learnt the route I was to "take. However, ſince he has no great numbers with him, and has "placed in my father all his hopes, it is not probable he will venture "upon any open attempt, while I am here. So that I think the beſt "courſe will be, confidently to purſue our way, and march through the "very midſt of his camp. I will either ſend my *Moors* forwards, or leave "them here, behind, as you ſhall chuſe, and I will, alone, accompany "you."

Nothing more adviſeable occurring to *Sylla*'s thoughts, and his critical ſituation not allowing time to deliberate, he followed the Prince's counſel; which, by the event, appeared to have been both ſincere and judicious: for they paſſed on ſafe and unmoleſted; and, in a few days, they arrived at the place whither they had been directed to go.

[The hiſtorian accounts for the *inaction* of *Jugurtha*, on this occaſion, by ſuppoſing him to be held in ſuſpence and irreſolution by *ſurprize*, as not having imagined that the *Romans* would come on: but, perhaps, it would be better accounted for, by ſaying, that the *Numidian* was too able a politician, to act ſo very fooliſh a part, as what they had apprehended.]

There was at this time in the court of King *Bocchus*, and upon a foot of freedom and familiarity with him, a certain *Numidian*, named *Aſpar*, whom *Jugurtha* (having received intelligence of *Sylla*'s being ſent for) had diſpatched thither, to be a ſpy upon the actions of the *Moor*, and to diſcover his intentions. *Dabar*, another *Numidian*, was likewiſe about the King, at the ſame time, and highly favoured by him, on account of his many excellent talents. This man, [whoſe father was the ſon of *Maſiniſſa*, by a concubine, had, in many inſtances, ſhewed himſelf a zealous friend to the *Roman* intereſt: for which reaſon the *Moor* fixed his choice on him as the fitteſt perſon he could employ, to be his meſſenger to the *Roman* Quæſtor: and he gave him in charge, thus to ſay:

"*Bocchus* is ready to perform whatever the *Roman People* require of "him. He refers it to you, *Sylla*, to appoint the place and time for your "conference. *Aſpar* muſt be ſummoned to it; otherwiſe it will be impoſſible "to avoid the inſidious wiles of his maſter: but you need not apprehend any "inconve-

" inconvenience from the preſence of that miniſter: for the ſettling of all " matters ſhall be private, between *Bocchus* and you alone." Y.R. 647. Bef. Chr. 105. 346 Conſ.

Sylla anſwered, that " he would not ſpeak fully of the buſineſs of his " commiſſion, but to the King, when no other perſon was preſent, or, at " moſt, very few; and that what he purpoſed to ſay before *Aſpar* would " be very ſhort." At the ſame time, he furniſhed *Dabar* with the anſwer which the King was to give to it.

Place and time were appointed, and the parties, accordingly, met. *Sylla*, addreſſing himſelf to the King, " *I was ſent by the* Roman *Conſul to aſk* " *you, whether you are for peace or war.*" To which *Bocchus*, purſuant to his inſtructions, " *If you will come hither again ten days hence, you ſhall* " *have an anſwer. I am not, at preſent, reſolved.*" This ſaid, each retired to his camp. But, when the night was far ſpent, the King ſent privately for *Sylla*, who being come, and no body elſe preſent, except truſty interpreters, and *Dabar*, who was ſworn to ſecrecy, *Bocchus* opened the conference with a ſpeech. If the ſpeech given us by *Salluſt* be genuine [*], it may, perhaps, for unmeaning words, vie with that, which *Sylla* formerly made to the King. Vide ſupra, p. 65.

What *Bocchus* ſaid to the purpoſe was this: " That he would, " henceforward, take no part in the war between the *Romans* and " *Jugurtha*; would never ſtir beyond the river *Mulucha*, which had " been the boundary between himſelf and *Micipſa*; nor ever ſuffer " *Jugurtha* to come within that limit." He added, " if you have any " thing further to aſk, worthy of me and of the *Romans*, it ſhall not be " refuſed."

To this *Sylla* anſwered, " That the *Roman* arms having been ſucceſſ- " ful in the war, the Senate and People of *Rome* could not poſſibly " think themſelves under any obligation to him for the offers he had " made: that, if he deſired to oblige them, he muſt do ſomething that " would appear to be done for their intereſt more than for his own; " and that this would not be difficult: for, as he had now *Jugurtha* in his " power, he might deliver him up to the *Romans*; who would, *then* " indeed, be greatly indebted to him, and *then* every thing he deſired, " would follow of courſe, *friendſhip*, *alliance*, and that *part of Numidia* " which he claimed."

Bocchus objected " His ties of affinity and conſanguinity with the " *Numidian*, the treaty of confederacy between them, as likewiſe the " danger to himſelf, ſhould he act ſo faithleſs a part, of thereby loſing the " affections of his people, who loved *Jugurtha*, and hated the *Romans*:" Nevertheleſs, wearied out by importunate ſolicitation, the *Moor* conſented,

[*] *Salluſt* pretends (ſeemingly without any good reaſon) that *Bocchus* was not ſincere in this meſſage; and that he was, a long time, in debate with himſelf, Whether he ſhould betray *Jugurtha* to *Sylla*, or *Sylla* to *Jugurtha*. *Sed ego comperio*, Bocchum *magis Punica fide quam*, &c.

Y.R. 647. Bef. Chr. 105. 346 Conſ.

at length, to do all that *Sylla* deſired, and it was then agreed to deceive *Jugurtha*, by making him hope, he ſhould be included in the treaty of peace between *Rome* and *Mauritania*.

Accordingly, *Bocchus*, the day following, intimated to *Aſpar*, that the *Romans* were willing to terminate the war upon *conditions*; that he had learnt this from *Sylla* by *Dabar*, and, therefore, wiſhed to know the diſpoſition of the *Numidian* King. Away went *Aſpar*, full of joy, to the camp of his maſter: and, after eight days, returned with this anſwer: "*Jugurtha* would gladly come into any meaſures for putting an end "to the war; but having, more than once, experienced, that treaties, "made with *Roman* Generals, are vain and ineffectual, has little reaſon "to truſt *Marius*. If *Bocchus* be deſirous of procuring a peace, that ſhall "be durable and advantageous, both to himſelf and to his ally, let him "contrive a meeting of all the parties, as if to confer about peace, and "there deliver up *Sylla* into the hands of *Jugurtha*. A valid treaty, a "treaty made by order of the Senate and People of *Rome*, will then in-"fallibly enſue: for they will never ſuffer to remain in the power of his "enemies ſuch a man [a] as *Sylla*, a man of his importance, a *Roman Noble*, "fallen

[a] *Talem Virum. Salluſt*, when he puts theſe words into the mouth of *Jugurtha*, ſeems to have forgot that *Sylla* was, at this time, a man of very little conſequence. His family, though noble, had ſunk into obſcurity, his fortune was low, nor does either his reputation or his intereſt ſeem to have riſen to any conſiderable height, before the *Social* War. He could not obtain the *Praetorſhip* till he was paſt the legal age; and, when he did obtain it, it was thought to be by the force of bribes.

But, perhaps, the hiſtorian by *talem virum* means no more than that *Sylla* was QUÆSTOR of the *Roman* army, and *homo nobilis*, as he ſtiles him in the ſame paſſage.

As to *Jugurtha*'s attempt to perſuade King *Bocchus*, that the moſt effectual means to obtain from the *Romans*, an advantageous and durable peace, would be, to betray a *Roman* Quæſtor (then bearing the character, too, of an Ambaſſador) into the hands of their moſt hated enemy, it only indicates, that the *Numidian* looked upon the *Moor* as a very weak Prince, and wholly unacquainted with the temper of his enemies. For, that *Jugurtha* himſelf did not imagine, he ſhould be enabled, by the poſſeſſion of *Sylla*'s perſon, to procure a peace with *Rome*, we may well conclude from his neglecting to ſeize him *, when he with *Volux* (not long before,) in their way to the court of *Mauritania*, paſſed through the *Numidian* camp. Doubtleſs, *Jugurtha*'s ſole view in his endeavours to engage King *Bocchus* in ſo unpardonable an act of treachery, was to make the condition of the *Moor* as deſperate as his own; in which caſe he might have counted upon the ſteadineſs of his ally, and been able to hold out ſome years longer againſt the *Romans*.

This, I ſay, from the idea given us by the hiſtorians of *Jugurtha*'s abilities, we ſhou'd naturally conjecture to have been the aim of his proceeding; Not *a peace with* Rome, but *means to continue the war*.

At the ſame time it muſt be confeſſed, that ſome parts of *Jugurtha*'s conduct ſeem quite irreconcileable with common ſenſe, and would incline one to believe, that he was really frighted out of his wits.

A late excellent writer obſerves, that "nothing is more common than to ſee men give themſelves up to a PASSION---to their known prejudice and ruin, and in direct contradiction to the loudeſt calls of SELF-LOVE.---Every caprice of the imagination, every curioſity of the underſtanding, every affection of the heart, is perpetually "ſhewing its weakneſs [the weakneſs of SELF-"LOVE] by prevailing over it. Men daily, "hourly,

* Vide ſupra, p. 68.

" fallen into captivity, not through cowardice, or any neglect of duty, but " through a warm zeal to ſerve his country." Y.R. 647. Bef. Chr. 105. 346 Conſ.

Bocchus, when he had a good while pondered this advice, promiſed to follow it. But whether he, at that time, meant to perform his promiſe (the hiſtorian tells us) is uncertain: becauſe, though he frequently renewed it, he as often gave the like promiſe to *Sylla*.

In the night, preceding the day appointed for the conference, the *Moor* gathered about him his chief confidents, changed his mind on a ſudden, diſmiſſed them, and fell into great perturbation of mind; betraying, by the frequent alterations of his countenance, the inward ſtruggles by which he was agitated. At length, however, he ſent for *Sylla*, and, in concert with him, laid an ambuſh for the *Numidian* King.

Next morning, upon notice brought that *Jugurtha* was not far off, *Bocchus*, as if to do him honour, went out, accompanied by a few courtiers, and by the *Roman* Quæſtor, to meet him at a certain eminence, that was in view of the men lying in wait. To this eminence the *Numidian*, attended by a conſiderable number of his friends, came unarmed, according to agreement. The ſignal inſtantly given, the ambuſh roſe, ſurrounded *Jugurtha* and his followers, ſeized him, and maſſacred them: he was delivered up bound into the hands of *Sylla*, and, by him, conducted to *Marius*.

Thus ended [b] the *Jugurthine War*, to the real diſhonour of both *Marius*

" hourly, ſacrifice *the greateſt known intereſt* " to fancy, inquiſitiveneſs, love, or hatred, " any vagrant inclination."

Therefore, that *Jugurtha*, whoſe greateſt intereſt *(that which his habitual* SELF-LOVE *called loudeſt for)* was *the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the kingdom of* Numidia, ſhould, nevertheleſs, from his *fear* or *jealouſy*, or *hatred* of a rival, expoſe himſelf, when at *Rome*, to the reſentment of the *Roman* People, by murdering *Maſſiva*: and that in *revenge* of the inſult put upon him by the *Romans*, in conſtraining him to appear at the bar of the people's judicature, to undergo an examination, he ſhould compel the whole *Roman* army, officers, and ſoldiers (when fallen into his power,) to paſs under the yoke, may, perhaps, be conſidered as not wonderful, and only as inſtances exemplifying the obſervation above mentioned: viz. that *the moſt cunning, wicked men will, to gratify a particular paſſion, do actions the moſt fooliſhly impolitic with regard to the very intereſts they are habitually in purſuit of.* But that *Jugurtha*, after the perpetration of that murder, and after putting that groſs affront upon the *Roman* army, ſhould *(being in his ſenſes)* hope to obtain from the *Roman* Senate and People a tolerable peace, and, from the ſole motive of that hope, diveſt himſelf, in a great meaſure, of the means of defence, by giving up ſo large a part of his ſtrength and treaſure, as we are told he did, to his enemies, preſents a difficulty, the ſolution of which I ſhall leave to the reader.

Vid. ſupra, p. 28.

p. 30.

p. 38.

[b] The hiſtorians have not been careful to tell us how the newly conquered country was diſpoſed of. *Sextus Rufus* ſays, that *Numidia*, from the time of *Jugurtha*'s captivity, belonged to *Rome*: yet *Plutarch* [*in Mario*] ſpeaks of a King of *Numidia*, whom he calls *Hiempſal*, to whom young *Marius*, when driven out of *Italy* by *Sylla*, fled for protection. The ſame King, under the name of *Mandreſtal*, is mentioned by *Appian*, [App. de Bell. Civ. lib. i. p. 388.] From *Sylla*'s promiſe to *Bocchus*, it may with ſome reaſon be conjectured, that the third part of *Numidia* was yielded to that Prince.

p. 61.

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and *Sylla*, who are ſaid, nevertheleſs, to have warmly [a] contended for the GLORY of that gallant exploit which brought the war to its concluſion.--- *The* GLORY *of having engaged* Jugurtha's *father-in-law and confederate in arms to invite him to a friendly conference, and, under that cover, betray him into the hands of his moſt implacable enemies.*

Marius continued in *Africa* the remainder of this year, and all the next, till *Rome* wanted the ſervice of ſo able a General againſt the *Cimbri* and their allies.

CHAP. III.

The War with the CIMBRI. The *Second*, *Third*, *Fourth*, and *Fifth* Conſulſhips of MARIUS.

Liv. Epit. l. lxv. Flor. l. iii. c. 3. Tacit. de Mor. Ger. c. 37.

WE left the *Cimbri*, in the year 646, plundering and laying waſte *Tranſalpine Gaul.* Little more is ſaid of them till the year 644, when they defeated the Conſul *Silanus* [b].

The following year the Conſul *Aurelius* had no better ſucceſs than his predeceſſor.

And in 648, *L. Caſſius Longinus* (the collegue of *Marius* in the Conſulſhip) ſuffered a notable overthrow from the *Tigurini* *, who were, probably, aſſiſted by the *Cimbri*. They ſurpriſed him in an ambuſh; where both he and his Lieutenant, *Calpurnius Piſo*, loſt their lives. His other Lieutenant, *Popillius*, made a ſhameful capitulation with the barbarians: for he conſented to give hoſtages, deliver up the half of his baggage, and paſs with his army under the yoke. Being arraigned, at his return to *Rome*, for miſconduct, he went into baniſhment to avoid trial.

* A people of Switzerland. Strab. l. vii. p. 293. Liv. Epit. l. lxv. J. Cæſ. de Bell. Gall. l. i. c. 10. P. Oroſ. l. v. c. 15. Auct. ad Her l. i. c. 15. Oroſ. loc. cit.

In the preſent year (647) it fell by lot to the Conſul *Servilius Cæpio* to conduct the war againſt the *Cimbri* in *Gallia Narbonenſis*.

[a] In this diſpute, father *Catrou* has eſpouſed *Sylla*'s cauſe with remarkable zeal——"Thus "was *Sylla* fortunate to a degree not to be "paralleled; no embaſſy was ever more "completely ſucceſsful.---His ſtars, if I may "ſo ſpeak, delivered him out of all dangers, "and accompliſhed his moſt ſanguine hopes. "He had the HONOUR of finiſhing, almoſt "without the effuſion of blood, a war, which "*Marius* had not been able to bring to a "concluſion, by many ſieges and many "victories.——Though a Proquæſtor only, "he, from the time of his firſt [ſecond] cam-"paign became equal in reputation to the "General himſelf.——At leaſt he was "looked upon at *Rome* as the chief con-"queror of *Numidia*.——It ſeems as if "Juſtice required that HEAVEN ſhould give "*Marius* the mortification of ſeeing the "GLORY of the campaign divided between "a ſubaltern and himſelf." &c. &c. &c. tome xiv. p. 167.

[b] According to *Florus* (l. iii. c. 3.) the *Cimbri*, before the battle, ſent Ambaſſadors to the Conſul and Senate, requeſting, that lands might be aſſigned to them; on which condition they offered to aſſiſt the *Romans* in their wars.

Before his departure from *Rome*, he obtained a law in favour of the *Senators*. *Caius Gracchus* had transferred from them to the *Knights*, the adminiſtration of juſtice. Some of the Senators (the number uncertain) were now admitted to be of the Bench of Judges: and *Cæpio*, for this [i] ſervice, got the title of *Patron of the State*. Y. R. 647. Cic. in Brut. c. 44. Jul. Obſeq. c. 39. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 9. § 13.

Cæpio, after his arrival in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, recovered, from the *Cimbri*, *Toloſa*, the capital of the *Tectoſages*. The inhabitants of the place had been in alliance with *Rome*, and had received a *Roman* garriſon; which they afterwards betrayed to the barbarians: but now they, by night, admitted the Conſul into the town; who, nevertheleſs, gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers. He is ſaid to have found in the temples an immenſe quantity of gold [k], the greateſt part of which he appropriated to his own uſe: nay, *Oroſius* tells us, that the Conſul, having ſent away this treaſure under a guard to *Marſeilles*, treacherouſly cauſed that guard to be maſſacred in the way, and then made the whole his own. Dio. Caſſ. ap. 630. L. v. c. 15.

It would ſeem that *Cæpio's* forces were not ſufficient to oppoſe the *Cimbri*, for, after the election of *P. Rutilius Rufus* and *Cn. Mallius* [l] *Maximus* to the Conſulſhip, the latter, by order, led an army to *Cæpio's* aſſiſtance, who, at the ſame time, was continued in his command in quality of Proconſul. Y. R. 648. Bef. Chr. 104. 347 Conſ.

On *Mallius's* arrival in *Gaul*, he and *Cæpio* divided the province between them, and made the *Rhone* their boundary. Soon after, the *Cimbri* fell upon a part of the Conſul's army, commanded by his Lieutenant *Aurelius Scaurus* (who himſelf had been Conſul three years before:) they defeated it, and took the commander priſoner. Oroſ. l. v. c. 16. Liv. Epit. l. lxvii.

Mallius, terrified by this diſaſter, thought it proper to call *Cæpio* to his ſuccour. The Proconſul, at firſt, haughtily anſwered, that each ought to take care of his own province: yet preſently after, fearing Dio. Caſſ. ap. Valeſ. p. 630.

[i] For the ſame reaſon doubtleſs it is that *Cicero* (in *Brut.* c. 35.) commends him; whilſt other writers give him an odious character. *Craſſus*, the famous orator, ſpoke in favour of *Cæpio's* law (*Cic. in Brut.* c. 42. and 44.) and his ſpeech on that occaſion ſerved *Cicero* for a model by which to form his own eloquence. It would ſeem that a part of the ſpeech was to the following effect: "Deliver us (ſaid the orator, addreſſing himſelf, in the name of the Senate, to the People) " from our miſeries. Reſcue " us from the jaws of thoſe, whoſe cruelty " cannot be ſatisfied without blood: Reſ- " cue us from ſlavery, do not ſuffer us to " be held in bondage to any but your- " ſelves, to whom we can and ought to be " ſlaves." *Cic. de Orat.* l. i. c. 52. & *Parad.* v. c. 3.

[k] Authors differ about the value of this treaſure, but all their accounts ſeem extravagant. *Poſidonius*, as quoted by *Strabo* (l. iv. p. 188,) reckons it at 15,000 talents. *Oroſius* makes it 100,000 pounds weight of gold, and, 110,000 pounds of ſilver; and *Juſtin* (l. xxxii. c. 3.) raiſes it to a much higher ſum. It happened, that every one who had a hand in ſeizing this gold came to ſome miſerable end; whence it became a common proverb, to ſay of a man reduced to extreme miſery, *he has got ſome of the gold of* Toulouſe. *A. Gell.* l. iii. c. 9.

[l] *Cicero (pro Planc.* c. 5.) calls *Mallius an obſcure man, without virtue, without ſenſe, of manners vulgar and contemptible*; and complains of the *Roman* People for preferring him, at this election, before his competitor *Q. Catulus.*

Y. R. 648. Bef. Chr. 104. 347 Conſ. Dio. Caſſ. ap. Valeſ. p. 633.

leſt *Mallius* ſhould obtain a victory over the enemy without him, he paſſed the *Rhone*; but would neither encamp his forces with thoſe of the Conſul, not conſult with him. Confident of ſucceſs, and bent upon having the whole glory of it, he encamped his troops between thoſe of *Mallius* and the *Cimbri*.

The barbarians had been informed of the miſunderſtanding between the two *Roman* Generals; but, from *Cæpio's* motions, imagining now that they were reconciled, ſent deputies to the Conſul to treat of an accommodation. *Cæpio*, into whoſe camp, as nearer to them than the other, they naturally came, finding that it was not to him, but to the Conſul, they had orders to addreſs themſelves, far from treating them in the manner due to their character, was once, in his rage, upon the point of putting them to death. His proceeding did by no means pleaſe either the ſoldiers, or the officers of his own army; who, apprehending fatal conſequences from ſuch intemperate paſſion, forced him, in a manner, to repair to the Conſul's camp, there to deliberate upon the meaſures proper to be taken. Nothing was concluded; the whole time paſſed in diſpute, mutual reproaches, and affronts: and the two Generals parted more exaſperated than ever againſt each other.

Liv. Epit. l. lxvii. Val. Ant. ap. Oroſ. l. v. c. 16. Plut. in Sertor.

In this ill humour they had the folly to come to a battle with the enemy, in which they were totally defeated; they loſt 80,000 men, beſide ſervants, ſutlers, and other followers of the camp, to the number of forty thouſand. It is ſaid, that ſcarce ten of the whole army eſcaped with the two commanders to carry the news of the defeat to *Rome*. Of this number was the famous *Sertorius*, who, though wounded, yet, according to *Plutarch*, ſwam acroſs the *Rhone* in his armour.

Oroſ. loc. cit.

The conquerors[m], purſuant to a vow they had made, reſerved to themſelves nothing of the ſpoil: they threw the gold and ſilver into the river, cut to pieces the arms and clothes of the dead, drowned the horſes, and hanged up their priſoners upon trees. And it being now unanimouſly determined, in council, to invade *Italy*, they ſent for their priſoner *Aurelius*, probably with a view to learn ſomething from him that might be of uſe to them in their intended expedition: *Aurelius* endeavouring to perſuade them not to paſs the *Alps*, becauſe the *Romans* were (he ſaid) invincible, *Bojorix*, one of the *Cimbrian* chiefs, killed him upon the ſpot.

Liv. Epit. l. lxvii.

The alarm and conſternation, which the loſs of the army occaſioned at *Rome*, exceeded all imagination. The People, who imputed it wholly to *Cæpio*, were ſo enraged againſt him, that they depoſed him[n] from his command,

[m] *Eutropius* and *Oroſius* mention four nations who ſhared, in this victory, the *Cimbri*, *Teutoni*, *Tigurini*, and *Ambrones*. *Plutarch* aſcribes the principal glory of it to the laſt, who appear to have been a people of *Switzerland*: he ſpeaks of them as the braveſt and moſt terrible of the whole allied army; they were thirty thouſand in number.

[n] The next year, *L. Caſſius*, Tribune of the

mand, and confiſcated his eſtate: a proceeding of which there had been no example; no General, how culpable ſoever, having received the like affront. Y. R. 648. Bef. Chr. 104. 347 Conſ.

Rutilius, the collegue of *Mallius*, had direction to raiſe new forces to oppoſe the barbarians. He performed his commiſſion with an extraordinary care, being the firſt who introduced the cuſtom of teaching the ſoldiers the uſe of their weapons by maſters taken from the ſchools of the gladiators: a practice adopted by the ſucceeding Generals; and, in later times, mention is made of theſe maſters, for the ſoldiery, under the name of *Campidoctores*[o]. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 3. § 2.

At the next election of Conſuls, *Marius*, then *abſent*, and who *had been Conſul but three years before*, was, by the voice of the whole *Roman* People, named for one, though the laws forbad any man, who had held that ſtation, to be placed in it again without an interval of ten years, and likewiſe forbad the chuſing any man to it who did not ſtand candidate in perſon. Neither *Metellus*, vainly boaſted of by his party as *the conqueror* of *Numidia*, nor any other of the Nobles, had the confidence to ſtand in competition with him in this time of real danger. *Gallia Narbonenſis* was the province aſſigned to him; *Italy* to his collegue *C. Flavius Fimbria*. Y. R. 649. Bef. Chr. 103. 348 Conſ.

Marius, on his return to *Rome*, had a triumph for his conqueſt of *Numidia*. The principal ornaments of the proceſſion were *Jugurtha* and his ſons in chains. It is ſaid, that the King appeared like a man out of his ſenſes. The ceremony over, he was thrown into a dungeon, being condemned to be there ſtarved to death. The gaolers, in their haſte to ſtrip him, tore off the tips of his ears to get the pendants he wore in them. Six whole days he paſſed in the dungeon ſtruggling with famine, and retaining to the laſt moment an ardent deſire of life[p]. Sall. Bell. Jugurth. in fin. Liv. Epit. l. lxvii. Plut. in Mar.

Marius, through abſence of thought, went into the Senate, after the ceremony, in his triumphal robe, which was unprecedented. Perceiving

the People, paſſed a law, ordaining, that no perſon, who had been condemned and deprived of his command by the People, ſhould ſit in the Senate. *Cæpio's* name was not inſerted, but he was the only perſon affected by this law. Ten years after his firſt condemnation, he was accuſed a ſecond time before the People, by the Tribune *Norbanus*, on account of his ſacrilege in ſeizing the gold of *Toulouſe*. The orator *Craſſus* undertook his defence. *Scaurus*, Preſident of the Senate, eſpouſed his cauſe, and two of the Tribunes oppoſed their collegue's proceeding; but violence, which was then grown common at *Rome*, decided the affair. In a tumult that enſued, *Scaurus* received a blow with a ſtone, and, together with the oppoſing Tribunes, was put to flight; and *Cæpio* was condemned. It is not certain what became of him afterwards. According to *Strabo*, l. iv. p. 188. he was baniſhed, and retired to *Smyrna*; but *Valerius Maximus* (inconſiſtently with what he relates, l. iv. c. 7.) tells us, (l. vi. c. 9.) that *Cæpio* was ſtrangled in priſon, and his carcaſe ignominiouſly dragged with a hook to the *Gemoniæ*.

[o] This year the *Luſitanians* defeated a *Roman* army in *Spain*. *Jul. Obſeq.* c. xl.

[p] It is thought that *Jugurtha's* two ſons paſſed their days in captivity at *Venuſia*. *Appᵈ Bell. Civ.* l. i. p. 376.

Y. R. 649. Bef Chr. 103. 348 Conſ.

the whole aſſembly ſurpriſed and ſhocked at the novelty, he inſtantly left the houſe, and, in a very ſhort time, returned in the uſual habit.

So well had *Rutilius* diſciplined the new raiſed troops, that *Marius*, having his choice, preferred them, for the expedition againſt the *Cimbri*, to the army which he himſelf had commanded in *Africa*. He choſe *Sylla* for his Lieutenant, as thinking him (ſays *Plutarch*) *a man of too little conſequence to give him jealouſy* [q].

Frontin. Stratag. l. iv. c. 2. § 2.

And

[q] We have here an inſtance (and there are many ſuch) of *Plutarch*'s want of memory, or, perhaps, of his little concern to make his ſtories either probable or conſiſtent with one another.

In his Life of *Marius*, after relating how *Bocchus* betrayed *Jugurtha* into the hands of *Sylla*, he immediately adds the following account.

" This gave *the firſt riſe* to that ſad and " deplorable *civil war* which almoſt ruined " the whole *Roman* empire: for many that " envied *Marius*, aſcribed the ſucceſs " *wholly* to *Sylla*: and *Sylla himſelf* " *made a ſeal, whereon was engraven* Boc- " chus *delivering up* Jugurtha *to him*: " and this he *conſtantly uſed*, whereby he " *highly provoked* Marius, a man extremely " ambitious and *jealous of a rival for glory*," &c.

We have again, in the biographer's Life of *Sylla*, the ſucceſsful negotiation of the Quæſtor, his vanity, his ſeal, and the conſequent anger and jealouſy of *Marius*.

" For this ſucceſs *Marius* triumphed: " but *being conſcious that the* GLORY *of the At-* " *chievement was due to Sylla*, envy made " him grieve inwardly: and *Sylla* being " himſelf naturally vain, and this being the " firſt time that, from a low and private " condition, he had riſen to be in ſome con- " ſideration with his fellow-citizens, his am- " bition carried him to ſuch a degree of " oſtentation, that he cauſed a SEAL to be " made, whereon was repreſented *Bocchus de-* " *livering up*, and *Sylla receiving Jugurtha*; " *which* SEAL *he made uſe of ever after.* " This touched *Marius* to the quick; *ne-* " *verthleſs*, in his ſecond Conſulſhip, think- " ing *Sylla* too far beneath him to be " feared as a rival, he appointed him " to be his Lieutenant: and, in his third " Conſulſhip employed him as a Legionary " Tribune."

In this account (though it be adopted by *M. Vertot*, the *Jeſuits*, *M. Rollin*, and others,) it ſeems difficult to diſcern the leaſt air of truth. Is it, in any degree, probable, that *Sylla*, who (as *Plutarch* obſerves) had but juſt ſtarted out of obſcurity, and was very ambitious of riſing to the higheſt honours, would be ſo impolitic, as immediately to provide himſelf with ſuch a Seal as is deſcribed, and from this time conſtantly wear it; that is, coolly and deliberately contrive to make *Marius*, who was then the People's chief favourite, his enemy, and ſet him at defiance, by appropriating wholly to himſelf a glory, which naturally belonged to the commander in chief.

Or, is it propable, that, if *Sylla* had ſuch folly and arrogance, and if *Marius* was thereby *touched to the quick*, and *ſo highly provoked*, as the hiſtorian reports him to have been, he would have choſen this enemy and *rival for glory* to be his Lieutenant in his ſecond Conſulſhip?

Marius was *jealous* of *Sylla* as of a *rival for glory*: nevertheleſs, *Marius* appointed *Sylla* to be his Lieutenant, looking upon him as a man of too little conſequence to be his *rival for glory*. This is *Plutarch*'s account.

The truth ſeems to be, that the SEAL in queſtion was never thought of till many years after the end of the *Numidian* war, when King *Bocchus*, to whom an alliance with *Rome* had been granted, made a glittering golden preſent to the *Roman* People. And this might be gathered from another paſſage in *Plutarch*'s Life of *Marius*, where, ſpeaking of him after his return from *Aſia*, he ſays, that *he was neglected like a weapon of war in time of peace*; and adds, " that among all thoſe, whoſe luſtre eclipſed " the glory of *Marius*, he was the moſt " exaſperated againſt *Sylla*, who *owed his* " RISE *to the hatred which the* NOBLES *bore*

" *to*

And now, inſtead of being too gentle and remiſs in point of diſcipline, which *Salluſt* imputes to him, with regard to the troops in *Numidia*, he was, on the contrary (by the report of *Plutarch*,) "ſevere in command, and exact even to rigour. Nevertheleſs, his impetuous ſpirit, "ſtern look, and thundering voice, were conſidered by the ſoldiers, when "grown familiar with them, not as terrible to themſelves, but only to "their enemies." Y. R. 649. Bef. Chr. 103. 348 Conſ.

A notable act of impartial juſtice helped much to conciliate to him the affections of the army. His nephew, who ſerved in the poſt of a Legionary Tribune, having ſeveral times ſolicited a young ſoldier, under his command, to unworthy complaiſances, and finding him always inflexible, had, at length, recourſe to violence. The ſoldier, being determined to expoſe himſelf to any danger rather than yield, drew his ſword, and ran the Tribune through the body. Being cited before *Marius* to receive ſentence for having killed his commander; the General, when he had informed himſelf fully of the facts, not only acquitted the accuſed, but, with his own hands, crowned him as a conqueror. Plut. in Mar. Cic. pro Mil. c. 4. Vid. ſupra, p. 42.

When *Marius* arrived in *Gaul*, he learnt that the *Cimbri*, after ravaging all the country, from the *Rhone* to the *Pyrenees*, had, by thoſe mountains, entered *Spain*[r]. This gave the Conſul leiſure to perfect his troops in military diſcipline: and (according to *Plutarch*) the *Romans*, notwithſtanding the departure of the *Cimbri*, found enemies in *Gaul*: for he tells us, that *Sylla*, this year, took priſoner *Copillus*, the General of the *Tectoſages*[s]. Liv. Epit. 67. Plut. in Mar. Jul. Obſeq. c. xli. Plut. in Sylla.

When

"*to himſelf.*" And then he proceeds in the following manner. "When *Bocchus*, "King of *Numidia*, dedicated in the *Capi-*"*tol*, ſome golden victories bearing trophies, "and, with them, a ſculpture in gold, re-"preſenting himſelf, delivering up *Jugur-*"*tha* to *Sylla*, *Marius* was thereupon almoſt "diſtracted with rage; not able to endure "that *Sylla* ſhould arrogate that honour to "himſelf.

"*Marius* attempted by violence to pull "down thoſe figures; and *Sylla* ſtrenuouſly "oppoſed his attempt: but *the war of the* "*confederates*, THEN, *on a ſudden, threaten-*"*ing the city, put a ſtop to the ſedition*, that, "ON THIS OCCASION, was juſt ready to "break out." [The war of the confederates was kindled in 662.]

By this *date* we ſee, that the diſpute between *Marius* and *Sylla* for the glory of putting a fortunate end to the *Jugurthine war* (which ended in 647) was not till fifteen years after its concluſion, when *Marius*'s intereſt was on the decline, and *Sylla* had made great progreſs in the road to the higheſt honours: for he had been already *Prætor*: and two years after this time (viz. in 664) was choſen to the Conſulſhip. And it would ſeem that the SEAL was a *copy* of King *Bocchus*'s preſent, and not the *original*; though it is very poſſible that *Sylla*, to pique *Marius* (whom he *then* did not fear) and to raiſe his own credit with the People, might, when *Bocchus* (with whom he had formed a ſort of friendſhip) determined to make a preſent to the *Romans*, of a ſculpture in gold, ſuggeſt to him the device.

[r] *Florus* places this irruption of the *Cimbri* into *Spain* before the Conſulſhip of *Silanus*, l. iii. c. 3.

[s] About this time, *M. Scaurus*, Preſident

Y. R. 650. Bef. Chr. 102. 349 Conſ.

When the time came for electing the chief Magiſtrates at *Rome*, the Comitia choſe *Marius* (in his abſence) a *third time* to the Conſulſhip, and continued

Aſcon. in Scaur.

dent of the Senate, and who had been Conſul and Cenſor, was accuſed by *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, Tribune of the People, of having profaned ſeveral ſacred rites of the *Romans*, and particularly thoſe of the *Dii Penates* celebrated at *Lavinium*. The crime ſeems to have been a heavy one, but is deſcribed in too vague a manner to be accurately underſtood at this time. The real ſource of the proſecutor's enmity to *Scaurus* was, that another perſon, aſſiſted by *Scaurus's* intereſt, had ſucceeded *Domitius's* father in an Augur's place, to the excluſion of *Domitius* himſelf. But, though animated by perſonal hatred, *Domitius* had the generoſity to reject the information that was ſecretly offered him by one of *Scaurus's* ſlaves, and to deliver up the traitor to his maſter. For want, perhaps, of this intelligence, *Scaurus* was acquitted, though with ſome difficulty; but *Domitius* grew ſuch a favourite with the People, that he was afterwards choſen Conſul, Cenſor, and Pontifex Maximus.

Val. Max. vi. 5.

His generoſity in the affair of *Scaurus* undoubtedly contributed ſomething to his popularity; but his chief merit was a law which he made, to ſubſtitute a popular election of prieſts of every denomination, to the old method of co-optation by their collegues: or, rather, to unite both theſe methods, as had always been practiſed in the election of a Pontifex Maximus. Seventeen tribes, taken by lot, were to be aſſembled, and the perſon who had the ſuffrages of the majority was to be co-opted, without a power of refuſal, by the College in which the vacancy happened.

Cic. de Leg. Agrar. ii. 7.

Domitius, in his Tribuneſhip, accuſed alſo *Junius Silanus*, for miſconduct in the war againſt the *Cimbri*, by whom he had been defeated, when Conſul, five years before. He was acquitted by the People: two tribes only condemned him. *Cic. pro Corn.* 2. *in Fragm.* and *Aſcon. in loc.*

C. Servilius Glaucia, another of the Tribunes, got a law paſſed, the import of which ſeems to have been a repeal of that which *Cæpio* enacted in the year 647, and a reſtoring to the *Roman* Knights all the privileges they had formerly enjoyed. *Cic. in Brut.* c. lxii.

It is not certain, what was the import of *Cæpio's* law, or of *Glaucia's*: the firſt, according to *Jul. Obſequens* (c. 39). divided the right of judicature between the Senators and the Knights; and *Cicero* (in *de Invent.* l. i. c. 49.) ſpeaks of it as favourable to the Senate; whereas he tells us, that *Glaucia*, by his law, gained over the Knights to his intereſt (in *Brut.* c. 62.) *Cicero* (in *Divinat. in Cæcil.* c. 3.) ſpeaks favourable of the judgments paſſed by the *Roman* Knights; and *Aſconius (in loc.)* ſays, that the *Roman* Knights continued to be Judges for forty years after the time of *C. Gracchus*, and that they judged uprightly: that *Sylla* then transferred the right of judging to the Senators, and there judged iniquitouſly. And *Cicero (Act.* i. in *Verr.* c. 13,) ſays, that for near fifty years together, during which time the right of judging was in the Equeſtrian order, there was not the leaſt ſuſpicion of any Judge's taking money, though the Senators, when they were Judges, became infamous for that crime.

Yet this account cannot be ſtrictly true; for according to the ſame *Aſconius* (in *Orat. pro Corn.* 1.) *Plotius*, in the year 664, got a law enacted, that fifteen men out of each of the thirty-five tribes ſhould be appointed Judges, by which means ſome Senators came to be nominated. And *Cicero (pro Corn.)* tell us, that, by the *Plotian* law, the Senators were firſt admitted to judge among the Knights. *Livius Druſus* in the year 662 obtained a law, that the Judges ſhould be one half Senators and the other Knights; but this law being abrogated the ſame year in which it was enacted, *Cicero*, in the paſſage above cited, takes no notice of it.

It would ſeem, upon the whole, that *C. Gracchus's* law continued in force till the year 664, when the *Plotian* law took place; and that this latter was ſuperſeded by *Sylla's* law, which, in 672, gave the right of judicature entirely to the Senators.

Glaucia obtained likewiſe a law, which granted the freedom of the city to whoever of the *Latin* allies ſhould bring an accuſation againſt a *Roman* Senator, and prove his charge. *Cic. pro Balb.* c. 24.

It

continued him in his command. It was expected that the barbarians would return from *Spain* the next ſpring; and the *Roman* ſoldiers declared they would not march, againſt ſo dreadful an enemy, under any other General. The other Conſul was *L. Aurelius Oreſtes.* Y. R. 650. Bef. Chr. 106. 349 Conſ.

The *Cimbri* remained this year alſo in *Spain*, nor do we hear of any thing conſiderable performed, during the courſe of it, by the *Romans* in *Gaul*; excepting, that a numerous and warlike people, called the *Marſi*, are ſaid to have been brought, by *Sylla's* means, into an alliance with *Rome.* Id. Ibid.

Towards the end of the year, *Aurelius* dying, *Marius* left the command of the army with his Lieutenant *Aquillius*, and returned to Plut. in Mar.

It was about this time, that the ſcandalous debaucheries of two of the *Fabii* gave great offence at *Rome*, and were puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner.

One of them, who was the ſon of *Fabius Servilianus*, felt the indignation of his own father, who firſt baniſhed him into the country, and, upon his continuing unreclaimed, ordered two ſlaves to put him to death. To ſcreen the ſlaves from being examined by torture, old *Fabius* immediately manumiſed them; and he himſelf, upon an accuſation's being lodged againſt him for this ſtretch of the paternal authority, choſe to decline a trial, and went into exile to *Nuceria in Campania*. *Val. Max.* vi. 1. 5. *Oroſ.* v. 16.

Allobrogicus, the father of the other *Fabius*, was dead; but Q. *Pompeius*, the Prætor, ſupplied his place, decreed young *Fabius* unfit to manage his own fortune, and appointed him a guardian. *Val. Max.* iii. 5. 2.

The famous *Scævola*, the Augur, upon his return from the government of *Aſia*, in the year 649, was tried for mal-adminiſtration and extortion in his province. His accuſer was *T. Albucius*, a man of a ſingular character, who was poſſeſſed with ſuch a fondneſs for every thing that was *Greek*, that he reſided generally at *Athens*, and ſeemed willing to forget both his native country and his mother-tongue. *Scævola*, in his way to his government, paſſed through *Athens*, where *Albucius* coming to pay him a viſit, the Governor, by way of ridicule on his ſilly affectation, addreſſed him, after the *Grecian* manner, with the word χαῖρε [hail] and his whole train of attendants, officers of the army, domeſtics, and even Lictors, did the ſame. *Albucius* was ſo nettled at this affront, that, upon *Scævola's* return to *Rome*, he brought againſt him the accuſation above mentioned; but the conduct of the accuſed was found to be irreproachable, and the trial ſerved only to make *Albucius* ſtill more ridiculous. Lucil. ap. Cic. de Fin. l. i. c. 3. & Cic. de Orat. l. ii. 70.

Not long after, he was accuſed of the ſame crime with which he had charged *Scævola*, and was not equally fortunate in clearing his character: *Albucius* had been Prætor in the year 647 or 648, and at the expiration of his office, was appointed Governor of *Sardinia*, where having extirpated a few gangs of robbers, he ſent to *Rome* to demand a ſolemn thankſgiving for this important exploit; and in the mean time paraded about the iſland with all the triumphal pomp. The Senate, to mortify his vanity, refuſed his requeſt, though it was known to be a thing of courſe, and had never before been denied to any Governor. To compleate his diſgrace, the people of the iſland accuſed him of extortion, and he was found guilty. Stung with the repeated inſults from his ungrateful country, *Albucius* retired to his favourite *Athens*, where he is ſaid to have died more like a philoſopher than he had lived. Cic. de Provinc. Conſ. c. 7. Cic. Tuſc. v. 37.

This year *M. Fulvius Nobilior* is ſaid to have gained ſome advantage againſt the *Cimbri* in *Spain* (*Front. Strat.* l. xi. c. 5. § 8.) *Calpurnius Piſo* defeated the *Thracians*, and penetrated as far as *Rhodope* and *Caucaſus* (*Jul. Obſeq.* c. 41. *Flor.* lib. xxxvi. 4.) and *M. Antonius*, the orator, now Proconſul in *Aſia*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Byzantines*, deſtroyed the *Cilician* pirates, for which he had a triumph. *Cic. de Orat.* l. i. c. 18. *Liv. Epit.* l. lxviii. *Tacit. Annal.* l. xii. c. 62.

Rome,

Y. R. 650. Bef. Chr. 102. 349 Conſ. *Rome*, to preſide at the election of new Conſuls. On his arrival, he gained over to his intereſts *L. Apuleius Saturninus*, one of the Tribunes, who was in greateſt favour with the People.

Cic. de Haruſp. Reſp. c. 20. & pro Sext. c. 17. Diod. Sic. ap. Valeſ. p. 390. Plut. in Mar.

To *Saturninus*, when Quæſtor, had been committed the care of ſupplying the City with corn; and becauſe he did not diſcharge the office well, the Senate appointed *Scaurus* to execute it in his ſtead. Provoked at this affront, he became a violent enemy to the Nobles, and was therefore eaſily engaged to employ his influence on the People to chuſe *Marius* a fourth time to the Conſulſhip. *Marius* himſelf affected to decline the office: whereupon *Saturninus* called him traitor to his Country, as refuſing to aſſiſt her in ſo dangerous a war. The ſtratagem was too groſs not to be diſcerned, yet the people ſenſible of the need they ſtill had of ſo able and fortunate a General as *Marius*, continued him in the Conſulſhip; appointing for his colleague, *Q. Lutatius Catulus*, a man honoured by the Nobles, and eſteemed by the Multitude.

Y. R. 651. Bef. Chr. 101. 350 Conſ.

Marius, ſoon after, ſet out for *Tranſalpine Gaul*; and *Catulus*, accompanied by *Sylla* as his Lieutenant, led an army to the foot of the *Alps*.

The barbarians, being defeated by the *Celtiberians* in *Spain*, had left that country, and returned into *Gaul*. And they now reſolved to divide their forces, and to enter *Italy* on different ſides: the *Cimbri* were to march through *Noricum*; the *Teutoni* and *Ambrones* through *Gallia Narbonenſis*. *Marius* poſted his army between two branches of the *Rhone*. In order to have proviſions the more eaſily conveyed from the ſea to his camp, by means of the river, the mouths of which were choked up with mud and ſand, he cauſed his ſoldiers to dig a canal from the river to the ſea; a work which ſtill ſubſiſted in *Plutarch's* time, and had the name of *Foſſa Mariana*.

Plut. in Mar. Strab. l. iv. p. 183.

Plut. in Mar.

At length the enormous multitude of the *Teutoni* and *Ambrones* approached the *Roman* army, and with terrible cries, defied them to battle. *Marius* declined the challenge. To accuſtom his troops to the fierce countenances and hideous noiſes of the barbarians, he poſted his men ſucceſſively, in different *corps*, upon the ramparts of the camp, from whence they might have a full view of the enemy; who not only ravaged the country round about, but frequently inſulted the *Romans* in their intrenchments. Provoked at this inſolence, the ſoldiers murmured in private, and complained that their General had no confidence in them, ſince he would not lead them againſt the barbarians. *Marius*, being informed of the complaints, was pleaſed with the ardour of his troops, and ſignified to them, that he had no diſtruſt of their courage, but only waited, by the admonition of oracles, for a favourable time and place in which to give battle. Theſe oracles were two vultures and a *Syrian* woman named *Martha*. The vultures he had tamed, and he uſed to let them looſe about the camp, at proper times, their appearance being

being deemed a good omen. *Martha*, whom his wife had ſent to him from *Rome*, was eſteemed a propheteſs; becauſe, at a combat of gladiators, ſhe had luckily gueſſed which of them would have the victory. She wore a large purple mantle faſtened with claſps, and bore in her hand a ſpear wrapped round with bunches of flowers, and was carried about the camp in a litter. Great honours and reſpect was paid her, and *Marius* never ſacrificed but by her orders. Y R. 651. Bef. Chr. 101. 350 Conſ.

It is reported, that an officer of the *Teutoni*, remarkable for the greatneſs of his ſtature, challenged the *Roman* General to ſingle combat. *Marius* anſwered—*If the fellow is in ſuch haſte to die, let him go hang himſelf.* Then, pointing to an old gladiator of a very low ſtature, he added, *Let him firſt vanquiſh this little man, and then I will fight the conqueror.* Frontin. Strateg. l. iv. c. 7. § 5.

The Barbarians, having in vain attempted to force *Marius*'s camp, at the expence of a great number of their men, reſolved, without regarding any more the Conſul, to march directly forward to *Italy*. They paſſed [a] very near the *Roman* intrenchments, and, with inſolent raillery, aſked the ſoldiers, whether they had any meſſages to ſend to their wives? *Marius* followed the enemy, kept always near them, and at night intrenched himſelf on the moſt advantageous ſpot he could find. When they were got to *Aquæ* * *Sextiæ*, they encamped in a vaſt extent of ground along the banks of a ſmall river, (probably the *Arc*,) and the Conſul on an eminence: an advantageous poſt, only it wanted water. This (ſays *Plutarch*) he did on purpoſe, and when his ſoldiers complained of his having encamped them in a place where they muſt die with thirſt, he ſhewed them the river; ſaying, *Yonder is water; but you muſt purchaſe it at the price of your blood*: they anſwered, *Why do not you lead us thither, while we have any blood* in our veins? *Marius* replied, *You muſt firſt fortify your Camp.* The ſoldiers obeyed, though with reluctance; but the ſutlers and ſervants, impatient to have drink for themſelves and their beaſts, ſnatching up what weapons they could find, went in a body to fetch water from the river. It would ſeem that the *Teutoni* were a good way up the river on the ſame ſide with the *Roman* camp: the *Ambrones* on the other ſide, lower down; and over-againſt the enemy. When the *Roman* ſutlers had reached the river, they were at firſt attacked by only a ſmall number of the Barbarians, the reſt being at dinner, or bathing; but on hearing the noiſe made in the ſkirmiſh, the whole body of the *Ambrones*, amounting to above thirty thouſand men, iſſued out, moſt of them fluſhed with wine: yet they did not approach in diſorder, or with confuſed cries, but regulated their march by a kind of muſick which they made by beating upon their armour; and they frequently repeated their Plut. in Mar. * Aix in Provence.

[a] *Plutarch* ſays, it is reported, that the Barbarians were ſix days in paſſing by the *Roman* intrenchments in a continued march.

Y. R. 651. Bef. Chr. 101. 350 Conſ.

own name, *Ambrones*, *Ambrones*. It happened, that the *Ligurians* marched at the head of the *Roman* army: and the ſame name having been that of their nation, they too immediately began to cry out, *Ambrones*, ſo that the field reſounded with this word from every quarter. The *Ambrones* had the river to paſs; and in paſſing it broke their order; and, before they could form again, the *Ligurians* charged them, and the *Romans* advancing at the ſame time to ſuſtain their allies, the enemy quickly turned their backs. Many of them periſhed in the river, which the *Romans* croſſing, purſued the runaways even to their camp.

Here a new kind of enemies preſented themſelves againſt both the purſued and the purſuers. The wives of the *Ambrones*, armed with ſwords and hatchets, and gnaſhing their teeth with rage, diſcharged their fury equally upon their huſbands (whom they called traitors) and upon the enemy. The night coming on, the *Romans* retired, but ſpent that night in great anxiety and terror; for their camp was not yet fortified, and, though the greater part of the *Ambrones* had been cut to pieces, an immenſe multitude remained of the Barbarians, by whom they expected every moment to be attacked. That night, however, and all the following day, paſſed without any action; early the next morning the Conſul drew up his foot in order of battle, upon an eminence before his camp, making his cavalry deſcend into the plain. He had before detached three thouſand of his infantry under the conduct of *Claudius Marcellus* to lie in ambuſh, and at a proper time, to fall upon the enemy in the rear. The *Teutoni*, ſeeing the *Romans* drawn up for battle, had not patience to wait till they ſhould come down into the plain, but advanced furiouſly up the hill to attack them. *Marius* ordered his men not to ſtir, till the Barbarians were near: then, having firſt thrown their darts, to fall upon them ſword in hand, and puſh them down the hill with their bucklers. The *Teutoni* were ſoon driven into the plain; and the foremoſt had ſcarce begun to rally, when *Marcellus*, on a ſudden, charged them behind. Being thus attacked, at once, both in front and rear, they made but a ſhort reſiſtance. More than a hundred thouſand of them (according to *Plutarch*) were killed or taken priſoners[a].

Diod. Eclog. l. xxxvi. Plut. in Mar.

According to ſome authors, the *Roman* army unanimouſly made a preſent to their General of the whole ſpoil. *Marius* cauſed it to be ſold

[a] In the Epitome of *Livy* (l. lxviii) it is ſaid, that 200,000 of the Barbarians periſhed in this and the former battle; and that 90,000 were taken priſoners.

The report of *Velleius Paterculus* (l. ii. c. 12.) is, that above 150,000 were killed in both actions, and that the whole nation of the *Teutoni* was extinguiſhed.

Valerius Maximus (l. vi. c. 1. § 3. *extern.*) tells us, that, after the battle, the young women of the *Teutoni* requeſted of *Marius* that they might be given to the Veſtal virgins, promiſing perpetual chaſtity: but this being denied them, they hanged themſelves the night following. *Florus* (iii. 3.) relates nearly the ſame ſtory of the *Cimbrian* women.

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at a very low price to the ſoldiers, chuſing rather to act in that manner, than to make a pure donation of it; and this, probably, to avoid the appearance of ſetting two ſmall a value on their preſent. This proceeding acquired him univerſal eſteem: the great united with the multitude in applauding him. Y. R. 651. Bef. Chr. 101. 350 Conſ.

As to the arms taken from the Barbarians, *Marius* ſet apart, for the ornaments of his triumph, all the richeſt and moſt glittering: the reſt he ordered to be heaped together, that he might make a ſacrifice of them to the Gods. Crowned with laurel, and cloathed in a robe of ſtate, he was going, with his own hands (according to the *Roman* cuſtom) to ſet fire to the pile, when certain horſemen, riding full-ſpeed, appeared on a ſudden. Coming up to him, they diſmounted, accoſted him with the news of his being Conſul for the *fifth time*, and delivered him letters that notified his election; a new ſubject of joy to the whole army: *Marius* finiſhed his ſacrifice, amidſt their univerſal acclamations. Y. R. 652. Bef. Chr. 100. 351 Conſ.

The collegue appointed to *Marius* was *Manius Aquillius*, commiſſioned afterwards to conduct a war againſt the revolted ſlaves in *Sicily*; of which more hereafter.

Catulus continued at the head of the army, which he had led to the foot of the *Alps*. That he might not be obliged to weaken his forces by ſuch a diviſion of them as would be neceſſary to defend the paſſes of the mountains, he had retired over the *Atheſis* *. After he had pitched his camp, he cauſed forts to be raiſed on each bank of the river to defend the paſs, and a wooden bridge to be built, by which he might have a communication with the guard on the farther ſide. In the mean time the *Cimbri* came down the *Alps* that were yet covered with ſnow [b], and, advancing to the *Atheſis*, encamped within ſight of the enemy. This done, they threw into the channel earth, trees, and vaſt pieces of rocks, and, when the ſtream, by being ſtraitened, became rapid, they caſt into it things of great weight, which, being carried down by the current with violence againſt the piles of the bridge, ſo ſhook it, that it ſeemed in danger of being carried away. The *Roman* ſoldiers did not wait for the event, but being ſeized with terror, abandoned their camp. *Catulus* finding it impoſſible to ſtop his men, put himſelf at their head, that the army might ſeem to have only obeyed the command of their General, and not run away through fear of the enemy: an inſtance of the moſt noble and diſintereſted conduct, according to *Plutarch*; the General ſacrificing his private glory to the good of his country: yet certainly this noble action, ſo highly praiſed by the hiſtorian [c], is capable of a conſtruction not much to

* The Adige.

[b] *Plutarch* reports, that the Barbarians, out of a ſort of bravado, climbed up naked over heaps of ice and ſnow to the tops of the hills, and then, upon their large ſhields, let themſelves ſlide down to the bottom.

[c] "I do not believe (ſays Monſieur "*Crevier* very judiciouſly), that *Marius*, on "the like occaſion, would have been willing "to

Y. R. 652. Bef. Chr. 100. 351 Conſ.

to the advantage of *Catulus*, [or of *Sylla*, whom the ſame hiſtoran repreſents as the chief counſellor of this General, and his right-hand for execution.]

The guard of the fort on the other ſide of the river defended themſelves with reſolution againſt the attacks of the *Cimbri*; who, admiring their bravery, granted them at length an honourable capitulation, and ſwore to it upon a brazen bull.

After taking the fort, the *Cimbri* ſpread themſelves over the country and pillaged it. In this ſituation of things, *Marius* was ſent for to *Rome:* on his arrival, the Senate offered him a triumph, but he deferred his acceptance of that honour, till the war ſhould be terminated by another victory, which he ſpoke of as a thing certain: and preſently ſetting out for the camp of his late colleague, he at the ſame time ordered thither his own army from *Gaul.*

The two Generals, having joined their forces, paſſed the *Po.* The *Cimbri* were at no great diſtance, but deferred offering battle, till their friends, the *Teutoni*, ſhould come to their aſſiſtance, according to agreement. [a]. In the mean time they ſent Ambaſſadors to the Conſul, demanding that lands and towns might be aſſigned them, ſufficient both for themſelves and for their brethren. *What brethren do you ſpeak of?* (ſaid *Marius* to the Ambaſſadors): They anſwered, THE TEUTONI. To which the Conſul replied, *Do not trouble yourſelves about providing for your brethren; we have already given them land, and they will always keep poſſeſſion of it.* The Ambaſſadors, finding themſelves inſulted, broke out into paſſion, threatening to make him repent his behaviour ſo ſoon as the *Teutoni* ſhould arrive. *They are here already* (ſaid *Marius,*) *and it would not be kind in you to go away without ſaluting your brethren.* After theſe words, he cauſed the KINGS (or leaders) of the *Teutoni*, whom he had taken priſoners, to be brought forth in chains.

The *Cimbri*, on the return and report of their Ambaſſadors, advanced without loſing a moment; and having encamped not far from the Conſul, their King *Bojorix*, at the head of a ſmall body of cavalry, came forward, and defied *Marius* to battle, bidding him name the day and place. The Conſul anſwered, that *it was not the cuſtom of the Romans to take counſel of their enemies about giving battle; nevertheleſs, he would have that complaiſance for him, to do what he had deſired.* It was thereupon agreed, that the time ſhould be the third day from thence,

" to deſerve the like *praiſe:* and, indeed, " *Plutarch* (in *Sylla*) tells us, that *Catulus* " was no great warrior." *Hiſt. Rom.* tom. IX. l. xxx.

Scaurus (Preſident of the Senate) had a ſon, who ſerved in the cavalry: he fled full ſpeed to *Rome.* His father, on notice of his arrival, forbad him ever to appear before him; whereupon the young man killed himſelf. *Front. Strat.* l. iv. c. 1. § 13. *Aur. Vict. in Scaur.*

[a] *Florus* tells us, that the *Cimbri*, after the action upon the *Athefis*, were enervated, by living luxuriouſly.

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and that the field of battle ſhould be the plain of *Vercellæ*; a plain commodious for the *Roman* cavalry, and large enough for the Barbarians to draw up their numerous forces. Thither the *Romans* and *Cimbri* repaired punctually at the day appointed. *Catulus*'s army conſiſted of 20,300 foot; *Marius* had 32,000. The number of the *Roman* cavalry is not mentioned. *Plutarch* is the only writer who gives us any particulars of this battle, and his account is very unſatisfactory; the memoirs of *Sylla*, who became *Marius*'s greateſt enemy, and was now Lieutenant to *Caiulus*, being his chief and almoſt only authority[a]. [Once he quotes the memoirs of *Catulus*.] *Plutarch* relates, that the Conſul poſted *Catulus*, and his troops in the center, and, having divided his own forces into two bodies, placed them on the wings, a little advanced towards the enemy, that he might have the glory of defeating them before the Proconſul's troops could engage. The *Romans* had the advantages of the ſun and wind. Y.R. 652. Bef. Chr. 100. 352 Conſ.

The *Cimbri* drew up their infantry in a ſquare body, each ſide thirty furlongs in length. Their cavalry, amounting to 15,000, ſeem to have been at firſt poſted on the right of their infantry, from whence they wheeled off by degrees, in order to come upon the rear of the enemy. This ſtratagem the *Roman* Generals perceived; but their ſoldiers thought it a flight, and therefore advanced as to the purſuit, without waiting for orders. The whole body of the *Cimbrian* infantry moved forward (ſays *Plutarch*) like the waters of a vaſt ſea. *Marius* and *Catulus* lifting up their hands towards heaven, vowed, the one to ſacrifice a hecatomb to the Gods, the other to dedicate a temple to *the fortune of this day*. A mighty cloud of duſt aroſe, and covered both armies. *Marius*, according to *Sylla*'s memoirs, was ſo unfortunate as to loſe himſelf in this cloud. Though the *Cimbrian* phalanx was three miles deep, he paſſed it by, and wandered up and down the plains a good while without being able to find the enemy. But *Catulus* and *Sylla* had the good fortune to find them; and, with only about 20,000 men, ſtood the whole brunt of this battle. The exceſſive heat (for it was in the end of *July*) greatly incommoded the *Cimbri*, accuſtomed to a cold climate; and they had the farther diſadvantage of the ſun's ſhining full in their faces. It is ſaid, that their foremoſt ranks had ſomehow linked themſelves together, to hinder their order from being broken. Theſe therefore were cut to pieces, the reſt being put to flight, and driven to their camp. There the *women*, mounted upon the waggons, furiouſly aſſaulted thoſe that fled, whether huſbands, brothers, or fathers. They ſent deputies to *Marius*, to demand of him, either liberty, or a ſlavery, which

[a] The ſame memoirs relate, that *Sylla*, by his induſtry, in a time of ſcarcity, ſupplied the troops of *Marius* with proviſions in abundance; a ſervice which greatly diſpleaſed *Marius*, becauſe of his extreme jealouſy of *Sylla*, who, regarding him as an enemy to his advancement, had left him, and attached himſelf to *Catulus*.

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Y. R. 652. Bef. Chr. 100. 351 Conſ.

ſuited their ſex and virtue, offering to become ſlaves to the veſtals, and to bind themſelves to the obſervance of perpetual chaſtity like them. This grace being refuſed, they murdered their children and themſelves. To this romantic account it is added, that the *men*, for want of trees, upon which to hang themſelves, made running knots upon their necks with cords, the ends of which they faſtened to the horns, or feet of their cattle, and, driving the beaſts forward with goads, made a ſhift to get themſelves ſtrangled, or trodden to death. Nevertheleſs, 60,000 of them were taken priſoners [b].

Plut. in Mar.

We are told (ſays *Plutarch*) that *Marius*'s ſoldiers, though they carried off all the baggage, had taken only two ſtandards, while *Catulus*'s men brought thirty into their camp; and that, as a farther proof that this part of the army had the greater ſhare in the victory, upon almoſt all the darts by which the *Cimbri* had fallen, was found inſcribed the name of *Catulus*. Nothwithſtanding all this, the whole honour of the victory was, in after times, and is ſtill, given to *Marius*. And, even when the event was recent, *Catulus* was thought ſufficiently honoured, by being *adorned* (as *Juvenal* expreſſes it) *with the* ſecond laurel-branch [c].

Eutrop. l. v. c. 1. Plut. loc. cit.

Val. Max. l. viii. c. 15. § 7. Plut. in Mar.

At *Rome*, the People, on the night they received the news of the victory, began their ſuppers with libations to *Marius* as to a Divinity. They ſtiled him the *Third Founder of Rome*, and would have had him triumph, without the Proconſul's ſharing with him in that honour. This however, he refuſed; and the two Generals, after their return home, triumphed together.

Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 2. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 6. § 6 Plut. in Mar.

It is ſaid, that, from this time, *Marius* never drank but out of a goblet, ſuch as *Bacchus* was imagined to have uſed after his conqueſt of *India*. He likewiſe built a temple to Honour and Virtue; *Catulus* another, not to Fortune in general, but (in diſcharge of his vow) to the

[b] Thus *Plutarch*: but *Vell. Pat.* (l. ii. c. 2.) ſays, the number of the priſoners and the dead amounted to about 100,000; and he adds, that by this victory, *Marius*, notwithſtanding the miſchiefs he afterwards did, hindered his country from wiſhing that he had never been born. *Eutropius* (l. v. c. 1.) tells us, that, in this important action, the *Romans* loſt no more than 300 men. According to him, and the Epitome of *Livy* (l. lxviii.) 140,000 of the enemy were killed in this battle, and 60,000 taken priſoners.

It is reported, that *Marius* gave the freedom of *Rome* to 1000 men of the *Camertes*, a people of *Umbria*, in reward of their bravery in this war; and when it was afterwards remonſtrated to him, that what he had done was illegal, he anſweved, that the din of arms had hindered him from hearing the voice of the laws. *Plut. in Apopthegm.* and *in Mar.*

[c] Hic *tamen & Cimbros, & ſumma pericula rerum
Excipit, & ſolus trepidantem protegit urbem.
Atque ideo, poſtquam ad Cimbros, ſtragemque volabant,
Qui nunquam attigerant majora cadavera, corvi,
Nobilis ornatur lauro collega ſecundâ.
Juven. Sat. viii.
Marius.

Fortune

Fortune of this day *(Fortunæ hujuſce diei,)* meaning the day on which the *Cimbri* were vanquiſhed: but the inſcription was applicable to every day in the year [a]. Y. R. 652. Cic de Leg. l. ii. c. 11.

CHAP. IV.

The *ſecond* SERVILE WAR in *Sicily.*

DURING the war againſt the *Cimbri* and their allies, the Republic had another war to maintain againſt the Slaves in *Sicily* [b]. In the year 649 *Marius*, having obtained leave of the Senate to aſk, from foreign ſtates, aſſiſtance againſt the *Cimbri*, had ſent to *Nicomedes*, King of *Bithynia*, for recruits. The King excuſed himſelf, alledging, that a great number of his ſubjects had been forcibly carried away into ſlavery, by thoſe who farmed the revenues of the Republic in the Eaſt. The complaint appearing to the Senate to be well grounded, they paſſed a Diod. Sic. l. xxxvi. ap. Phot.

[a] This year one *Publitius Malleolus*, for having murdered his mother, was ſewed up in a ſack with a dog, a cock, a viper, and an ape, and thrown into the river. *Vid. Auct. ad Herenn.* l. i. c. 13. *Cic. Orat.* c. 30. *Oroſ.* l. v. c. 16. This is the ſecond inſtance, mentioned in hiſtory, of Parricide among the *Romans*. *Romulus* (ſays *Plutarch*) decreed no puniſhment for this crime, as being a wickedneſs he had never heard of; nor was there any example of it, till after the ſecond *Punic* war: and, according to the Epitome of *Livy* (l. lxviii.) if the reading be right, *Malleolus* was the firſt who was puniſhed in the above manner. Hence ſome have thought, that the law againſt Parricide was enacted upon this occaſion. But *Cicero* (*pro Roſc. Amer.* c. xxv.) commends the old *Romans*, as being wiſer than SOLON; who had provided no puniſhment for Parricide. He calls thoſe old *Romans our anceſtors (majores noſtri,)* which he would hardly have done, had they lived in his own time; and he was five years old, when *Malleolus* was condemned. Nor was that kind of puniſhment unknown to the *Romans* of the early times. *Plautus* mentions it in Aulular and *Val. Max.* (l. i. c. 1. § 13.) tells us, that *Tarquin* ordered *M. Tullius* one of the Duumvirs who had the care of the Sibylline books, to be ſewed in a ſack, and thrown into the ſea, for giving a copy of a book, containing the *Secreta Civilium Sacrorum*, to one *Petronius Sabinus*.

[b] Some commotions (ſoon ſuppreſſed) of the Slaves in Italy, had been the prelude to this *Sicilian* war. The moſt conſiderable of them had a *Roman* Knight, named *Vettius*, for its author. He had fallen deſperately in love with a young ſlave, and bought her for ſeven talents, which he promiſed to pay at a certain time. The term elapſed, and he had not the money; for, though his father had been extremely rich, he himſelf had ſquandered away the inheritance by his extravagance; yet the bad ſtate of his affairs, was not publickly known. He requeſted, and obtained of his creditor, farther time; but at the expiration of it, being ſtill inſolvent, and his creditor urgent, he took a mad and deſperate reſolution. He bought, upon credit, a great many ſuits of armour, armed his own ſlaves to the number of four hundred, aſſumed the diadem, the purple robe, all the marks of ſovereignty, and proclaimed himſelf king. His firſt exploit was to ſeize and murder his importunate creditor. His forces increaſing to ſeven hundred men, he fortified a camp to ſerve as an aſylum for all that would join him. His army amounted to three thouſand five hundred men, when *L. Lucullus*, then Prætor, with four thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, came to an engagement with him, in which *Vettius* gained ſome advantage. But the Prætor, having afterwards found means to gain over *Appolonius*, whom *Vettius* had made his principal officer, the new King was betrayed, and reduced to kill himſelf. *Diod. Eclog.* book xxxvi.

Y.R.652. Bef. Chr. 100. 351 Conſ.

decree, that no freemen of the *Roman* allies ſhould in any province be treated as ſlaves, and that the Proconſuls and Prætors ſhould take care that all ſuch as had been injuriouſly forced into ſlavery, ſhould be ſet free: in obedience to this decree, *Licinius Nerva*, Prætor in *Sicily*, gave liberty, in a few days, to above eight hundred ſlaves. The chief men of the iſland, foreſeeing how much they ſhould be loſers, by the execution of this decree, addreſſed themſelves to the Prætor, and begged of him to manumiſe no more of the ſlaves. *Licinius*, either prevailed upon by bribes, or deſiring to ingratiate himſelf with the rich, would no longer liſten to the complaints of ſuch of the ſlaves as, having been forced into ſlavery, had recourſe to him for redreſs. On the contrary, he gave them rough language, and ſent them home to their maſters. The ſlaves hereupon had recourſe to arms. About 200 of them, having poſted themſelves upon a rock, fortified it, and defended themſelves for ſome time againſt all the efforts of *Licinius*. At length he ſent for one *C. Titinius*, who had been, ſome years before, condemned to death; but having eſcaped from puniſhment, now practiſed robbery. To this man *Licinius* promiſed pardon and protection, if by his means, the ſlaves ſhould be reduced. *Titinius* with a body of his aſſociates, went over to the rebels, as if to ſpirit them againſt their enemies. Being well received by them, and, for his bravery, declared their General, he, ſoon after, betrayed them into the hands of the *Romans*. This inſurrection, thus ſuppreſſed, was immediately followed by another. In a few days, the rebels amounted to 2000 men and, after a victory which they obtained over a *Roman* detachment, their number increaſed to above 6000. They then choſe themſelves a King, one *Salvius*, a pretender to the art of divination by inſpecting the entrails of animals. After ſome time ſpent in plundering the country, *Salvius* laid ſiege to *Morgantia*; and *Licinius* advanced with a view to relieve the place. But the rebels turned upon him, and, having the advantage of the ground, defeated him. Only 600 men of the *Roman* army fell in this action, but 4000 were taken priſoners: for *Salvius* had prudently proclaimed *Quarter* to all who ſhould throw down their arms.

On the report of this victory, ſuch multitudes flocked in to the rebels from all parts, that their army was doubled, and they renewed their attacks upon *Morgantia*, at the ſame time promiſing liberty to the ſlaves within the town: But, their maſters making them the ſame promiſe, in caſe of victory, the ſlaves fought ſo bravely, that they forced the rebels to raiſe the ſiege. Nevertheleſs, *Licinius* annulled the promiſe made to thoſe ſlaves, who thereupon went over to the enemy.

The contagion of rebellion ſpread itſelf to the territories of *Ægeſta* and *Lilybæum*. *Athenio*, a *Cicilian*, a pretender to divination by the ſtars, got together about 1000 of his fellow-ſlaves; and he too, aſſumed, the title of King. His army increaſing to 10,000 able bodied men (for he would not, like King *Salvius*, receive promiſcuouſly all that came to

him) he laid ſiege to *Lilybæum*, a place that was deemed impregnable. *Athenio*, after ſome time, became ſenſible of his error, and then, that he might quit his enterprize without hiſhonour, pretended, that the Gods had foretold him, by the ſtars, that if the army continued the ſiege, ſome ſudden misfortune would certainly befal it. A fleet from *Mauritania*, with ſuccours ſent by King *Bocchus* to the *Romans*, happened to arrive at *Lilybæum*, juſt at the time when *Athenio* began to decamp; and thoſe *Africans* landed ſoon enough to fall upon the rear of the rebel army, which ſuffered a conſiderable loſs: but this loſs was more than compenſated to *Athenio* by the increaſe of credit which his aſtrological prediction gained him. Y. R. 652. Bef Chr. 100. 351 Conſ.

In the mean time *Salvius*, who had aſſumed the name of *Tryphon*, a name formerly borne by one of the Kings of *Syria*, choſe *Triocala*[g] for his palace of reſidence. There he built a palace, fortified the caſtle (which was before very ſtrong,) and enlarged the town. From hence he ſent, as King, a command to *Athenio* to come and join him with the forces he had collected. Contrary to all men's expectations, *Athenio* obeyed, and marched to *Triocala* with 3000 men: the remainder of his army he had diſperſed over the country to pillage it, and to engage as many of the ſlaves as they could to take part with him. The two Generals, for ſome time, lived amicably together, but, at length, *Tryphon*, ſuſpecting *Athenio* of a deſign to ſupplant him, cauſed him to be ſeized, and put under confinement.

The next year [650] *Licinius Lucullus*[h], who ſucceeded *Licinius Nerva*, in the Prætorſhip of *Sicily*, landed in the iſland with 17,000 men. On the news of their arrival, *Tryphon*, releaſed *Athenio*, and marched with him, at the head of 40,000 men, to meet *Lucullus*. The battle was long doubtful. *Athenio* fought with great bravery, but, having received three wounds, by two of which his legs were lamed, he at length fell among the dead. Hereupon the ſlaves loſt courage, and took to their heels. Twenty thouſand of them were ſlain; the reſt, by favour of the night, eſcaped, with their King, to *Triocala*. *Athenio*, though grievouſly wounded, was not killed; in the dark, he made a ſhift to creep away, and join his companions. The rebels, much diſheartened by their loſs, held a counſel to deliberate upon the ſtate of their affairs. Some propoſed *ſubmiſſion to their maſters at diſcretion*; but the prevailing opinion was *to fight it out to the laſt*. *Lucullus* gave them time to recover themſelves; for it was nine days after the battle, before he inveſted *Triocala*: and then the rebels made ſo reſolute a defence, that they obliged him to quit the enterprize. Nor did the *Roman* General take any further meaſures to cruſh the rebellion[i]: his only care was to enrich

[g] *Triocala* (*quaſi* τρια καλα) was ſo called, on account of three ſorts of beauty which were there united: the ſtrength of its ſituation (for it was built upon a high rock), ſprings of excellent water, and fruitful fields below.

[h] Father of him who afterwards conducted the war againſt *Mithridates*.

[i] According to *Florus* (l. iii. c. 19.) *Athenio* took *Lucullus's* camp; nor does the hiſtorian mention any victory obtained, this year, over the ſlaves.

Y.R.652. Bef. Chr. 100. 351 Conſ.

himſelf at the expence of his province. Of this, at his return to *Rome*, he was accuſed before the people, and found guilty.

The Prætor *Servilius*, who (in 651) ſucceeded *Lucullus*[k], had no ſucceſs againſt the rebels. *Tryphon* was now dead: his ſucceſſor, *Athenio*, always brave and enterpriſing, forced the *Roman* camp, took towns, and ravaged the country at pleaſure.

Flor. l. iii. c. 19. Diod. Sic. l. xxxvi. ap Phot.

In the preſent year (652) the fifth conſulſhip of *Marius*, the Senate thought proper to commiſſion his collegue *Aquilius* to conduct that war, in which three Prætors had been foiled. This new General applied himſelf chiefly to cut off the enemies proviſions; nor does he ſeem to have offered them battle till the next year, when their number was conſiderably diminiſhed. He then entirely defeated them in a general engagement, wherein, it is ſaid, he fought hand to hand with *Athenio*, and killed him, after being wounded by him in the head. About 10,000 of the rebels eſcaped to their ſtrong holds, where *Aquilius* afterwards deſtroyed them, chiefly by famine[l]. A thouſand ſtill remained under a leader, named *Satyrus*, and theſe ſurrendered themſelves. The Proconſul promiſed them pardon; but when he had tranſported them to *Rome*, he condemned them to fight with wild beaſts. This they refuſed to do, and choſe rather to fall by the hands of one another: *Satyrus* alone remaining, he ran upon his own ſword, and was the laſt that periſhed on account of this rebellion, which had laſted four years. We are told, that in this, and the former *Servile War* in *Sicily*, a million of ſlaves were deſtroyed.

Flor. loc. cit. Liv. Epit. l. lxix Diod. Sic. loc. cit. Cic. v. in Verr. c. 1. Diod. Sic. loc. cit.

Athen. l. vi. c. 12.

CHAP. V.

The ſixth *Conſulſhip of* Marius, *Year of* Rome 653. *The violences of* Saturninus, *Tribune of the Commons.* Metellus Numidicus *baniſhed.* Saturninus *and his aſſociates in ſedition are cruſhed.* Metellus *is recalled by a decree made in* 654, *and returns in* 655. Marius *makes a voyage into* Aſia; *has a conference there with* Mithridates; *and returns to* Rome *in* 656.

The condemation of Servilius Cœpio *to baniſhment, in* 658.

The trial and acquittal of his proſecutor, Norbanus, *in* 659.

Rutilius Rufus *is maliciouſly proſecuted, and unjuſtly condemned to baniſhment, in* 660.

Y.R.653. Bef. Chr. 99. 352 Conſ.

AT *Rome Marius* had put up for a *ſixth* Conſulſhip, with more eagerneſs than was common in ſuing for a *firſt*. It is ſaid, that on this occaſion he bribed the People, and by the ſame means prevailed

[k] It would ſeem from *Florus*, that *Lucullus* was ſucceſſor of *Servilius*.

[l] *Florus* reports, that all thoſe of the ſlaves who eſcaped from the battle, killed one another: only *Athenio* was by the *Romans* torn to pieces, through their eagerneſs to ſeize him.

to have *L. Valerius Flaccus* choſen for his collegue, in oppoſition to *Metellus Numidicus*. Y. R. 653.

Saturninus was now Tribune of the Commons a ſecond time. *A. Nonius* had been his competitor for that office, and had carried the election; but, in returning home, was murdered by him. Early the next morning, one of the Prætors, named *Glaucia*, whom *Cicero* calls *the moſt wicked man that ever lived*, aſſembled the Tribes in a furtive manner, and *Saturninus* was there declared Tribune. Supported by *Marius* and *Glaucia*, he propoſed a law, enacting, that the lands in *Gaul*, which the *Cimbri* had ſeized, ſhould belong to the juriſdiction of *Rome*, and be divided among the People: that the Senate, within five days after the Law's being paſt, ſhould give it the ſanction of their authority, and ſwear ſolemnly to the obſervance of it; and that whatever Senator ſhould refuſe to take this oath, ſhould be expelled the Senate, and pay a fine of twenty talents. We are told that the view of *Marius*, *Saturninus*, and *Glaucia*, who all joined their intereſt to promote the paſſing of this law, was to ruin *Metellus Numidicus*, who, they knew, would not take the oath propoſed[a].

Plut. in Mar. Rutil. ap. Plut. Liv. Epit. l. lxix. App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 367. In Brut. c. lxii. Plut. in Mar. App. loc. cit.

Saturninus, to carry his point, ſent into the country to ſolicit the votes of the ruſtic Tribes, upon whom he chiefly depended; becauſe many belonging to thoſe Tribes had ſerved in the war under *Marius*. On the day when the Comitia met to determine concerning the Law, the Nobles and the Citizens oppoſed it with great vehemence, while the People from the country as zealouſly contended for it. The Citizens, finding their party the weaker, cried out, *It thunders* (an evil omen, which made it illegal to determine any thing in that Aſſembly.) *Saturninus* anſwered with anger, *It will hail by and by, if you are not quiet.* A ſkirmiſh preſently followed, in which, the country people having the advantage, the law, of courſe, was carried.

App. p. 368. Auct. de Vir. Illuſt. in Saturn. App. loc. cit.

Then *Marius*, who had acted underhand in all this affair, aſſembled the Senate, and declared to them, that, for his part, he would never take

[a] The Conſul had long hated *Metellus*; and the Prætor and Tribune bore him no leſs enmity, becauſe, in his Cenſorſhip (Year of *Rome* 650) he would have turned them both out of the Senate, for irregularity of conduct, if his collegue and couſin german, *Metellus Caprarius*, ſon of *Metellus Calvus*, had not hindered it.

It was about the ſame time (according to *Diod. Sic. apud Fulv. Urſin.*) that *Saturninus* inſulted certain Ambaſſadors, whom *Mithridates* had ſent to *Rome*, to engage to him the friendſhip of the principal Senators, that he might meet with no oppoſition from the *Romans* in the ambitious deſigns which he had formed againſt his neighbours. The crime was heinous, and the criminal, being proſecuted, was in danger of being delivered up to the King of *Pontus*. Nevertheleſs, by his abject ſupplications to the Populace, with tears, and proteſtations, that what he had done was from zeal for the People's intereſts, which required that no attention ſhould be giving to the Ambaſſadors, but rather a war declared againſt *Mithridates*, he procured ſuch a numerous rabble to appear for him, that the Judges durſt not condemn him.

Y.R.653. Bef. Chr. 99. 325 Conf.

ſo unjuſt an oath; and that he did not think any wiſe man would: that, even ſuppoſing the law to be a good law, it was yet an affront to the Senate to compel them to give their approbation of it. This he ſaid to entrap *Metellus*, who, he knew, would keep ſteady to whatever he ſhould once deliver as his opinion. *Metellus* declared, he would never ſwear to obſerve the law in queſtion, and the Senators, in general, made the ſame declaration.

Plut. in Mar.

App. loc. cit.

On the laſt day allowed for taking the oath, the Conſul, in the morning, having haſtily convened the Senate, told them, that he was afraid of the People, who were zealous for the law; that, therefore, he had thought, of an expedient; which was, to ſwear to maintain, and obſerve the law, *ſo far as it was a law*; and that afterwards it might eaſily be made appear, that a law which had been carried by force, and when it thundered, could be no law. This ſaid, without waiting to hear the opinion of the Fathers, he went to the temple of *Saturn*, and, together with his friends, took the oath[b]. All the reſt of the Senators, through fear, ſwore in their turns, except *Metellus*, who reſolutely perſiſted in his opinion.

App. p. 369.

Plut. in Mar.

"To *do* ill (he ſaid) in any circumſtances, is the effect of a corrupt "heart. To do well, when there is nothing to fear, is the merit of a "common man: but to do well, when a man expoſes himſelf thereby to "the greateſt dangers, is peculiar to the truly virtuous."

App. loc. cit.

Next day, an officer having, by *Saturninus's* order, arreſted *Metellus*, and brought him from the Senate-houſe before the *People*; and the Tribune having repreſented to the Aſſembly, that they muſt never hope for the execution of the law in queſtion[c], ſo long as that Senator remained in the city, they, by a decree, condemned him to baniſhment.

By

[b] *Plutarch* ſays nothing of the Conſul's aſſembling the Senate a ſecond time. The hiſtorian tells us, that when *Saturninus* ſummoned the Senators before the People to take the appointed oath, *Marius* ſaid, that he had not the preſumption to depend upon one deliberation in an affair of ſuch conſequence; that therefore he would ſwear, and would obey the law, if it was a law.

[c] *Saturninus* obtained likewiſe another law, for allotting 100 acres of land in *Africa* to each of *Marius's* veteran ſoldiers. *Auct. de Vir. Illuſt. in Saturn.* [This writer, however, ſeems to refer the law in queſtion to the firſt Tribuneſhips of *Saturninus*.] One of the Tribunes, named *Baebius*, oppoſed the paſſing this Law, but the People drove him with ſtones from the Roſtra. Another law of *Saturninus* enacted, that *Roman* colonies ſhould be planted where the People pleaſed in *Sicily*, *Achaia*, and *Macedon*: that the gold, which *Cæpio* had brought from *Toulouſe*, ſhould be laid out in the purchaſe of lands, and that *Marius* ſhould have the privilege to make three *Roman* citizens in each colony; but theſe colonies were never planted. *Cic. pro Balb.* c. 21.

The Tribune likewiſe propoſed to make a diſtribution of corn amongſt the People at a low price. *Cæpio*, who had been formerly Conſul, and condemned for his miſconduct in the *Cimbrian* war, was now Quæſtor Urbanus. [He, probably, ſued for public

By the ſame decree the Conſuls were ordered to make an edict, forbidding all the ſubjects of the Republic to receive him; and one day's time only was allowed to the Senate, for coming to a determination. Many perſons flocked to him, and offered to defend him by force; but he would not conſent that his Country ſhould be involved in a civil war on his account. He choſe to leave the City: *Affairs*, ſaid he, *will change, and I ſhall be recalled: or, if they continue in their preſent ſtate, it is more deſirable to be abſent. The ſafety of his country* (ſays *Cicero*) *was dearer to him than the ſight of it; and he choſe rather to depart from the City, than from his opinion.* Wherever he went, he received great marks of reſpect and eſteem, and, at length, fixed his reſidence at *Rhodes*, where he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy. Y. R. 653. Bef. Chr. 99. 352 Conſ. Plut. in Mar. Pro Balb. c. 5. Liv. Epit. l. lxix.

Saturninus now aimed at a third Tribuneſhip, and *Glaucia* to be Conſul for the next year, though the laws required two years interval between bearing the office of Prætor and that of Conſul. *Marius*, to make his court to both parties, pretended to each to be in their intereſt, privately incenſing one againſt the other, that he might bring them both into a dependance upon himſelf. It is ſaid, that, the principal men of the Senate having applied themſelves to him to perſuade him to defend the State againſt the enterpriſes of *Saturninus*, he, at the ſame time, received *Saturninus* into his houſe, by another door: and, pretending an indiſpoſition, that obliged him to go frequently out, he went to and fro from one apartment to the other. Plut. in Mar.

Non content with purſuing his own ambition, *Saturninus* had the inſolence to preſent, as a candidate for the Tribuneſhip, *Equitius*[d], who called himſelf *Gracchus*, and pretended to be a ſon of the famous *Tiberius Gracchus*; but was indeed of the dregs of the People. Auct. de Vir. Illuſt. in Saturn. App. p. 369.

public offices, that he might be raiſed again to his former rank and privileges.] Upon his repreſenting to the Senate, that the treaſury could not bear the expence of purchaſing the corn required, the Conſcript Fathers decreed, that *Saturninus* would act contrary to the good of the ſtate, if he brought the law in queſtion before the People. The Tribune, nevertheleſs, propoſed the law, and, though ſome of his collegues *interceded*, he ordered the urns for balloting to be brought out. Hereupon *Cæpio*, with a croud of people attending him, broke down the bridges, overſet the urns, and, by force, hindered the law from paſſing. *Auct. ad Heren.* l. i. c. 12.

[d] He had before attempted to get this *Equitius* acknowledged for the ſon of *Tiberius*, and, as ſuch, put upon the regiſter of the *Roman* citizens. *Metellus Numidicus*, who was then one of the Cenſors, refuſed to receive him, affirming, that all the ſons of *Tiberius Gracchus* (who had but three) were dead. *Sempronia*, the ſiſter of *Tiberius*, when brought into an aſſembly of the People, by one of the Tribunes, that ſhe might own the impoſtor for her nephew, had abſolutely diſowned all relation to him, and expreſſed a contempt of him. *Val. Max.* l. ix. c. 7. § 2. *Id.* l. iii. c. 8. § 6. *Auct. de Vir. Illuſtr. in Saturn.*

On

Y. R. 653. On this occaſion *Marius* thought proper to interpoſe his authority, and to ſend the candidate to priſon: notwithſtanding which, the faction of *Saturninus* prevailed. They broke open the priſon doors, carried *Equitius* upon their ſhoulders to the voting place, and declared him Tribune, together with *Saturninus*.

Val. Max. l. ix. c. 7. § 1. App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 369.

On the day of election of Conſuls for the new year, *M. Antonius*, the famous orator, was choſen without difficulty or oppoſition. *Glaucia* had for his competitor *C. Memmius*, a man of diſtinction, and probably the ſame who, in his Tribuneſhip, had cauſed *Jugurtha* to be brought from *Africa* to *Rome*. The Prætor and *Saturninus*, apprehending a defeat, employed their aſſaſſins to diſpatch *Memmius*: and they knocked him on the head in the Forum, in the preſence of all the people. Upon this outrage, the aſſembly broke up tumultuouſly, and *Saturninus* went to his own houſe, attended by *Glaucia*, the Quæſtor *Saufeius*, the falſe *Gracchus*, and a multitude of the rabble. It is reported (by *Florus*) that theſe ſaluted him King. The Senate met and paſſed a decree, *that the Conſuls ſhould take care that the Republic received no detriment.* This inveſted thoſe Magiſtrates with an abſolute power; and *Marius*, who could now no longer protect his old friend, beſieged him in the Capitol, whither he and his followers had retired in arms. The Conſuls were ſupported by all the Prætors except *Glaucia*, all the Tribunes except *Saturninus*, the whole Senate, the whole order of Knights, and the beſt men of the People. The more eaſily to quell the ſedition, they cut the pipes which conveyed water into the Capitol. In this extremity, the Quæſtor *Saufeius* propoſed ſetting fire to the place; but *Saturninus* and *Glaucia*, depending upon *Marius*'s friendſhip, ſurrendered themſelves on the public faith, which *Marius* pledged to them for their ſafety. This, according to *Cicero*, the Conſul had no right to do, without a decree of the Senate. Be that as it will, all the leaders of the ſedition were maſſacred[*] by the enraged multitude that ſame day, the 5th of *December*, which was the very day the Tribunes entered upon their office.

Oroſ. l. v. c. 17.

App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 369.

Cic. pro C. Rabir. c. 7.

Liv. Epit. l. lxix.

Cic. loc. cit. & in Cat. orat. i. c. 2.

Plut. in Mar.

App. loc. cit.

Cic. pro C. Rabir. c. 10.

Oroſ. l. v. c. 17.

Dio. Caſſ. ap. Val. p. 638.

App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 370.

It would ſeem that, immediately after ſuppreſſing this ſedition, *Cato* and *Pompeius*, two of the Tribunes, preſented a petition to the People for the repeal of *Metellus*'s baniſhment: one of their collegues, *P. Furius*, the ſon of a freedman, and whom *Metellus*, in his Cenſorſhip, had

[*] According to *Vell. Pat.* (l. ii. c. 12.) *Marius* ſhut up the chiefs of the party in the Senate-houſe, and there had them put to death. *Appian* (l. i. p. 370.) tells us, that the People, thinking that *Marius* intended to ſcreen them from puniſhment, got upon the top of the building, pulled off the tiles, and with theſe knocked the priſoners on the head. *Oroſius* (l. v. c. 17.) ſays, the *Roman* Knights broke open the Senate-houſe, and killed them. Others affirm, that *Saturninus* was killed by *Rabirius*, a *Roman* Knight; but *Cicero* (*pro Rabir.* c. 2.) defending him, when arraigned for this very crime, ſays, that *Scæva*, a ſlave of one *Croto*, killed *Saturninus*. The ſame author tells us, that *Marius* put to death the Prætor *Glaucia*, though he was not named in the decree of the Senate. *Cic.* 3 in *Cat.* c. 6.

degraded

degraded from the rank of a *Roman* Knight, oppoſed the requeſt: nor would he be prevailed upon to deſiſt from his oppoſition, though the ſon of *Metellus*, in preſence of all the People, fell down upon his knees, and begged it of him with tears; a behaviour which occaſioned his bearing afterwards the ſurname of *Pius*. Y.R. 653. Bef. Chr. 99. 352 Conſ.

In the magiſtracy[b] of *M. Antonius* and *A. Poſthumius Albinus*, Conſuls for the year 654, *Sex. Titius*, one of the Tribunes, propoſed a law for dividing ſome lands amongſt the People, and, on this occaſion, had no regard to the *interceſſion* of his collegues: nevertheleſs he was obliged to deſiſt from his enterpriſe, becauſe two crows, flying over the Comitia, had fought with their beaks and claws; and the *Augurs* had thereupon declared that the law muſt be dropt, and ſacrifices be offered to *Apollo*. Y.R. 654. Bef. Chr. 98. 353 Conſ. Jul. Obſeq. l. xliv.

This *Titius*, when out of his office, was proſecuted before the *Roman* Knights, and condemned to baniſhment, for having in his houſe a picture of *Saturninus*; an act of rigour juſtified by *Cicero*. Cic. pro Rabir. c. 9.

Furius, likewiſe, who had oppoſed *Metellus*'s return, was, after the expiration of his office, accuſed of treaſon by *Canuleius* and *Decianus*, two of the Tribunes. The enraged People, without ſo much as hearing his defence, tore him in pieces. And becauſe *Decianus*, in a ſpeech on that occaſion, lamented the death of *Saturninus*, he was, next year, brought to a trial and baniſhed, though a very worthy man, according to *Valerius Maximus*. App. loc. cit. Dio. Caſſ. ap. Val. p. 637. Cic. pro Rabir. c. 9.

The times now favoured *Metellus Numidicus*. At the motion of the Tribune *Caldius*, he was, with the univerſal conſent of the People, recalled from baniſhment[c]. At his return to *Rome*, the whole city went out to meet him, and the day was not ſufficient for receiving the congratulations of the Senate and the reſt of the Citizens. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 1. Cic. pro Planc. xxviii. App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 370.

Plutarch reports, that *Marius*, to avoid ſeeing the return of *Metellus*, ſet out, before that time, on a voyage to *Aſia*, under pretence of diſcharging a vow he had made to *Cybele*, the mother of the Gods. If ſo, *Metellus* did not arrive in *Italy* till the year 655, for we find *Marius* at *Rome* in that year, being the Conſulſhip of *Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos*, Plut. in Mar. Y.R. 655. Bef. Chr. 97. 354 Conſ.

[b] In this Conſulſhip was born, at *Rome*, *Julius Cæſar*, on the fourth of the Ides, *i. e.* the twelfth of the month *Quintilis*, afterwards, from him, called *July*.

[c] *Metellus*, at this time, reſided at *Tralles* in *Lydia*: letters to inform him of his recal, were brought to him, while preſent at the celebration of ſome games: he deferred reading them till the ſhew was over. No emotions were diſcovered by his looks. "Baniſhed, or recalled (ſays *Val. Max.*) he "had the ſame ſerenity of countenance; "the ſame firmneſs and ſteadineſs of ſoul in "both fortunes:" *Eundem conſtat pari vultu & exſulem fuiſſe & reſtitutum: adeo moderationis beneficio, medius ſemper inter ſecundas & adverſas res animi firmitate verſatus eſt.* Val. Max. l. iv. c. 1. § 13.

N. B. This does not very well accord with what *Salluſt* reports of his temper and behaviour, on occaſion of *Marius*'s being appointed to ſucceed him, in the conduct of the *Numidian* war. See above, p. 55.

and

A. R. 655. and *T. Didius.* Their Conſuls, in the beginning of their adminiſtration, obtained the enacting of two laws; the firſt, to revive an old cuſtom now fallen into neglect, *viz.* That of notifying to the People three market-days (that is, twenty-ſeven days) before hand, the purport of any law that was to be propoſed to the Comitia. The ſecond, that if the law conſiſted of ſeveral articles, the People might be free to ſeparate them, and reject thoſe which they did not approve, while the ſanction of their authority was given to the reſt.

Cic. pro Dom. c. 16. Id. pro Dom. c. 20.

Cic. de Orat. l. ii. c. 45. 47. & in Ver. v. c. 1. & pro Flacc. c. 39. Quintil. Inſtitut. l. ii. c. 16.

Aquilius, who had been collegue to *Marius* in his fifth Conſulſhip, and had compleated the reduction of the rebel ſlaves in *Sicily*, was now brought to trial, on the charge of grievous extortion in that province. *Antonius*, Conſul of the laſt year, undertook the defence of the accuſed, and, becauſe the facts were too clear againſt him to be diſputed, confined himſelf wholly to move compaſſion in the Judges. That the orator was a perfect maſter of the pathetic, may be thought ſufficiently proved by this, that he drew tears even from *Marius*, who was one of the bench.

Val. Max. l. ii. c. 9. § 5.

A certain Tribune of the People, named *Duronius*, repealed, this year, one of the ſumptuary laws; [*legem de coercendis conviviorum ſumptibus latam.*] On this occaſion, *Duronius* made a ſpeech of a very extraordinary tenour, to the People, from the Roſtra. "Reſtraints have been impoſed "upon us, *Romans*, which are not to be endured: we are faſt bound "in the galling chains of ſervitude: a law was enacted, nay, is ſtill in "force, to confine the expences of our tables. What a twang of antique "ruſticity! we abrogate, we annul that law: for what is a man's liberty, "who is not free to ruin his fortune by coſtly entertainments, if it be his "pleaſure ſo to do?"

App. in Iber. p. 311.

During the wars with the *Cimbri*, and with the Slaves of *Sicily*, the *Romans* ſent no forces into *Spain*: they only ſent Ambaſſadors thither, from time to time, to prevent, if poſſible, all matter of quarrel. But now they ordered the Conſul *Didius* into that country with an army. *Sertorius* accompanied him thither, in quality of Legionary Tribune. The Conſul fought a battle, ſucceſsfully, with the *Vaccæi*[s]; and, afterwards, forced the People of *Termiſum* to abandon their town, which was ſtrongly ſituated, and live in a plain, where they had neither walls, nor fortifications. He then reduced *Colenda*, after a ſiege of nine months, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves. Not far from this town, was a

Plut. in Sertor.

[s] *Frontinus* (Stratag. l. ii. c. 10. § i.) tells us, that *Didius* fought a great battle in *Spain*; that night having put an end to it, the *Roman* General then cauſed the greateſt part of his dead ſoldiers to be buried; and that the *Spaniards*, the next day, ſeeing more of their own people ſlain, than of the enemy, they concluded themſelves vanquiſhed; and ſubmitted to the conditions of peace impoſed by *Didius*. According to the Epitome of *Livy* (l. lxx.) *Didius*, when Proconſul, fought ſucceſsfully againſt the *Celtiberians*. Whether theſe battles are the ſame, or different from what are related in the text, on the authority of *Appian*, is uncertain.

colony of *Celtiberians*, to whom, for their ſervices againſt the *Luſitanians*, *Marius*, by authority from the *Roman* Senate, had granted ſome lands for a poſſeſſion. It is pretended, that theſe *Celtiberians*, being poor, lived by robbery; and, for this, *Didius*, under pretence of dividing the territory of *Colenda* among them, decoyed them to his camp, and there cauſed them all to be maſſacred, men, women, and children. For theſe exploits he had a triumph. Y. R. 655. Bef. Chr. 97. 354 Conſ.

In the winter, *Sertorius* being quartered at *Caſtulo*, a city upon the *Bætis*, the debauchery and licentiouſneſs of his ſoldiers, provoked the inhabitants to conſpire with their neighbours, the *Gyriſæni*, to ſurprize the *Romans*, and put them to the ſword. The *Gyriſæni* were accordingly admitted in the night. *Sertorius* made his eſcape, and rallying thoſe of his men, who had likewiſe eſcaped, fetched a compaſs, re-entered the city, by the ſame gate, whereat the *Gyriſæni* had been admitted, and where the inhabitants had neglected to poſt a guard. Townſmen and ſtrangers he put all to the ſword, and then, making his ſoldiers cloath themſelves in the habits of the *Caſtulonians*, and *Gyriſæni*, led them ſtraight to the city of the latter, where, being miſtaken for *Spaniards*, and admitted as ſuch, they ſlew a great number of the inhabitants, and ſold the reſt for ſlaves. Plut. in Sertor.

It appears by the *Capitoline* tables, that the *Roman* arms proſpered this year in *Further Spain*, under the conduct of *C. Cornelius Dolabella*, and that he had a triumph for his exploits [a].

In the following Conſulſhip of *C. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Licinius Craſſus* (father of the Triumvir,) the Senate, by a decree, prohibited human ſacrifices, which, according to *Pliny*, had, till that time, been openly practiſed: nor was the practice yet totally aboliſhed at *Rome*, if we may believe *Dio Caſſius*, who mentions two men being ſacrificed in the *Campus Martius*, in the times of *Julius Cæſar*. Y. R. 656. Bef. Chr. 96. 355 Conſ. Plin. l. xxx. c. 3. Dio. Caſſ. l. iv. p. 226.

Marius was now returned from *Aſia*. Though he had made *the performance of a vow to Cybele* the pretence for his voyage thither, his real deſign (according to *Plutarch*) had been to kindle a war in *Aſia*, and particularly with *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, who, of all the potentates there, ſeemed the moſt diſpoſed thereto. Plut. in Mar.

As *Marius* had not the talents neceſſary to make a conſiderable figure in time of peace, his reputation among the people declined daily, and he therefore wanted to be again at the head of an army, that he might fill *Rome* with the fame of his atchievements, and his houſe with the ſpoils of *Pontus*. He arrived at the court of *Mithridates*, and was treated by him with great civility and marks of eſteem; yet was not thereby induced

[a] All the barbarous nations bordering upon *Macedon* (except a people called the *Denſeleti*) ſeem to have been up in arms, about this time, againſt *Rome*: but the particulars of this war are not tranſmitted to us. *Cic. in Piſ.* c. 34.

Y.R. 656. Bef. Chr. 96. 355 Conſ.

to ſoften, in any degree, the harſhneſs of his wonted manner: bluntly and dryly he ſaid to the monarch, *There is no medium, you muſt either find a way to become more powerful than the* Romans, *or you muſt quietly obey their commands.* This diſcourſe aſtoniſhed *Mithridates*, who, though he had often heard of the *Roman* haughtineſs, had never made trial of it before.

Marius, on his return to *Rome*, finding himſelf neglected, like a weapon of war in time of peace, would not venture to ſtand for the Cenſorſhip, though his ambition carried him to aſpire to that office. He gave out, that he did not chuſe to offend people, by a ſtrict ſearch into their lives and conduct. *Rome* beſtowed that Magiſtracy on *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *M. Antonius*, the orator: and theſe Cenſors ſtruck *Duronius*'s name out of the liſt of the Senators, for having repealed the ſumptuary law before-mentioned.

Val. Max. l. ii. c. 9. §. 5.

Jul. Obſeq. c. 46.

We learn from *Julius Obſequens*, that the *Romans* fought ſucceſsfully this year againſt the *Dardani* and the *Medi*, a people inhabiting the countries now called *Servia* and *Boſnia*.

Y.R. 657. Bef. Chr. 95. 356 Conſ.

Ptolemy Apion, King of *Cyrene* [b], dying in the year of *Rome* 657, when *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus* and *C. Caſſius Longinus* were Conſuls, bequeathed his dominions, by will, to the *Romans* [c], which he had no right to do. *Cyrene* had formerly belonged to *Egypt*, but *Ptolemy Phyſcon*, ſucceſſor to his brother *Philometer*, in the throne of that kingdom, had, at his death, left the province of *Cyrene* to *Apion*, his ſon by a concubine: but this partition of the kingdom was to ceaſe upon the death of *Apion*.

Liv. Epit. l. lxx.

Y.R. 658. Bef. Chr. 94. 357 Conſ.

The Conſular faſces being transferred to *L. Licinius Craſſus*, the orator, and *Q. Mucius Scævola*, the moſt able lawyer of his time; theſe Magiſtrates got a law enacted, which, *Cicero* ſays, was, in the opinion of all men, very prejudicial to the Republic. Many of the *Italians*, though not really *Roman* citizens, acted as if they were entitled to the privileges of citizenſhip. The new law imported, that no man, who could not produce a juſt title to *Roman* citizenſhip, ſhould be admitted to act as ſuch; and that even thoſe, who were born at *Rome*, if they had no other claim to citizenſhip, ſhould be ſent into the countries of their reſpective families. This law ſo much offended all the *Italians*, that it proved one of the chief cauſes of the Social war, which broke out about three years after.

Cic. pro C. Corn. Orat. 1. et Aſcon. in loc. Cic. de Offic. l. iii. c. 11.

[b] In this country grew the beſt *Laſerpitium*, or *Silphium*, the juice of which, when brought to a conſiſtence, was worth its weight in gold. *Pliny* (l. xix. c. 3.) tells us, that the Publicans deſtroyed all the *Laſerpitium* in *Cyrenaica*, by feeding their cattle with it, having experienced that it not only fattened them exceedingly, but gave their fleſh a fine taſte: but *Strabo* ſays, that the *Numidians*, invading that country, pulled up all the *Laſerpitium* by the roots. Lib. xvii. p. 837.

[c] The *Romans* declared the cities of *Cyrenaica* free, and did not reduce this country to the form of a province, till the time of *Sylla*.

It

It is uncertain what province fell to *Scævola*, but, it is probable, there was nothing to do in it, ſeeing he gave it up, that he might not put the public to expence. Y.R. 658. Bef. Chr. 94. 357 Conſ.

His collegue *Craſſus*, leſs frugal and more ambitious, ſearched the *Alps* (ſays *Cicero*) to find a triumph where no enemies were to be found. At length he met with a gang of robbers, who had no certain leader; and who, neither by their reputation, nor their numbers, were worthy to be called enemies of the *Roman* people. Thoſe robbers he reduced, and for this exploit he demanded a triumph at his return to *Rome*. The Senate, out of regard to his dignity and authority, were going to grant his requeſt, when his collegue interpoſed, and forbad the decree to paſs. Aſcon. in Orat. in Piſ. Cic. in Piſ. c. 26 Id. de Invent. l. ii c. 37. Aſcon. loc. cit.

Under the following adminiſtration of *L. Domitius Ænobarbus* and *C. Cæcilius Caldus*, *P. Sulpicius*, a young man famous for his eloquence, accuſed *Norbanus* before the *Roman* Knights, for a tumult he had raiſed the laſt year, when Tribune, on occaſion of the trial of *Cæpio*; the ſame *Cæpio* who, in 648, had been depoſed from the Proconſulſhip, for his miſconduct in the *Cimbrian* war. One of the crimes, now laid to *Cæpio*'s charge, was his riotous oppoſition to a law of *Saturninus*, for diſtributing corn to the people at a low price. The chief men of the Senate intereſted themſelves for the accuſed; the Conſul *Craſſus* pleaded his cauſe, and two Tribunes of the Commons interpoſed their authority: but *Norbanus*, having inflamed the multitude, they drove away his opponents with ſtones, wounded *Æmilius Scaurus*, Preſident of the Senate, and condemned *Cæpio* to baniſhment. *Norbanus*'s crime was heinous, the proofs clear, the parties againſt him ſtrong, but nothing could reſiſt the eloquence of *M. Antonius*, who undertook his defence. He gave ſuch colours to actions, truly unjuſtifiable, that the Judges, men of great probity, according to *Cicero*, abſolved the criminal, without thinking they diſhonoured themſelves. Y.R. 659. Bef. Chr. 93. 358 Conſ. Cic. de Orat l. ii. c. 47, 48.

In the following Conſulſhip of *C. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Herennius*, *Sylla*, who, the laſt year, had, without ſucceſs, ſtood for the Prætorſhip, now, partly by a popular behaviour, and partly by the help of money, got himſelf choſen to that office, though he had not paſſed through the *Ædileſhip*. We are told that *Cæſar Strabo*, a man of a facetious wit, to whom the new Prætor, on occaſion of ſome quarrel, had ſaid, in a threatning manner, *I ſhall uſe the power of my office*; anſwered him, laughing, *Right*; *it is* YOUR *office indeed*; for you bought it, and paid for it. Y.R. 660. Bef. Chr. 92. 359 Conſ. Plut. in Sylla.

P. Rutilius Rufus[*], who had aſſiſted *Scævola* in correcting the abuſes

[*] *Rutilius* had formerly ſtood competitor for the Conſulſhip which *M. Æmilius Scaurus*, the Preſident of the Senate; and *Scaurus* having carried the election, *Rutilius* accuſed him of having bribed the voters. *Scaurus*, being acquitted, accuſed *Rutilius* of the ſame crime, with as little ſucceſs. *Cic. in Brut.* c. 30. and *de Orat.* l. ii. c. 65.

Y.R. 661. committed by the Publicans in *Asia*, and whom the ancient historians represent as one of the best men in *Rome*, was accused before the *Roman* Knights of extortion in that very province. *Rutilius* would neither supplicate his Judges, nor change his habit, nor employ the eloquence of *Antonius* or *Crassus* to plead his cause; but spoke for himself, plainly and simply, without having recourse to any of the arts of oratory; yet he suffered his nephew *Cotta*, and Q. *Scævola*, to whom he had formerly been Lieutenant, to say something in his favour. The Judges, in revenge of his having abridged the profits of the Publicans, who were generally *Roman* Knights, condemned him to banishment, and confiscated his effects; which did not prove sufficient to pay the fine imposed upon him; a striking proof of his innocence. And *Dio* says, that his papers sufficiently attested his just title to all he possessed. In his exile, he lost nothing of his affection for his native country. When somebody, to comfort him, intimated to him, that a civil war was going to break out, and he would then be recalled, he answered, *What harm have I done you, that you should wish me to return to my country, with more sorrow than I left it?* He might have returned, after the victories of *Sylla*, who invited him *home*, but he chose rather to continue in exile: perhaps, he was unwilling to be an eye-witness of *Sylla*'s tyranny: for that he was a truly honest man, may be well presumed from another particular related of him. One of his friends having asked of him an unjust thing, and being so much offended at his refusal, as to say to him, with indignation, *Of what advantage is your friendship to me, if you will not do what I desire of you?* Rutilius answered, *And of what value is yours to me, if I can preserve it only by base actions* [b]*?*

Cic. de Orat. l. i. Pro Planc. c. 21. In Brut. c. 30. Pro Font. c. 13. In Pis. c. 39. Vell. Pat. l. ii. Liv. Epit. l. lxx. Dio. Cass. ap Vales. p. 637. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 10. § 5. Senec. de Benef. l. vi. c. 13. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 4. § 4.

CHAP. VI.

Sylla *(in* 661*) is sent into* Asia, *to check the ambition of* Mithridates, *King of* Pontus. *The genealogy, early adventures, and enterprises of this Monarch.*

Y.R. 661. Bef. Chr. 91. 360 Conf.

THE next year, when *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *M. Perperna*, were Consuls, *Sylla* had commission from the Senate to go into *Asia*, and there replace, on the throne of *Cappadocia*, *Ariobarzanes*, who had

[b] According to *Eusebius*, the poet *Lucretius* was born in the second year of the 171st Olympiad, which answers to this year of *Rome* 660. The same author writes, that *Lucretius* was mad: a distemper brought upon him by a filtre: that he wrote some books of his poem in his lucid intervals (which books *Cicero* afterwards corrected,) and that he killed himself in the forty-fourth year of his age. *Euseb. Chron. L. Poster. ap. Scaliger*, p. 150.

been

been driven thence by *Mithridates*, ſurnamed *Eupator*, King of *Pontus* [b]. Y.R. 661. Bef. Chr. 91.

This *Mithridates* (who ſtruggled long with the *Romans* for the empire of *Aſia*) had aſcended the throne at eleven or twelve years of age. It is ſaid, that, during his minority, his tutors attempted to deſtroy him, by mounting him on a fiery horſe unbroken; a danger he eſcaped by his addreſs: that they afterwards plotted to poiſon him, but that he, aware of their deſign, guarded himſelf againſt it by excellent antidotes: and it is added, that the frequent uſe of theſe gave him a conſtitution proof againſt the moſt deadly poiſon. He applied himſelf to the ſtudy of phyſic, and grew fond of being thought ſkilful in that art; inſomuch, that his courtiers, to humour his vanity by a ſervile complaiſance, uſed to laſh, or burn themſelves, in ſome part of their bodies, on purpoſe to give him an opportunity of ſhewing his ſkill in the cure. To ſecure himſelf from aſſaſſination, he pretended to be extremely fond of hunting, and (if we may believe *Juſtin*) was ſeven years without ſleeping a night in any houſe; he lay in the mountains, and ſeldom in the ſame place. This manner of life rendered him robuſt, hardened his body againſt the changes and inclemency of the ſeaſons, and prepared him to ſuſtain all the fatigues of war. During his nonage, the *Romans* took from him the *Greater Phrygia*, which they had aſſigned to his father, as the reward of his ſervices in the war with *Ariſtonicus*, and to which he had pretenſions of an earlier date, it having been given to his great grandfather *Seleucus Calinicus*.

360 Conſ.

Strab. l. x. p. 478. Juſt. l. xxvii. c. 2.

Plut. de Adulat. et Amic diſcrim. Juſtin. l. xxxvii. c. 3.

Vid. Vol. II. p. 544.

Juſt. l. xxxviii. cit.

Among the firſt acts of his reign, he put to death not only his guardians, but his mother and his brother. After this, he formed vaſt projects for enlarging his dominions [c]. He ſubdued a great part of *Scythia*, all

App. in Mithridat. p. 180.

[b] He was deſcended from a long ſeries of Kings, who had reigned in *Pontus* before him. The firſt of them was one of thoſe ſeven Princes, that ſlew the *Magians*, and ſettled the kingdom of *Perſia* on *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, and, having obtained the ſovereignty of this country, tranſmitted it to his poſterity, through ſixteen generations; *Mithridates Eupator* being reckoned the ſixteenth from him. *Polyb.* l. v. p. 388. *Florus. Diod. Sic. Aurel. Vict. Appian.*

1. The firſt of theſe, of whom we find a name in hiſtory, is that *Mithridates*, who, dying in the year before *Chriſt* 363, was ſucceeded by his ſon. [*Diod. Sic.* l. xv.]

2. *Ariobarzanes* (then Governor of *Phrygia* for *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, King of *Perſia*,) who, having reigned twenty-ſix years, was ſucceeded by his ſon.

3. *Mithridates*, the ſecond, in the year (before *Chriſt*) 337. —— On his death he was ſucceeded by his ſon.

4. *Mithridates*, the third, who, having very much enlarged the kingdom of *Pontus*, by new acquiſitions, was reckoned as the founder of it, and therefore is, by hiſtorians, called *Kτiſtes* (*i. e.* the Founder.) He reigned in *Pontus* thirty-ſix years, and on his death, which happened in the year 266, left his kingdom to his ſon, *Ariobarzanes*.

Diod. Sic. l. xx. Strabo. l. xii. 562. Appian. Diod. Sic. l. xx.

From this *Mithridates the Founder*, *Mithridates Eupator* was the eighth: but of theſe hiſtory furniſheth us with the names only of ſix, and theſe are; 1. *Mithridates Kτiſtes*. 2. *Ariobarzanes*. 3. *Mithridates*. 4. *Pharnaces*. 5. *Mithridates Evergetes*. 6. *Mithridates Eupator*.

Plut. in Demetr. Appian. Vid. Prideaux.

[c] The ſtate of *Aſia*, at this time, is thus repreſented by M. *Crevier*.

The *Romans* poſſeſſed *Aſia*, properly ſo called,

Y.R. 661. Bef. Chr. 91. 360 Conſ.

all *Colchis*, and the adjoining countries, and obliged the *Thracians*, the *Baſtarnæ*, the *Sarmatæ*, and all the nations of the *Tanais*, the *Palus Mæotis*; and at the mouth of the *Danube*, to enter into alliance with him, and aſſiſt him with their forces.

Juſtin. l. xxxvii. c. 3.

It is ſaid, that, elated with his victories, he propoſed to himſelf nothing leſs than the conqueſt of all *Aſia*; and that, with this view, he privately left his court, and, attended by a few of his friends, went over all that continent, in order to know the ſtrength of the towns and fortreſſes. But, perhaps, this ſtory was invented to make the king appear, in ſome ſort, the aggreſſor in the war, which he afterwards ſuſtained againſt the *Romans*.

At his return home, his wife *Laodice*, who, in his abſence, had been unfaithful to him, conſpired with her lovers to take him off by poiſon: both crimes being diſcovered by a ſlave, the King put her, and her accomplices, to death.

Id. ib. c. 4.

After this, he leagued himſelf with *Nicomedes*, King of *Bithynia*, and ſon of *Pruſias*; in conſequence of which they made themſelves maſters of *Paphlagonia*. *Pylæmenes*, King of that country, having complained at *Rome*, the Senate, by their Ambaſſador, ordered the two Kings to reſtore what they had uſurped. *Mithridates* (ſays *Juſtin*) thinking himſelf a match for the *Romans*, returned for anſwer, that *Paphlagonia* had fallen to his father by inheritance, who having never been blamed for claiming it, it was wonderful, that the ſame claim ſhould be conſidered as a crime in the ſon. But the hiſtorian, afterwards, tells us, that the King obeyed the decree of the Senate.

The *Bithynian* promiſed to reſtore his ſhare of *Paphlagonia* to *Pylæmenes*, the lawful King; and, by way of fulfilling his promiſe, proclaimed his own ſon King of that country, by the name of *Pylæmenes*.

called, that is, the kingdom of *Pergamus*, which had been left them by the will of *Attalus Philometor*, and conquered them from *Ariſtonicus*.

Nicomedes Philopator, ſon of *Pruſias*, reigned in *Bythinia*.

Paphlagonia had long had its Kings, whoſe common name was *Pylæmenes*. As it was ſituated between the dominions of the Kings of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, it had ſuffered much from thoſe two powerful neighbours; and its ancient Kings ſeemed to have been reduced very low, from the time of *Mithridates Evergetes*.

Next to *Paphlagonia*, along the coaſt of the *Euxine* ſea, was the kingdom of *Pontus*.

Cappadocia was under *Ariarathes*, the ſon of another of that name, who died in the ſervice of the *Romans* in the war with *Ariſtonicus*.

Galatia was divided between ſeveral tetrarchs.

But all theſe ſtates, and the other parts of *Aſia Minor*, without being immediately under the *Roman* ſway, reſpected their greatneſs, and in a manner received the law from them. Eſpecially when any troubles or quarrel aroſe, between the Princes, or States of thoſe countries, the *Romans* did not fail to make themſelves the arbitrators of them, and their opinion amounted, in effect, to a command. *Crev.* vol. X. book xxxii.

This affair had no important conſequences: but the enterprizes of *Mithridates* upon *Cappadocia* produced an open rupture between him and the *Romans*. Y. R. 661. Bef. Chr. 91. 360 Conſ.

Ariarathes, King of *Cappadocia*, had married *Laodice*, the ſiſter of the King of *Pontus*, and by her had two ſons. *Mithridates*, nevertheleſs, that he might poſſeſs himſelf of *Cappadocia*, not only contrived, by the means of one *Gordius*, to get *Ariarathes* aſſaſſinated, but formed the deſign of deſtroying thoſe ſons of his own ſiſter. Before he could execute this project, *Nicomedes*, King of *Bithynia*, ſeized the vacant throne of *Cappadocia*. Hereupon *Mithridates*, pretending to eſpouſe the intereſt of his nephews, ſent ſuccours to his ſiſter *Laodice*, in order to expel the uſurper: but the Queen had already married him. Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 1.

The King of *Pontus*, much diſpleaſed with theſe tidings, marched an army into *Cappadocia*, drove out *Nicomedes*, and placed the elder of *Laodice*'s ſons upon the throne. Not many months after, he propoſed to his nephew, that he ſhould recal *Gordius*, the aſſaſſin, from baniſhment. In this propoſal, his view was to have a pretence for war, in caſe his nephew denied his requeſt, and, in caſe he granted it, to get rid of him by the ſame hand which had murdered his father. The young King refuſed, and both ſides prepared for war. *Mithridates* brought into the field 80,000 foot, 10,000 horſe, and 600 armed chariots; and the *Cappadocian*, aſſiſted by the neighbouring Kings, had an army no leſs numerous. The King of *Pontus*, doubtful concerning the event of the war, invited his nephew to an amicable conference, and there ſtabbed him with his own hand, in ſight of both armies. He then placed his own ſon, a child of eight years old, upon the throne of *Cappadocia*, gave him the name of *Ariarathes*, and aſſigned him *Gordius* for his tutor.

The *Cappadocians*, oppreſſed by their governors, ſent into *Aſia* for the younger brother of their late King, and put him at their head. But this Prince, being defeated in battle by *Mithridates*, fled out of the country, and ſoon after died. Juſtin. ib. c. 2.

Nicomedes, fearing leſt the King of *Pontus*, now in poſſeſſion of *Cappadocia*, ſhould from thence invade *Bithynia*, which bordered upon it, ſuborned a young man, of great beauty, to call himſelf a ſon of the late *Ariarathes*, and petition the *Roman* Senate for the crown of *Cappadocia*. Queen *Laodice* joined in the fraud, and went to *Rome* with the impoſtor, there to own him for her ſon by her former huſband. *Mithridates*, with equal impudence, ſent *Gordius* to the Senate to aſſure them, that the boy, who actually reigned in *Cappadocia*, was a ſon of the late King *Ariarathes*[a]. The Conſcript Fathers took *Cappadocia* from *Mithridates*, and *Paplagonia*

[a] *Juſtin*, from whom we have this ſtory, ſays, that *Mithridates* pretended the boy was SON of that *Ariarathes*, who loſt his life in fighting for the *Romans* againſt *Ariſtonicus*. But this cannot be true, if what the hiſtorian had ſaid before be true, that the boy was

A. R. 661 *Paphlagonia* from *Nicomedes*, and declared both countries free. But the *Cappadocians*, accuſtomed to monarchical government, deſired they might have a King. Their requeſt being granted, their choice fell upon *Ariobarzanes*, a *Cappadocian* noble. *Mithridates* did not openly oppoſe the execution of this decree, but, we are told, that he, underhand, ſtirred up the *Armenians* againſt the *Cappadocians*; and we find that *Sylla* had a commiſſion to reſtore *Ariobarzanes* to his dominions, and that he effected it, after having driven from thence *Gordius* and the *Armenians*.

Strab. l. xii. p. 540.

Liv. Epit. l. lxx. Plut. in Sylla.

According to *Plutarch*, *Sylla* made a progreſs as far as to the *Euphrates*, and, while he was encamped on the banks of that river, *Arſaces*, King of the *Parthians*, ſent Ambaſſadors to him, deſiring an alliance with the *Roman* Republic: Though the *Parthians* were a nation the greateſt for extent of dominion, the moſt warlike, and the richeſt in *Aſia*, they were little known at *Rome*. *Sylla* reckoned among the moſt fortunate of his adventures that of being the firſt *Roman* to whom the *Parthians* had ſent a ſolemn embaſſy. "At the audience which he gave to the Ambaſſador, he placed himſelf in the middle between him and the King of *Cappadocia*; and the *Parthian* miniſter, for having ſuffered this, paid afterwards the forfeit of his head."

Sylla, at his return to *Rome*, was accuſed of having plundered the allies of the Republic, during his adminiſtration in *Aſia*: but his accuſer dropt the proſecution [a].

was but eight years old: for the Conſul *Perperna* finiſhed the war with *Ariſtonicus* in the year 623. *Mithridates* therefore, it is probable, pretended, that the boy in queſtion, was the grandſon of that *Ariarathes*, who had ſix ſons by his wife *Laodice*, the five eldeſt of which the mother poiſoned, that ſhe might not be deprived of the adminiſtration of the kingdom. The ſixth, who was preſerved by his relations, afterwards married *Laodice*, ſiſter of *Mithridates*, and was aſſaſſinated by his order. Of the two ſons of this marriage, *Mithridates* killed one with his own hand, and dethroned the other, who, ſoon afterwards, died with grief.

[a] A ſort of profeſſors had been introduced into *Rome*, who called themſelves *Latin* Rhetoricians, and pretended, by certain rules and definitions, to teach the *Roman* youth the art of eloquence. *Craſſus*, the orator, now in the Cenſorſhip with *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*, thought there was nothing to be learnt of theſe maſters, but impudence; in conjunction, therefore, with his collegue, he, by edict, obliged them to ſhut up their ſchools. *Cic. de Orat.* l. iii. c. 24.

The magiſtracy of theſe two Cenſors paſſed almoſt intirely in diſputes between themſelves; the ſource of which was, perhaps, their difference of character: *Domitius* being frugal, *Craſſus* given to expence. Their quarrels were too ridiculous to deſerve a place in hiſtory.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Livius Druſus, *Tribune of the People, undertakes without ſucceſs, to procure to the* Italian *allies the privileges of* Roman *citizenſhip.*

IN the Conſulſhip of *L. Marcius Philippus* and *Sex. Julius Cæſar*, great commotions were raiſed at *Rome*, on account of ſome laws propoſed by a Tribune of the People, *M. Livius Druſus*[a], the ſon of that *Druſus*, whom the Senate had ſpirited up to defeat the projects of *Caius Gracchus*. Y. R. 662. Bef. Chr. 90. 361 Conſ.

The hiſtorians have left us a very unſatisfactory account of the Tribuneſhip of this *Druſus*; they are not agreed among themſelves in relation to his character, or to his views, or to the ſubject of his laws: nor are the facts they relate altogether conſiſtent with what they ſay of him.

According to *Appian**, the Tribune chiefly aimed at procuring the right of *Roman* citizenſhip for the *Italian* allies: but moſt authors affirm, that his main deſign was to aſſert the authority of the Senate. The men, who oppoſed him with the greateſt vehemence, were the Conſul *Marcius Philippus* and a Senator named *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, who had formerly been in ſuch intimate friendſhip with the Tribune, that they had exchanged wives; which, *Strabo* ſays, was an antient cuſtom amongſt the *Romans*: yet theſe friends quarrelled afterwards about a ring that was ſold at an auction, and were reconciled.

To bring the People to favour his projects, *Druſus* propoſed ſeveral laws for giving lands, and diſtributing corn to the poorer citizens; and theſe laws he is ſaid to have carried by force[b], and by the aſſiſtance of the allies, to whom he promiſed the freedom of *Rome*. He alſo planted in *Italy* and *Sicily* many colonies of *Roman* citizens, not indeed by virtue of new laws, but in conſequence of ſuch as had been already enacted. If we may believe ſome authors, he was ſo profuſe in his grants, that he himſelf ſaid, he had left nothing for any body to give away, unleſs it were dirt and air. It was, probably, at this time, and to the end

* App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 371. Cic. de Orat. l. i. c. 7. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 13. Liv. Epit. l. lxx, lxxi. Aſcon. in Orat. pro. C. Corn. Flor. l. iii. c. 17. Salluſt. Ep. 2. de Rep. Ordinand. Dio. Caſſ. ap. Valeſ. p. 638. Strab. l. xi. p. 515. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 1. Liv. Epit. l. lxxi. App. loc. cit. Flor. l. iii. c. 17. Auct. de Vir. Illuſt.

[a] This *Druſus* was uncle to the younger *Cato*, and great uncle to the famous *M. Brutus*. *Cic. pro Mil.* c. 7. & *in Brut.* c. 62.

[b] In ſome conteſt upon occaſion of theſe laws, *Druſus* ordered one of his clients to ſeize the Conſul *Philippus*. The man graſped him by the throat with ſuch violence, that the blood ſtarted out at his noſe: The Tribune made a jeſt of this: *It is not blood*, ſays he, *it is the gravy of thruſhes*: for, it ſeems, *Philippus* loved good eating. After this, the Conſul, by order of *Druſus*, was dragged to priſon. *Val. Max.* l. ix. c. 5. § 2. *Auct. de Vir. Illuſt.* The laſt cited author alſo relates, that *Druſus* threatened to have *Cæpio* thrown from the *Tarpeian* rock.

Y. R. 662. that the Public might be the more able to bear the expence of his largeſſes, that he ordered one eighth part of alloy to be mixed with the ſilver coin [a].

Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3. Liv. Epit. l. lxx. Aſcon. in Orat. pro Scaur. Liv. Epit. l. lxxi. Cic. pro. Rab. Poſt. c. 7. App. p. 372. Cic. loc. cit. & pro. Cluent. c. 56.

The Senate, and eſpecially *Æmilius Scaurus*, puſhed on *Druſus* to take away the right of judging from the Knights. He either could not, or would not, execute this ſcheme. But he propoſed a law [b]. ordaining, that the right of judging ſhould be equally divided between the Senators and the Knights; and that all Judges, who ſhould be charged with taking money for giving judgment, ſhould be brought to trial [c]; for hitherto the Knights were not liable to be called to account for any ſentence they had paſſed, nor were they affected by ſeveral laws to which the Senators were ſubject. The Equeſtrian order ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this laſt cauſe of the law, as well as the former part of it. "Not that "they imagined (ſays *Cicero*) that it was no crime to take money for "giving judgment; but they thought it unjuſt that their body ſhould "be ſubject to the ſame laws as the Senate. They ſaid, the Senators "have no reaſon to complain. They have rank, authority, intereſt,

[a] According to the text of *Pliny* (l. xxxiii. c. 3.) as explained by *Hardouin*, there was at this time in the treaſury of *Rome* 1,920,829 pounds of gold, which, by *Arbuthnot*'s calculation, amounts to 52,102,486 l. 12 s. 6d. ſterling, but he thinks the ſum too extravagant, and that, perhaps, *Pliny*'s numbers are not correct. *Arbuthnot's* Tables, p. 191.

[b] *Vell. Paterculus* ſays, this law transferred the right of judging to the Senate. *Florus* ſeems to be of the ſame opinion. According to *Appian*, it ordained, that the number of Senators, which did not then amount to quite 300, ſhould be doubled, that the new members ſhould be of the Equeſtrian order, and that from the whole body of the Senate, thus conſtituted, the Judges ſhould for the future be elected. The author of the lives of illuſtrious men ſeems to agree with *Appian*. But the accounts given by theſe authors are not conſiſtent with the arguments which *Cicero* puts into the mouths of the *Roman* Knights, upon this occaſion.

[c] *Appian* reports (p. 372) that the *Roman* Knights, conniving at one another, it was grown very common for the Judges to take bribes. But *Aſconius* ſays, the Knights were Judges for forty years, and judged without reproach. Then *Sylla* transferred the right of judicature to the Senators, and they judged ignominiouſly for ten years. After this *Aurelius Cotta* procured a law, that the Judges ſhould be choſen from among the Senators, the Knights, and the Tribuni Ærarii. And *Cicero* (1 Act. in Verr. c. 13.) tells us, that for near fifty years (he means from the time of *C. Gracchus* to *Sylla*) during which the *Roman* Knights were the Judges, there never was the leaſt ſuſpicion that any of them took money for giving judgment: whereas he brings many inſtances to prove, that the Senators were notoriouſly guilty of that crime, when the right of judging came to be in them. Speaking of his own time, he ſays, foreign nations, I imagine, will ſend Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to requeſt of the People to abrogate the law concerning extortion and embezzling the public money. For then the Governors of provinces will only plunder them of ſo much money as they want for themſelves and their children; whereas now they muſt have enough to purchaſe patrons and advocates, and to bribe the Prætors and Judges. The famous *Q. Catulus*, in a ſpeech made on occaſion of *Pompey*'s propoſing a law for reſtoring to the Tribunes ſome of their ancient privileges, ſays, that the corruption of the Senatorian Judges was the reaſon why the *Roman* People ſo earneſtly deſired the re-eſtabliſhment of the Tribunician power. *Pompey* alſo complained of this iniquity of the Senators, and promiſed, in his Conſulſhip, to find a remedy for it.

"magiſtracies,

" magiſtracies, prieſthoods, triumphs, the command of armies, and " provinces; and when they began their purſuits of theſe honours, they " knew the conditions annexed to them. We, too, by the favour of the " *Roman* People, had we coveted high offices, might have been raiſed " to the dignity of Senators: but, contented with our own order, and " the rank of our forefathers, we preferred a quiet life without glory, " to the ſtorms of envy, and the perplexity of ſuch trials, as this law " would involve us in. If it be objected, that we are as much Judges " as they are Senators, it is true, but they voluntarily ſought that " dignity: we, by being Knights, are forced to become Judges. Where- " fore, either reſtore to us our youth, that we may ſue for offices, or, " ſince this cannot be, ſuffer us to continue in that condition of life, " for the ſake of which, we have renounced all pretenſions to offices and " honours." This plea was urged without effect. *Druſus* got his law paſſed, in ſpite of all oppoſition. Y. R. 662. Bef. Chr. 90. 361 Conſ.

But now the allies ſolicited the Tribune to perform his promiſe, and procure them the freedom of *Rome*. As the Senate and the People equally diſliked this project, he found himſelf greatly at a loſs, how to put it in execution. It is ſaid, that, in order thereto, the *Italians* laid a plot to murder the Conſul *Philippus* at the *Feriæ Latinæ*, but *Druſus* gave him notice of the danger. It ſeems *Philippus* oppoſed the Senate with no leſs vehemence, than he did the Tribune. In a ſpeech to the People during the *Feriæ*, he made a ſharp invective againſt the Conſcript Fathers, and ſaid, he muſt find a way to have another Council: For with the Senate, ſuch as it was, he could not carry on the Public buſineſs. On the Ides of *September*, *Druſus* convened the Fathers; and, after complaining heavily of *Philipus*, propoſed to them to deliberate on the offenſive words utterred by him againſt the Senate in the late aſſembly of the People. *Craſſus*, the orator, warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of the Senate, and it was thought (ſays *Cicero*) that as, on former occaſions, he had ſurpaſſed all other men in eloquence, ſo, on this, he ſurpaſſed himſelf. The Conſul, a man of great ſpirit and reſolution, and the next in eloquence to *Craſſus* and *Antonius*, though by far unequal to either, anſwered with much heat; and by way of puniſhing the orator for having failed in reſpect to him, impoſed a fine upon him, and demanded ſureties for the payment of the money. *Craſſus* replied, that he would never acknowledge the authority of a Conſul, who would not reſpect him as a Senator; that he was not to be terrified by a demand of ſureties; that his tongue muſt be cut out, before he would be ſilent, and that, even then, his breath ſhould oppoſe the inſolence of the Conſul. After haranguing long with great vehemence, acuteneſs, and ſtrength, he gave his opinion in words weighty and eloquent, ſays *Cicero*; that it ſhould be made appear to the *Roman* People, that the Senate had never been wanting to the Republic, either Auct. de Vir. Illuſt. Cic de Orat. l. iii. c. 1. The 13th.

A. R. 662. Bef. Chr. 90. 361. Conſ.

either in wiſdom or in fidelity. This, adds, the writer, was the laſt oration of this divine man, for, in the vehemence of his action and diſcourſe, he was ſeized with a pain in his ſide, and then fell into a violent ſweat, which was ſucceeded by a ſhivering fit: but as the Senate had with unanimity gone into his opinion, he would not leave the houſe, till he had ſeen the decree regiſtered: after which he went home ill of a fever, and died in ſeven days.

Liv. Epit. l. lxxi. App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 372. Auct. ad Herenn. l. iv. c. 22. & alii. Auct. de Vir. Illuſt. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. iii. c. 33. Id. pro Mil. c. 7. Id. de Leg. l. ii. c. 6. Orat. 1. pro C. Corn. & Aſcon. in loc. Senec. de Brev. Vit. c. 6. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 5. § 2. Dio Caſſ. ap. Valeſ. p. 638. Flor. l. iii. c. 17. Auct. de Vir. Illuſt. Cic. pro Mil. c. 7. De Nat. Deor. l. iii. c. 33. In Vat. c. 9.

The *Italians*, ſeeing no probability of their obtaining the freedom of *Rome* by a law, began to hold conſultations[a], how to procure it by force of arms: and then *Druſus*, being looked upon as the author, or at leaſt the occaſional cauſe, of theſe cabals, became odious to the Senate. Shortly after, he was ſtabbed in a gallery of his own houſe: and though the houſe was, at that time, crouded with people, the aſſaſſin eſcaped unknown. The ſuſpicion (according to ſome writers) fell upon *Philippus* and *Cæpio*; according to others, upon *Q. Varius*, Tribune of the Commons. No enquiry, however, was made concerning the murder[b]. And the Senate, at the motion of the Conſul *Philippus*, abrogated all the laws of *Druſus* by one decree, declaring, that they had been carried contrary to the Auſpices, and that the People were not bound by them: *Cicero* tells us, that the Senate frequently aſſumed this power.

As to the character of *Druſus*, authors differ extremely. *Vell. Paterculus* commends him highly; perhaps, in flattery, to the Emperor *Tiberius*; for this Prince, (in whoſe time *Paterculus* wrote) was, by the mother's ſide, deſcended from the family of *Druſus*. The greater number of writers repreſent the Tribune, as ambitious, proud, and violent. *Cicero* is of both opinions; for ſometimes he ſpeaks honourably of him, and, at other times, with contempt.

CHAP. VIII.

The war called the MARSIC, *the* SOCIAL, *the* ITALIC *war*; *being the war of* ROME *with her* ITALIAN ALLIES.

IT has been already obſerved, that the *Italians* had begun to concert meaſures for ſupporting, by arms, their claim of the freedom of *Rome*. The murder of *Druſus* confirmed them in this reſolution: for now they totally deſpaired of obtaining, by treaty, thoſe privileges, to which they had ſo juſt a pretenſion.—The *rights* of a city ſuſtained chiefly

[a] According to *Plutarch*, it was about this time, that King *Bocchus* dedicated to the Gods, in the Capitol, *a ſculpture in gold*, repreſenting himſelf delivering up *Jugurtha* into the hands of *Sylla*: at which *Marius* was highly offended, &c. Vid. ſupra, p. 76, in the note.

[b] *Seneca* (de Brevit. Vit. c. 6.) tells us, that ſome people thought *Druſus* killed himſelf; but that nobody thought he died too ſoon.

by

by their arms, they having, in all its wars, furniſhed two thirds of the troops. Y. R. 662.

By the *Italians* were anciently meant, all the nations within the *Rubicon* (which falls into the *Adriatic*, not far from *Ariminium*) and the *Arnus*, which diſcharges itſelf into the *Tuſcan* (or *Hetrurian*) ſea, near *Piſa*, the *firſt* town of *Hetruria*. The country between theſe rivers and the *Alps* had the name of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and was reduced to the form of a province. The *Italians* were not called ſubjects, but allies; and, as they had been ſubdued (moſt of them after many defections) at different times, the conditions of their alliance were different. The *Latines*[a], properly ſo called, enjoyed the greateſt privileges: what theſe were is uncertain; but they were leſs[b] than thoſe of *Roman* citizens, and greater than thoſe of the other *Italians*. That theſe had not the right of ſuffrage, is manifeſt Sigon. de Jure Ital. Polyb. l. ii. c. 16.

[a] The boundaries of *Latium* were anciently the *Tiber* to the Weſt; the *Anio* and the *Sabines* to the North; the *Volſci* and the river *Uſens* to the Eaſt; and the *Tyrrhenian*, or *Tuſcan*, ſea to the South. This country, in the time of the *Social War*, extended to the *Liris* on the Eaſt, and to the country of the *Marſi* on the North. The nations of *Old Latium*, were the *Albani*, *Rutuli*, *Volſci*, and *Æqui*: of *New Latium*, the *Oſci*, *Auſones*, and *Hernici*. And all theſe *Sigonius* thinks had, in proceſs of time, the full rights of *Latium*. *Sigon. de Antiq. Jur. Ital.* l. i.

[b] By the *Roman* law no one, who had the full rights of citizenſhip, could belong to another city. *Duarum civitatum civis eſſe noſtro jure civili nemo poteſt: non eſſe hujus civitatis civis, qui ſe alii civitati dicârit, poteſt.* Cic. pro Balb. c. 11. Nor was any man obliged againſt his will to change his city. *Itaque & ex Latio multi, & Tuſculani & Lanuvini, & ex cæteris generibus gentes univerſæ in civitatem ſint receptæ; ut Sabinorum, Volſcorum, Hernicorum: quibus ex civitatibus nec coacti eſſent civitatem mutare, ſi qui noluiſſent, &c.* Cic. pro Balb. c. 13. None therefore could be *Roman* citizens, but ſuch as lived in *Rome*, or in its proper territory; and, though many among the *Latines*, and even whole nations, as the *Sabines*, *Volſci*, and *Hernici*, were made free of *Rome*; yet the *full privilege* of citizenſhip extended only to thoſe of them, who, accepting it, removed from their own cities to *Rome*, which none of them were compelled to do. *Sigonius* [*de Antiq. Jur. Ital.* l. i. c. 4.] thinks, that all the *Latines* had the right of ſuffrage, but that the Conſuls had a power to order them to depart from *Rome*, at the time of holding the Comitia. And this he endeavours to prove by ſeveral examples. *Spurius Caſſius*, Conſul in the year of *Rome* 267, having called as many as he could of the *Latines* and *Hernici* to vote in an Agrarian law, his collegue, *Virginius*, by edict, commanded every one, who had not a habitation in *Rome*, to quit the city. And the Conſul *Fannius*, in a like caſe, commanded the *Latines* to leave the city, though they had been invited thither by *Caius Gracchus*, to give their ſuffrages. And *Cicero* (*pro Sext.* 18.) tells us, that the *Latines* took nothing more heniouſly, than there being ordered by the Conſuls to leave *Rome*, which ſeldom happened. *Salluſt* ſays, that when *Mamilius*, the Tribune, propoſed a law for proſecuting thoſe, by whoſe fault *Jugurtha* had diſobeyed the orders of the Senate, the guilty prepared to defeat the law, chiefly by means of the *Latines*, and the *Italian* allies. In the trial of *Poſthumius Pyrgenſis*, in the year of *Rome* 541, *Livy* mentions a Tribune's calling for the urns to determine by lot where the *Latines* ſhould vote. *Sitellaque allata eſt, ut ſortirentur, ubi Latini ſuffragium ferrent.* Liv. xxv. 3. *Gronovius* is ſo much offended with the notion of the *Latines* having the right of ſuffrage, that he would have *Livy*'s text altered in this place. *Cujatius* thinks, the

hiſtoran

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feſt from their entering into the preſent war to obtain it. And it would ſeem likewiſe, from the *Latines* adhering firmly to *Rome*, in this quarrel, that they had much greater privileges than the other allies. The *Sabines* likewiſe ſteadily ſupported the cauſe of *Rome*; but theſe (according to *Vell. Paterc.*) had the right of ſuffrage.

Liv. l. ix. & l. xxvii. App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 15. Cic. 2. in Verr. c. 2.

The allies, in general, were ſubject to tribute, and obliged to furniſh ſoldiers for the *Roman* armies, commonly in the proportion of two to one. Yet the auxiliaries were never admitted among the legions, but ſerved in ſeparate cohorts under Prefects, who received their orders from the *Roman* Generals.

App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 373.

The detail of the actions in this great and difficult war, and the order of time in which they happened, are indiſtinctly related by the hiſtorians. At firſt, the *Italians* concerted their ſcheme in ſecret, entered into a confederacy, and gave hoſtages to one another. The *Romans*, however, had notice, that a conſpiracy was forming, and they ſent ſpies up and down the country to procure further intelligence. One of theſe happening to ſee a young man of *Aſculum* (in *Picenum*) carried as a hoſtage to a neighbouring town, gave notice of it to *Servilius*, who, in quality of Proconſul[a] or Prætor, watched that part of the country. *Servilius* haſtened to *Aſculum*, and reprimanded the inhabitants with great ſeverity and many threatenings, which ſo exaſperated them, that they fell upon him, and ſlew him, together with his Lieutenant *Fonteius*, and maſſacred the *Romans* they found in the place. Inſtantly, as if this had been the ſignal for a general revolt, the *Marſi*, *Peligni*, *Veſtini*, and *Marrucini*, took arms; and their example was ſoon followed by the *Picentes*, *Ferentani*, *Hirpini*, *Pompeiani*, *Venuſini*, *Apuli*, *Lucani*, and *Samnites*, and, in a word, by all the nations between the two ſeas, from the *Liris* eaſtward to the extremity of ancient *Italy*. The *Marſi*, a people renowned for bravery, and over whom, or without whom, it is ſaid, the *Romans* never triumphed, gave their name to this war, becauſe they were the firſt in the revolt; though it is called alſo the *Social* and the *Italian* war.

Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 15. Diod. Sic. ap. Valeſ. App. p. 374.

App. p. 378. Strab. l. v. p. 241.

hiſtoran does not ſpeak of the *Latines* in general, but of thoſe citizens of *Latium* who had the freedom of *Rome*; and many ſuch there were.

Sigonius argues, that *Caſſius* and *Gracchus* would not have called the *Latines* to vote, unleſs theſe had had a right of ſuffrage; nor unleſs their privilege of voting had depended on the Conſuls, would theſe magiſtrates have forbid them to remain in the city.

But as it is hard to conceive, that all the *Latines* had a title to vote in the Comitia; becauſe in that caſe the electing of magiſtrates and the making of laws would have been chiefly in their hands (they being ſeldom ordered to depart the city,) it is moſt probable, that the right of ſuffrage belonged only to ſome particular men, or cantons, among them.

[a] *Appian* ſays, that from hence it appears, that in ancient times the ſeveral countries of *Italy* were ſubject to Proconſuls: but *Sigonius* blames this conjecture, for there is no inſtance of a *Roman* Proconſul or Prætor preſiding among the *Italians*, except on occaſion of a war in *Italy*. *Sigon. de Antiq. Jur. Ital.* l. i. c. 21.

Before the confederates proceeded to acts of hoſtility, they ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, to repreſent, that they had ſerved the Republic in all her wars, and had every year furniſhed a double proportion of troops; and to demand that, ſince by their means the City had been raiſed to her preſent height of power, they might be acknowledged as citizens. The Senate anſwered haughtily, that, if the *Italians* were ſenſible of their error, their Ambaſſadors would be received, otherwiſe not. Upon the report of this anſwer, the Allies choſe *Corfinium* (the chief town of the *Peligni*) for their principal place of arms, and deſtined it to be the capital of *Italy*, inſtead of *Rome*: they then conſtituted a Senate, compoſed of 500 members, and, out of theſe, elected two Conſuls, and twelve Generals, or Prætors. Their firſt Conſuls were *Q. Pompedius Silo*, the chief of the *Marſi*, and *C. Aponius Mutilus* (called by ſome hiſtorians *C. Papias*,) a *Samnite*. To *Pompedius*, and ſix of the Prætors, they allotted the North and Weſt parts of the revolted country, and to *Aponius*, and the other ſix Prætors, the South and Eaſt parts. Y. R. 662. Bef. Chr. 90. 361 Conſ. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 16.

At *Rome*, the Nobles became odious to the People, who looked upon them as the authors of the war, by their having rejected the requeſt of the *Italians*. *Q. Varius*, the ſame who had been ſuſpected of murdering *Druſus*, laid hold of this opportunity, and, notwithſtanding the *interceſſion* of the Tribunes, his collegues, obtained a law for enquiring by whoſe fault it had happened, that the Allies had taken arms[a]. In conſequence of this law, many of the Senators and Nobles were ſummoned to their trials. *Beſtia* and *Cotta* (the nephew of *Rutilius*) to avoid a ſentence, went into voluntary exile. *Mummius Achaicus* is ſaid to have been baniſhed to the iſland *Delos*; but, if he were living at this time, he could not be leſs than a hundred years old. *Antonius*, the orator, ſaved himſelf by his eloquence; and *Æmilius Scaurus*, who, on different accounts, had been often accuſed, and as often acquitted, found means to eſcape once more[b]. *Q. Varius* himſelf, when out of office, was condemned by his own law, and was baniſhed. [He afterwards ſuffered death by torture, but at whoſe command is not known.] Aſcon. in Orat. pro Scaur. Id. loc. cit. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 6. § 4. App. p. 373. Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. ii. c. 24. Id. pro Scaur. & Aſcon. in loc. Id. in Brut. c. 89. Id. de Nat. Deor. l. iii. c. 33.

[a] *Appian* ſays, the purport of the law was to bring into judgment all who had openly, or ſecretly, favoured the pretenſions of the *Italians*: that the *Roman* Knights put the Tribune upon this project, that they might have an opportunity to revenge themſelves on their enemies, and that they guarded him with drawn daggers, till he had carried his law. *App. de Bell. Civ.* l. i. p. 373.

[b] Whatever difficulties *Scaurus* might have found to eſcape in former trials, he got rid of this with great eaſe. To all the declamations of his adverſaries, he made only this laconic reply: *Q. Varius, a* Spaniard *of* Sucro, *accuſes* M. Scaurus, *Prince of the* Roman *Senate, of having excited the Allies to take up arms.* M. Scaurus, *Prince of the Senate, denies the charge: no witneſs is produced: which of the two will you believe,* Romans? This kind of defence had ſuch an effect on the aſſembly, that the Tribune thought it the ſafeſt way to deſiſt, and declared that he would give him no farther trouble. *Aſcon. in Cic. pro Scaur. Quintil.* v. 12.

But

Y. R. 662. But now the Senate made diligent preparation for war. The *Latines*, *Sabines*, *Hetrurians*, and *Umbrians*, and even ſome places in the revolted provinces, continued faithful to the Republic, and furniſhed their contingents of men. Foreign nations ſent auxiliaries to her, and *Sertorius*, then Quæſtor in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, brought her a reinforcement of *Gauls*. The conduct of the war was committed to the Conſuls *L. Julius Cæſar*, and *P. Rutilius Lupus*. It is thought, that *Cæſar* had *Samnium* allotted to him for his province, and *Rutilius* the country of the *Marſi*. And, in order to ſtop all proſecutions, on account of *Varius*'s law, and thereby free the city from inteſtine diſſentions, the Senate ordered the courts of juſtice to be ſhut up, during the *Italian* war. To each of the Conſuls were aſſigned five Lieutenants, who, under their direction, commanded ſeparate armies with Proconſular authority. The Lieutenants of *Rutilius* were *C. Marius*, *Cn. Pompeius*, father of *Pompey* the Great, *Q. Cæpio*, *C. Perperna*, and *Valerius Meſſala*. *Cæſar's* chief officers were *Cornelius Sylla*, *P. Lentulus*, *T. Didius*, *P. Licinius Craſſus*, and *M. Marcellus*. Theſe Generals, leaving a ſufficient garriſon in *Rome*, ſet out with 100,000 men, divided into ſeveral armies: nor were the forces of the *Italians* leſs numerous.

Liv. Epit. l. lxxii. Plut. in Sertor. Y. R. 663. Bef. Chr. 89. 362 Conſ. Aſcon. Or. 1 pro C. Corn. App. p. 374.

Preſenteius, one of the Generals of the allies, defeated a conſiderable body of troops under *Perperna*, and ſlew 4000 of his men. Whereupon, the Conſul *Rutilius* deprived *Perperna* of his command, and joined the remains of his routed troops to thoſe of *Marius*. The two Generals encamped on the banks of the *Liris*[a], near each other: *Vettius Cato*, who had already vanquiſhed in battle the Conſul *Cæſar*, and taken *Æſernia*, a *Roman* colony on the *Vulturnus*, now advanced to hinder *Rutilius* and *Marius* from paſſing the *Liris*. *Marius* adviſed the Conſul not to hazard a battle, till his raw ſoldiers were diſciplined; but *Rutilius* neglected the advice, thinking that his Lieutenant envied him, and wanted a ſeventh Conſulſhip, that he might have the glory of finiſhing the war. His ſuſpicions, if we may believe *Dio Caſſius*, were not ill-founded. Be that as it will, *Rutilius* paſſed the river, and fell into an ambuſh, loſt 8000 of his men, and was himſelf mortally wounded. *Marius* knowing, by the number of dead bodies that floated down the ſtream, that the armies were engaged, drew out his forces, paſſed the river, and eaſily made himſelf maſter of the enemies camp: ſo that *Vettius* was obliged to paſs the night on the field of battle, and to march off next morning for want of proviſions.

App. p. 375. Oroſ. l. v. c. 18. Dio Caſſ. ap. Valeſ. p. 641. App. loc. cit. App. p. 377.

When the bodies of the Conſul, and of the other officers that had fallen in the battle, were brought to *Rome* to be interred, the conſternation among the People was ſo exceſſive, as to induce the Senate to make a decree, that thenceforward the bodies of the ſlain ſhould be buried on the ſpot where they died: and this, as a prudent example, was followed by the enemy.

[a] *Oroſius* ſays, it was the *Telonius*, in the country of the *Marſi*.

Q. Cæpio

Q. *Cæpio* having obtained ſome ſmall advantage over the allies, the Senate ordered, that *Marius* and he ſhould ſhare between them the forces which *Rutilius* had commanded. This honour greatly raiſed the preſumption of *Cæpio*; of which the *Italian* Conſul *Pompedius*, found means to make advantage for his cauſe. Leaving his army, he went to the *Roman* camp, and, together with two ſlaves, ſumptuouſly dreſſed, who, he ſaid, were his ſons, ſurrendered himſelf to the General. To gain the more credit, he had brought with him large pieces of lead covered with gold and ſilver, which, as his treaſure, he depoſited in the hands of *Cæpio*. At the ſame time, he urged him to fall upon the *Italian* army, while without a leader, and offered himſelf to be his guide. *Cæpio* gladly liſtened to the propoſal; and when he had brought his army near the place, where an ambuſh was laid for him, *Pompedius*, under pretence of reconnoitring the enemy, rode up to an eminence, and from thence gave the appointed ſignal to his men, who inſtantly ruſhed out upon the *Romans*, made a great ſlaughter of them, and killed *Cæpio* himſelf. What remained of his army joined that of *Marius*, by order of the Senate. Y R. 663 Liv. Epit. l. lxxiii.

During theſe tranſactions, the confederates had great ſucceſs in other parts of *Italy*. In *Campania*, *Lucania*, and *Apulia*, they had poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral important towns, which had refuſed to join with them in the war. And *M. Lamponius* had routed a *Roman* army, commanded by *Licinius Craſſus*, Lieutenant to the Conſul *Cæſar*. The Conſul himſelf, after his defeat by *Vettius Cato*, had recruited his army with a conſiderable body of *Gauls* and *Numidians*, and marched to the relief of *Acerræ*, then beſieged by *Aponius*. Hereupon the *Italian* General brought *Oxinta*, the ſon of *Jugurtha*, from *Venuſia*, where he was kept in confinement, and gave him the title of King. The *Numidians* deſerted in ſuch numbers to their ſovereign, that the Conſul, fearing they would all leave him, ſent what yet remained with him into *Africa*. After this, *Aponius* attempted to force the *Roman* entrenchments, but loſt 6000 men in the action. Yet *Cæſar*, it is ſaid, left *Acerræ*, and we do not find that *Aponius* raiſed the ſiege of it. However, at this time, the Citizens of *Rome* laid aſide the military habit which they had worn from the beginning of the war. App. p. 375. App. p. 376. Liv. Epit. l. lxxiii. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. xvi.

The next account we have of *Cæſar*, is, that his forces, conſiſting of 30,000 foot and 5000 horſe, were attacked, on a march, by *Marius Egnatius*, who cut off the greater part of them. Nevertheleſs, the Conſul recruited his army, and marched once more to the relief of *Acerræ*: But it is not ſaid that he attempted any thing againſt *Aponius*; or *Aponius* againſt him. App. p. 377.

In the mean time, three of the *Italian* Generals, *Afranius*, *Judacilius*, and *Ventidius*, had routed the army of *Cn. Pompeius*, and driven him to take refuge in *Firmum*, a city of *Picenum*. After this victory, *Judacilius* and *Ventidius* turned their arms another way, leaving *Afranius* to beſiege *Firmum*. To the relief of this place, *Sulpicius* advanced by unfre- App. p. 378.

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quented roads, and while the beſieged, in concert with him, made a ſally upon the beſiegers, he attacked their camp on the other ſide, and ſet fire to it. This diſaſter ſo terrified the *Italian* ſoldiers, that they fled in diſorder to *Aſculum*; but their General, diſdaining to fly, fell in the engagement. *Pompeius*, ſoon after, inveſted *Aſculum*, the ſiege of which laſted a long time.

The *Marſi*, under what General is uncertain, attacked *Marius* in his camp: He repulſed them, and drove them into ſome vineyards, whither he did not think it adviſable to follow them. But *Sylla*, who lay encamped on the other ſide of thoſe vineyards, fell upon the enemy, and made great havock of them. Above 6000 of the *Italians* fell in the two actions. The *Marſi*, however, ſoon recruited their forces, and frequently offered battle to *Marius*, which he conſtantly declined. He was, during this war, if we may believe *Plutarch*, extremely ſlow, irreſolute, and inactive; which, the hiſtorian ſays, might be owing to his being advanced in years (for he was then ſixty-five,) or to his being troubled with nervous diſorders. The enemy ſurrounded him with entrenchments, and inſulted him daily[p]: But of this he took little notice, and, at length, laid down his command, under pretence of wanting health.

Plut. in Mar.

App. p. 379. Liv. Epit. l. lxxiv.

The ill ſucceſs of the *Romans* in this campaign encouraged the *Umbrians* and *Hetrurians* to think of revolting from the Republic. In ſo great an extremity, the Senate not only ordered the freedmen to be inliſted in the legions, but even began to yield the point they had ſo obſtinately refuſed. The Conſul *L. Julius Cæſar* obtained a Law[q] (which from his name was ever after called *Lex Julia*,) ordaining that the freedom of the city ſhould be given to the *Latines*, and to thoſe of the other *Italians*, who

Cic. pro Balb. c. viii. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. xvi. Strab. l. v. p. 241. A. Gell. l. iv. c. 4.

[p] *Plutarch* reports that *Pompedius Silo* went up one day to *Marius*'s entrenchments and called out to him: Marius, *if you are a great general, come down into the plain and fight us:* to which *Marius* anſwered, *If you*, Silo, *are a great general, force me to a battle againſt my will.*

[q] According to *Appian*, the *Julian* Law gave the Freedom of *Rome* only to thoſe of the *Italians*, who had not entered into this war againſt the Republic. *Cicero*, in the place above quotted, ſays, in general, that by this Law the Allies and *Latines* obtained the Freedom of the City. It is probable, the Law included all who would take the benefit of it: For *Appian* himſelf, p. 382, ſays, that privilege was given to all the allies; to each nation as they laid down their arms. *Strabo* likewiſe tells us, that the *Italians* continued this war for two years, until they had procured themſelves the Freedom of the City, for which they had taken up arms. *Strab. loc. ſupra cit.* In the Epitome of *Livy* l. xxx. it is ſaid, that the Senate gave the Freedom of *Rome* to the nations of *Italy*. And *Vell. Paterculus*, after mentioning the ill ſucceſs of the *Romans* in this war, adds, that they recovered ſtrength by granting the Freedom of the City by degrees to thoſe who had not taken up arms, and to thoſe who laid them down in time. Now as we find no Law, during the courſe of this war, which gave the privilege of Citizenſhip to the allies in general, except the *Julian* Law, it is probable, that it extended to all who choſe to be included in it. This likewiſe helps us to account the more eaſily for the ill ſucceſs of the *Italians*, the next campaign, notwithſtanding the great advantages they gained in the preſent year.

had

had not taken up arms againſt the Republic, and to thoſe who ſhould lay them down. According to *Appian*, this Law, being ſent into the ſeveral towns of *Hetruria*, kept the people of that country ſteady to the intereſt of *Rome*.• Some authors, however, mention a victory over the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians*, but it is uncertain, whether this victory was obtained before the paſſing of that Law, or after it. Y. R. 663. App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 379. Liv. Epit. l. lxxiv. Oroſ. l. v. c. xviii.

In the following Conſulſhip of *Cn. Pompeius Strabo*[r], and *L. Portius Cato*, new Cenſors were elected a year before the uſual time: And therefore *Sigonius* conjectures they were choſen to aſſign to the allies their proper tribes. That the allies might have little ſway in the Comitia, the Senate would not diſtribute them into the old thirty-five tribes, but created for them eight new tribes; ordering, that theſe ſhould give their ſuffrages the laſt, ſo that they ſeldom came to vote at all: an affair, which afterwards occaſioned great diſturbances in the Republic. Y. R. 664. Bef. Chr. 88. 363 Conſ. Sigon. de Antiq. Jur. Ital. l. iii. c. i. App. loc. cit.

Another Law, which was at this time obtained by *C. Papirius Carbo*, and *M. Plautius Silvanus*, two Tribunes of the Commons, imported, that all foreigners, who were free of the cities allied to the Republic by league, ſhould likewiſe have the Freedom of *Rome*, provided they had at that time an habitation in *Italy*, and gave their names in to the *Roman* Prætor, within ſixty days after the promulgation of the Law. Vell. Pat. l. xi. c. xv. Cic. pro Arch. c. iv.

This *Plautius*, by the aſſiſtance of the Nobles, procured a Law, which deprived the *Roman* Knights of the ſole right of judicature. It ordained, that *each* tribe ſhould, out of their own body, annually elect fifteen perſons to act as Judges; an honour now made common to all the three orders in the ſtate[s]. Cic. Or. 1. pro C. Corn. & Aſcon. in loc.

At this time, great numbers of Citizens being plunged in debt, and their creditors demanding payment, not only of the principal, but of the intereſt; which laſt, though allowed by cuſtom, was prohibited by law, the debtors not only refuſed to pay, but ſome of them even threatened to proſecute their creditors for uſury. *A Sempronius Aſellio*, then Prætor Urbanus, after endeavouring in vain to reconcile the parties, gave permiſſion to the debtors to plead the Law; which ſo enraged the creditors, Liv. Epit. l. lxxiv. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 4. § 4. App. p. 382.

[r] *Cicero* tells us, that he was preſent at a conference between *Pompeius* the Conſul, and *Vettius* the General of the *Marſi*, who had given the *Romans* a cruel defeat the year before, in which the Conſul *Rutilius* was killed: It was held in ſight of the two camps, and managed with great decency: The Conſul's brother, *Sextus*, being an old acquaintance of *Vettius*, came from *Rome* on purpoſe to aſſiſt at it; and at the firſt ſight of each other, after lamenting the unhappy circumſtance of their meeting at the head of oppoſite armies, he aſked *Vettius*, by what title he ſhould now ſalute him, of friend or enemy; to which *Vettius* replied, "Call me friend by inclination, enemy by neceſſity." *Quem te appellem, inquit? at ille: Voluntate hoſpitem, Neceſſitate hoſtem.* Phil. xii. xi. which ſhews, that theſe old Warriors had not leſs politeneſs in their civil, than fierceneſs in their hoſtile encounters. *Midd. Life of Cic.* vol. I. p. 18.

[s] Some think, that the ſame Tribune was author of the Law *de vi*, which may be rendered *concerning aſſault and battery*: But others are of opinion, that this Law was not enacted till the year 675.

Y. R. 664. Bef Chr. 88 163 Conſ.

that they fell upon him, and murdered him, while he was performing the ſacrifice in the Forum. In this riot they were aſſiſted by *L. Caſſius*, one of the Tribunes of the People; and though the Senate offered a reward to whoever ſhould diſcover the authors of the murder, [o]effectual care was taken by the uſurers to prevent the appearing of any informer.

During the broils in the City, war was carried on with vigour abroad. The Conſul *Pompeius* continued the ſiege of *Aſculum*[t], while his colleague *Portius Cato* ſucceſsfully fought ſeveral battles with the *Marſi:* but in an attempt to force their camp, he was ſlain[u], and his army routed. It would ſeem that, after this, *Pompeius* turned the ſiege of *Aſculum* into a blockade; for it is ſaid, that he routed the *Maſſi* and *Marrucini*, and reduced the *Veſtini* to ſurrender themſelves. The Prætor *Coſconius* took *Salapia* and *Cannæ*, and beſieged *Canuſium*, but the *Samnites* defeated him in battle, and obliged him to raiſe the ſiege: yet, in a ſecond action, he, and the Prætor *Lucceius*, obtained a victory over them, and ſlew 15,000 of their men, together with one of their leaders, *Marius Egnatius*.

Liv. Epit. l. lxxv.

Liv. Epit. l. lxxiv. lxxv. App. p. 381.

Plin. l. iii. c. 5.

In the beginning of the campaign, *Sylla* made himſelf maſter of *Stabiæ*, and razed it to the ground. He then joined to his own forces a *Roman* army, which had juſt ſlain their General *Poſthumius Albinus*, for treating them haughtily[x]. *Sylla* made no enquiry concerning the criminals, alledging, that to make the crime be forgotten, the ſoldiers would fight with greater bravery.

Oroſ. l. v. c. 18 Plut in Sylla.

App. p. 380.

The hiſtorians have left us ſuch romantic accounts of ſome of the remaining exploits of *Sylla*, during this war, that it may reaſonably be ſuſpected, they took them from his own Memoirs. We are told, that while he lay encamped near *Pompeii* in *Campania*, *L. Cluentius* came and pitched his camp within three furlongs of him. This *Sylla* looked upon as ſo great an affront, that though he had ſent out ſome part of his army to forage, he immediately gave battle to the enemy, in which he was vanquiſhed, and put to fight. Nevertheleſs, the foragers having joined him, he again attacked *Cluentius*, defeated him, and forced him to remove his camp to a greater diſtance: the latter, however, got ſuccours from the *Gauls*, and then offered battle to *Sylla*. When the two armies were drawn out, a huge *Gaul* came forward, and challenged the braveſt of the *Romans* to fight him: this gigantic hero being ſlain by a little *Numidian*, the *Gauls* were terrified, and inſtantly took to flight. The *Italians*, ſeeing their army broken, fled likewiſe. *Sylla* purſued them, and, before they could reach *Nola*, whither they bent their courſe, ſlew 30,000 of

[t] *Vell. Pat.* reports, that an army of 75,000 *Romans* fought a battle before *Aſculum* with 60,000 *Italians*; but he neither tells us at what time, nor who were the Generals, nor which ſide gained the victory.

[o] If we may believe *Oroſius*, l. v. c. xviii. *Cato* had boaſted, that by his exploits he had equalled *Marius*; and, for this boaſting, the ſon of *Marius* killed him, during a battle with the *Marſi*.

[x] The Epitome of *Livy* ſays, *Albinus* was meditating treaſon.

them:

them: and as the people of *Nola* would open but one of their gates, leſt the enemy ſhould enter with their friends, *Sylla* cut off 20,000 more of *Cluentius*'s army round the walls of that place, and, among the reſt, *Cluentius* himſelf, who died fighting valiantly. Yet this hero, it ſeems, ſlew nobody; for we are told, that *Sylla* did not loſe* a ſingle man, or, at moſt, but one. What follows has leſs of the *marvellous*. Y. R. 664. Bef. Chr. 88. 363 Conſ. * Eutrop. l. v. c. 2.

The *Roman* General marched to *Æculanum*, a town of the *Hirpini*, and ſummoned the inhabitants to ſurrender.—Theſe, expecting the *Lucanians* to come to their aſſiſtance that very day, deſired time to deliberate. *Sylla* granted them only an hour, and employed that time in laying faggots to the walls, which were of wood. When the hour expired, he ſet fire to the faggots; and though the *Æculani* ſurrendered themſelves, yet as fear had determined them to make this ſurrendry, *Sylla* plundered the town, as if he had taken it by force. The reſt of the towns belonging to the *Hirpini* voluntarily ſubmitted. App. loc. cit.

After theſe atchievements, *Sylla* turned his arms againſt the *Samnites*. Near *Æſernia*, *Aponius* ſurpriſed him in a paſs, out of which it was not eaſy to eſcape. The *Roman*, to deceive the enemy, pretended a deſire to capitulate; and having obtained a truce, took advantage of it, while the *Samnites* were negligent, to march off in the night, leaving a trumpeter in his camp to ſound the watches. Returning ſuddenly by a way which *Aponius* did not think of, he fell upon him, and routed his army. In this action, *Aponius* was wounded, and few of his men eſcaped. *Sylla* plundered the enemies camp, and then marched to *Bovianum*, which he took after an aſſault of three hours. Frontin. Strat. l. i. c. v. § xvii. App. p. 381.

In the mean time, *A. Gabinius*, after ſome ſucceſsful engagements with the *Lucanians*, and reducing ſeveral of their towns, was ſlain in an attempt to poſſeſs himſelf of the enemies camp. Liv. Epit. l. lxxvi.

Sulpicius defeated the *Marrucini*, and forced them to ſubmit to the Republic.

The *Marſi* alſo, being frequently vanquiſhed by *Muræna* and *Metellus Pius*, at length ſued for peace.

To *Pompeius*, the *Veſtini* and *Peligni* made their ſubmiſſion. The latter having ſeized their General *Vettius Cato*, in order to deliver him up to the *Romans*, one of his ſlaves ſnatched up a ſword and killed him. *Now*, ſaid he, *that I have ſet my maſter at liberty, it is time to provide for myſelf*; and in that inſtant ran the ſword through his own body. Senec. de Benef. l. iii. c. xxiii. Macrob. Saturn. l. i. c. ii.

Corfinium, the capital of the *Peligni*, being now in the hands of the *Romans*, the allies made *Æſernia*, in *Samnium*, their principal town, and choſe themſelves five Generals, of whom the chief was *Pompedius Silo*. Diod. Sic. in Eclog. l. xxxvii.

Aſculum ſtill held out againſt *Pompeius*. *Judacilius*, one of the *Italian* commanders, and an *Aſculan* by birth, advanced to the relief of the place, but had only eight cohorts with him. To facilitate his enterprize, he App. p. 378. Oroſ. l. v. c. 18.

V. R. 664. Bef. Chr. 88. 363 Conſ. App. p. 3.

he gave notice to the *Aſculans* of his approach, deſiring them to make a ſally upon the beſiegers, as ſoon as he ſhould come in ſight. *Judacilius* had perſonal enemies in the place; and either by their influence, or through fear, the *Aſculans* kept cloſe within their walls. Nevertheleſs, ſword in hand, he forced his way over the *Roman* entrenchments, and marching with his men up to the gates of the town, was then received by the inhabitants: but deſpairing of the preſervation of the place, when he had firſt maſſacred all his enemies, he gave a great feaſt to his friends; at the cloſe of which, he drank off a cup of poiſon, that he might not ſurvive the ruin of his native city[y].

Oroſius, l. v. c. 18.

Pompeius, after this, entered *Aſculum*. He put to death all who had any command in the place, and all the principal citizens, diſmiſſing the reſt of the inhabitants, after he had ſtripped them of their effects. The ſlaves, with all the plunder, (which he ſold;) in ſhort, the whole prey he converted to his own uſe, though the treaſury, as *Oroſius* tells us, was ſo much exhauſted, that the houſes about the Capitol, which had been aſſigned to the ſeveral orders of prieſts and augurs, were ſold to raiſe money for the exigencies of the ſtate.

The conqueror had the honour of a triumph; and, among the reſt of the captives led in the proceſſion, were *P. Ventidius* and his wife; ſhe bearing in her arms a ſon, who afterwards became Conſul of *Rome*, and, in the time of the ſecond Triumvirate, had himſelf a triumph for his victories over the *Parthians*.

Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 17. Plut. in Mar. Liv. Epit. l. lxxv. V. R. 665. Bef. Chr. 87. 364 Conſ.

In the end of the campaign, *Sylla* went to *Rome* to ſue for the Conſulſhip. He was forty-nine years of age, or, according to *Plutarch*, fifty; and few men had done greater exploits than he, before their arrival at that dignity[z]. But, probably, the credit and influence of *Marius* had ſtood in the way of his ambition. He now obtained the Conſular Faſces, and the People gave him for his collegue *Q. Pompeius Rufus*.

The

[y] The writers [*Appian* and *Oroſius*] who mention this ſtory, place it in the beginning of the ſiege of *Aſculum*; but it is not probable, that *Judacilius* would have killed himſelf ſo ſoon, had he ſeen the town in a condition to hold out a long ſiege. *Crevier.*

[z] Dr. *Middleton* obſerves, that "*Marius* in this war performed nothing anſwerable to his great name and former glory: his advanced age had increaſed his caution, and after ſo many triumphs and Conſulſhips, he was jealous of a reverſe of fortune: ſo that he kept himſelf wholly on the defenſive, and, like old *Fabius*, choſe to tire out the enemy by declining a battle; content with ſnatching ſome little advantages, that opportunity threw into his hands, without ſuffering them however to gain any againſt him.

"*Sylla*, on the other hand, was ever active and enterprizing; he had not yet obtained the Conſulſhip, and was now fighting for it, as it were, in the ſight of the Citizens; ſo that he was conſtantly urging the enemy to a battle, and glad of every opportunity to ſignalize his military talents, and eclipſe the fame of *Marius*; " in which he ſucceeded to his wiſh, gained

" many

The affairs of the allies continuing to decline, they ſent an embaſſy to *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, requeſting ſuccours from him. The king anſwered, that he would paſs into *Italy* as ſoon as he had ſubdued *Aſia*. Y. R. 665. Diod. Sic. in Eclog. l. xxxvii.

Pompedius, if *Diodorus* is to be credited, raiſed an army of above 50,000 men, 21,000 of which were ſlaves. With theſe forces he retook *Bovianum*, but was defeated in battle by *Mamercus*, and afterwards loſt his life in an engagement with *Metellus Pius*. Jul Obſ. c. liv. App p. 382.

The *Samnites* and *Lucanians* ſtill continued in arms; by we hear of no more warlike exploits performed by them, or againſt them: The *Romans*, ſufficiently employed by their civil broils, and their war abroad with *Mithridates*, had little leiſure to attend to the total reduction of the revolted *Italians*. But, in concluſion, each nation of theſe allies obtained the Freedom of *Rome* ſucceſſively, upon laying down their arms. Even to the *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, was at length granted the ſame privilege[h]. And though ſome *Roman* hiſtorians would diſguiſe it, it ſeems plain that the Republic granted the Freedom of the City, not generouſly to each nation ſubduing it, but by treaty, and as a condition of Peace. App. loc. cit. Vell. Pat. l. ii. Strab. l. v. p. 241.

In this war periſhed 200,000 men, *Romans* and *Italians*. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 15.

" many conſiderable victories, and took ſe-
" veral of their cities by ſtorm, particu-
" larly *Stabiæ*, a town of *Campania*, which
" he utterly demoliſhed. *Cicero*, who ſeems
" to have followed his camp, as the chief
" ſcene of the war, and the beſt ſchool for a
" young volunteer, gives an account of one
" action, of which he was eye-witneſs, exe-
" cuted with great vigour and ſucceſs: *That*
" *as* Sylla *was ſacrificing before his tent in*
" *the fields of* Nola, *a ſnake happened to creep*
" *out from under the bottom of the altar, upon*
" *which* Poſthumius, *the Haruſpex, who at-*
" *tended the ſacrifice, proclaiming it to be a*
" *fortunate omen, called out upon him to lead*
" *his army immediately againſt the enemy*;
" Sylla *took the benefit of the admonition, and*
" *drawing out his troops without delay, at-*
" *tacked and took the ſtrong camp of the* Sam-
" nites *under the walls of* Nola. This action
" was thought ſo glorious, that *Sylla* got the
" the ſtory of it *painted* afterwards in his
" *Tuſculan villa.*"

[h] *M. Monteſquieu* obſerves, that the *grant* which the *Romans* made to the *Italian* allies of the rights of the city, though conſidered at firſt as the foundation of a perpetual peace, was one of the cauſes that haſtened the ruin of the ſtate: " for the enormous bulk, to
" which the city was ſwelled by it, gave
" birth to many new diſorders, that gradually
" corrupted, and at laſt deſtroyed it; and the
" diſcipline of the Laws calculated for a Peo-
" ple, whom the ſame walls would contain,
" was too weak to keep in order the vaſt body
" of *Italy*: So that from this time chiefly all
" affairs were decided by faction and violence,
" and by the influence of the great; who
" could bring whole towns into the Forum
" from the remote parts of *Italy*; or pour in
" a number of ſlaves and foreigners under the
" form of Citizens; for, when the names and
" perſons of real Citizens could no longer be
" diſtinguiſhed, it was not poſſible to know,
" whether any act had paſſed regularly, by
" the genuine ſuffrage of the People." *De la Grandeur des Romains*, c. ix.

This obſervation is doubtleſs very juſt, but it were to be wiſhed, that the ingenious writer, or his ingenious admirer, Dr. *Middleton*, had told us, how it was poſſible for the *Romans* to avoid making that conceſſion, without expoſing themſelves to inevitable ruin. Midd. Life of Cic. p. 21.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The occaſion of the FIRST Mithridatic *War. It commences under the conduct of* THREE Roman *Generals.*

A. R. 665. TO check the progreſs of *Mithridates*, was now the great affair of the Republic: He had made no oppoſition to *Sylla*'s replacing *Ariobarzanes* on the throne of *Cappadocia* (in 661;) yet, not long after, had contrived to have him driven from thence a ſecond time.

Vid. ſupr. p. 104.

Juſt. l. xxxviii. c. 3. *Tigranes*, king of *Armenia*, by his conqueſts, had very much extended the dominions left him by his anceſtors, and had formed a mighty empire. In order to draw him into a war with the *Romans*, *Mithridates* firſt engaged him to marry his daughter *Cleopatra*, and then, by the agency of *Gordius*, prevailed with him to undertake the dethroning of *Ariobarzanes*; the *Armenian* not imagining, that he ſhould thereby give offence to the *Roman* Republic. The *Cappadocian* king, inactive by nature, and unable to withſtand ſo powerful an invader, retired out of the country upon the firſt approach of *Tigranes*, and carried off his ſubſtance.

Nicomedes Philopater, King of *Bithynia*, dying about this time, his ſon *Nicomedes* ſucceeded him, and was confirmed on the throne by a decree of the *Roman* Senate. He had a brother, *Socrates*, ſurnamed *Chreſtus*, who, it ſeems, made pretenſions to the kingdom. This man, with the aſſiſtance of ſome forces lent him by *Mithridates*, drove out *Nicomedes*, and took his place.

The two dethroned kings repaired to *Rome*, and there made their complaints to the Senate, who ordered ſome commiſſioners, at the head of whom was that *Manius Aquilius*, who terminated the war of the ſlaves in *Sicily*, to go into *Aſia*, and, in conjunction with *Caſſius*, then Proconſul of *Aſia*, and even with *Mithridates* himſelf, reinſtate *Ariobarzanes* and *Nicomedes* in their reſpective kingdoms. *Mithridates* would not give aſſiſtance to theſe commiſſioners; yet he quietly ſuffered them to reſtore the dethroned kings; and he put to death *Socrates Chreſtus*, who had taken refuge in his dominions.

Vid. ſupr. p. 90.

Juſt. l. xxxviii. c. 1.

During this ſeeming inaction of the king of *Pontus*, he took meaſures to ſtrengthen himſelf, by an offenſive treaty of alliance, which he made with *Tigranes*: it was agreed between them, that, of the conqueſts they ſhould make, the cities and countries ſhould belong to *Mithridates*, and all the men and plunder to *Tigranes*; who, in this article, had a view to the peopling of *Tigranocerta*, which he was then building, and which he intended to make one of the greateſt cities in the world. The king of *Pontus* gained likewiſe to the intereſt of his cauſe the *Gallo-Greeks*, the *Sarmatæ*, the *Baſtarnæ*, and the *Scythians*; in a word, he armed almoſt all *Upper Aſia*

againſt the *Romans*. Nevertheleſs, to preſerve the appearance of juſtice, he forbore all acts of hoſtility againſt them, and confined himſelf to obſerving their motions. It was in theſe circumſtances, that he received an embaſſy from the *Italian* ſtates to invite him to join his forces with theirs; but at that time, the affairs of *Aſia* were too much embroiled to permit his abſence. Y. R. 665. Bef. Chr. 87. 364 Conſ.

The occaſion he wanted and wiſhed for, to enter upon action, was ſoon furniſhed him by the *Roman* generals; who, for the ſake of enriching themſelves, had meditated the kindling a war in *Aſia*; with this view they endeavoured to perſuade *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* to invade the dominion of the king of *Pontus*; promiſing to lend them aſſiſtance. Neither of the kings was willing to provoke ſo powerful a neighbour: But, at length, the *Bithynian*, who owed a great ſum of money to the *Roman* generals, and commiſſioners, for his reſtoration, beſides what he had borrowed at intereſt from the *Aſiatic Romans*, entered the territories of *Mithridates* in a hoſtile manner, and ravaged the country, as far as *Amaſtris*. The king of *Pontus* had a conſiderable army on foot, yet ſuffered, without reſiſtance, theſe depredations, that he might have many and juſt cauſes for the war: and though he knew that the *Roman* commiſſioners had incited the *Bithynian* to make this incurſion, he diſſembled his knowledge of it, and ſent one *Pelopidas*, to repreſent to them, that *Mithridates* was the friend and ally of *Rome*, and to deſire that they would aſſiſt him againſt *Nicomedes*, or, at leaſt, oblige that prince to give him ſatisfaction for the injuries he had already ſuffered from him. The *Bithynian* Ambaſſadors, on the other hand, accuſed the king of *Pontus* of ill deſigns againſt the *Roman* Republic; deſigns, which, they ſaid, he had ſufficiently diſcovered, by aſſiſting *Socrates* to dethrone their maſter, whom the Senate and People of *Rome* had declared king of *Bithynia*; by having ſeized upon many places in the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, though the *Romans* had forbidden all the *Aſiatic* kings to hold any poſſeſſions in *Europe*; and by the great preparations he had made for war, and the numerous alliances he had formed. *Pelopidas* replied, that there was no occaſion for long diſputes, the commiſſioners ſeeing very well the ſtate of affairs, and therefore he again deſired they would reſtrain *Nicomedes*, or grant aid to *Mithridates*, or ſuffer him to defend himſelf. As the king of *Pontus* had not yet violated the league with *Rome*, the commiſſioners were at a loſs what anſwer to return. At length they pronounced, that it was not their pleaſure *Nicomedes* ſhould moleſt *Mithridates*, nor would they allow the king of *Pontus* to make war upon the king of *Bithynia*, it being contrary to the intereſt of the *Roman* Republic, that the *Bithynian* ſhould ſuffer any detriment. *Pelopidas* would have objected to this declaration, but they would not hear him. App. Mithrid. p. 177. Idem, p. 178.

Mithridates, on his return home, thinking himſelf openly injured by the *Romans*, ſent his ſon *Ariarathes* with an army into *Cappadocia*, to ſeize the kingdom; which he did without great difficulty. After this expe-

Y. R. 665. dition, the king of *Pontus* diſpatched *Pelopidas*, a ſecond time, to the commiſſioners. The Ambaſſador told them, that what had been done in *Cappadocia*, contrary to their inclinations, was intirely owing to the iniquity of their conduct, and the prevarication of their anſwers; that his maſter had ſent to *Rome* a complaint againſt them, and that he ſummoned them to appear there, and defend their cauſe. He then admoniſhed them not to enter upon a war, without being authorized by a decree from the *Roman* Senate and People, and boaſted of the greatneſs of *Mithridates*, reckoning up the nations that were ſubject to him, and the number of his allies; and concluded, with aſking them, either to reſtrain *Nicomedes* from making war upon *Pontus* (in which caſe he promiſed them his maſter's aſſiſtance to reduce the *Italians*) or renounce that ſpecious league, which had nothing of friendſhip in it, but the name. Provoked at this diſcourſe, the commiſſioners ordered *Mithridates* totally to quit *Cappadocia*, and to forbear all hoſtilities againſt *Nicomedes*; adding, that they would take effectual care, that *Ariobarzanes* ſhould be immediately reſtored to his dominions. They then commanded the Ambaſſador to leave their preſence, and forbad him to return, unleſs the king obeyed the *Romans*.

App. in Mithridat. p. 180.

Idem. p. 181.

Without waiting for orders from the Senate, the commiſſioners haſtened to form a mighty army. *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Gallo-Greece*, furniſhed them with troops, which, added to the *Roman* forces, made up 120,000 men. Theſe they divided into three equal bodies, commanded by three generals; *L. Caſſius*, Proconſul of *Aſia*, *M. Aquilius*, and *Q. Oppius*. The Proconſul encamped on the confines of *Bithynia* and *Gallo-Greece*; *Aquilius* ſeized the paſſes by which the king of *Pontus* might enter *Bithynia*; and *Oppius* poſted himſelf on the borders of *Cappadocia*. They had alſo a fleet, which, under the command of *Minucius Rufus*, and *C. Popillius*, guarded the ſtreights of the *Euxine* ſea. Beſides theſe forces, *Nicomedes* brought into the field an army of 50,000 foot and 6000 horſe.

On the other hand, *Mithridates* made it appear, that *Pelopidas* had not exaggerated, when he boaſted of his maſter's ſtrength. The king's army conſiſted of 250,000 foot, and 40,000 horſe. He had beſides 130 armed chariots, and 400 ſhips of war. His ſon-in-law, *Tigranes* of *Armenia*, aſſiſted him in this war; and the kings of *Parthia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* favoured his cauſe. His chief generals were *Neoptolemus* and *Archelaus*, two brothers, *Cappadocians*; but he frequently commanded in perſon.

Strab. l. xii. p. 557. App. Mithridat. p. 182.

Near the river *Amnias* in *Paphlagonia*, *Neoptolemus* and *Archelaus*, with the light-armed infantry, 10,000 *Arminian* horſe, and ſome chariots, attacked *Nicomedes*, though greatly ſuperior in numbers, and totally overthrew him. The king of *Pontus* treated all the priſoners kindly, and ſent them home without ranſom. This victory, obtained without the aſſiſtance of the phalanx, and without the advantage of ground, over ſuperior numbers, by the ſkill of the generals, and the bravery of the ſoldiers, made the *Roman* commiſſioners perceive, that they had been more haſty, than wiſe,

Idem. p. 183.

to

to kindle a war of ſuch conſequence, before they were authorized by a public decree. Y.R. 665. Bef. Chr. 87.

On the approach of *Mithridates*, *Aquilius* retreated; *Neoptolemus* purſued him, forced him to an engagement, and defeated him. He fled to the river *Sangar*, croſſed it in the night, and continued his flight to *Pergamus*. *Caſſius*, on this news, retired to *Leontocephale*, a ſtrong caſtle in *Phrygia*; but ſoon quitted that place, and ſhut himſelf up in *Apamea*. *Nicomedes* took refuge in *Pergamus*; *Oppius* in *Laodicea*. The land forces of the *Romans* being thus diſperſed, their fleet deſerted the entrance of the *Euxine* ſea, and left the *Bithynian* ſhips a prey to *Mithridates*'s Admiral. In a ſhort time, all ſubmitted to the King of *Pontus*. He treated the inhabitants with great clemency, forgave the debts they owed to the crown, and remitted the cuſtomary tribute for five years. 364 Conſ. Juſtin. l. xxxvii. c. 3.

After this, he over-ran *Phrygia*, *Myſia*, *Aſia Propria*, *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*. Few places made any reſiſtance, and he poſſeſſed himſelf of all the towns and iſlands of *Aſia Minor*, except *Rhodes*. The *Laodiceans* having, on the King's ſummons, delivered up to him Q. *Oppius*, the *Roman* General, he ſpared his life, but led him about as a ſpectacle. *Aquilius*, the author of the war, whom the people of *Mitylene* in *Leſbos* had delivered up, was treated with extreme rigour. *Mithridates* made him go along with the army, mounted upon an aſs, and forced him frequently to proclaim, that he was *Manius Aquilius*, the *Roman* Proconſul. At laſt he cauſed him to be put to death at *Pergamus*, by pouring melted gold down his throat, in reproach of the *Roman* avidity. Liv. Epit. lxxviii. App. Mithridat. p. 184. Vell. Max. l. ix. c. 13. § 1. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

CHAP X.

Civil commotions raiſed by MARIUS *and* SYLLA *(now Conſul, Year of* Rome 665.*)* SYLLA *procures the baniſhment of his rival. The diſtreſſes and adventures of* MARIUS. *He paſſes into* Africa. *He returns into* Italy *on the invitation of* CINNA, *Conſul in* 666. *The violence and cruelties of* MARIUS *and* CINNA. MARIUS *dies in his ſeventh Conſulſhip, Year of* Rome 667.

AS the Republic had reſolved to ſend an army againſt *Mithridates*, the Conſul *Sylla*, among many competitors, ſhewed an extreme eagerneſs to have the command of it; and, either by lot, or by appointment, it fell to him. *Marius* had long ſet his heart upon this commiſſion; for, notwithſtanding his years and infirmities, he was ſtill tormented with ambition and the thirſt of glory, paſſions (ſays *Plutarch*) which never grow old in man. His avarice likewiſe ſided with his ambition: *Aſia* abounded with riches, and a war in that country he thought would be Plut. in Syl. App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 338. Plut. in Mar.

Y.R. 665. Bef. Chr. 87. 364 Conf.

be more lucrative than difficult. Nevertheless, he pretended that his sole reason for desiring this province, was to have an opportunity of teaching his son the art of war. To persuade the People, that he had yet a constitution fit to endure the fatigues of a military life, he daily went into the *Campus Martius*, and there, though seventy years of age, and extremely corpulent, performed his exercises among the *Roman* youth, contending with them in horsemanship, *&c.*

Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 18.

The better to succeed in his project, he joined himself with *P. Sulpicius*, then Tribune of the People. This man, says *Paterculus*, was rich and eloquent, had great talents, great spirits, and great interest; and whereas formerly he had endeavoured to establish to himself a name, by honourable methods, yet now, as if he repented of his virtues, he, all on a sudden, ran headlong into wickedness. When very young, he had signalized himself, by accusing of treason the famous *C. Norbanus*, whom *Antonius*, the orator, defended. He is mentioned in several parts of *Cicero*'s works [a], and with great commendation of his eloquence. His entrance into public life, according to that author, was very promising: but his eagerness, when Tribune, to hinder *C. Cæsar Strabo* from being Consul before he had passed through the Prætorship, and the applauses he met with from the People, on that occasion, carried him farther than he at first intended. *Plutarch* tells us, that in *Sulpicius* were united cruelty, impudence, avarice, and all sorts of vice: so that it was needless to enquire wherein his wickedness exceeded that of other men, but wherein it surpassed itself. It seems, he proposed *Saturninus* for his model, and, as the only thing which he blamed in that model, was his not being daring and quick enough in his enterprizes, he himself immediately appeared attended with a guard of 3000 men, among whom were 600 knights. This guard he called the *Anti-senate*. He also publickly sold the freedom of the City to strangers and freedmen [b], and received the money at a table placed in the Forum. One of his collegues had proposed a law for recalling those exiles [c], who had been sent into banishment without being heard; but *Sulpicius* would not suffer the Law to pass. Afterwards, nevertheless, he himself proposed the same Law, without allowing it to be the same, because he had changed the word *exiles* into the words *those who had been ejected by force*. He then proposed several other Laws, among which one prohibited the Senators from contracting debts [d] above the value of 2000 *denarii*. Another ordered, that the new Citizens (mean-

Cic. de Orat. l. ii. c. 47. & seq. Id. de Orat. l. i. 7. De Har. Resp. c. 20 In Brut. c. 63. Plut in Sylla & in Mar.

Auct. ad Herenn. l. ii. c. 28.

Plut in Sylla. 64 l. 11 s. Sd Arbuthnot.

[a] *De Hor. Resp.* c. 19. *In Brut.* c. 19. 55. *Cicero* makes him one of the speakers in the three dialogues he composed *de Oratore*.

[b] The *Roman* freedmen had not a title to all the rights of Citizenship.

[c] It would seem, that by the exiles are meant those who had been banished by the *Lex varia*, mentioned above, p. 111.

[d] Yet, after the death of *Sulpicius*, it was found, that he himself had contracted debts to the amount of three millions of denarii, that is, about 96,875 pounds sterling.

ing

ing the *Italians)* and the freedmen ſhould not, in voting, be confined to certain tribes, but be diſperſed through the whole: a third was for tranſferring from *Sylla* to *Marius* the conduct of the *Aſiatic* expedition. Y.R. 665.

Liv. Epit. l. lxxvii. Aſcon. in Orat. in 1 pro Corn. App. de Bel. Civ. l. i. p. 383. App. p. 384.

To defeat theſe projects, the Conſuls proclaimed holidays, which laſted a long time, during which, it was not lawful to aſſemble the Comitia: but the Tribune, having gathered about him a multitude, went to the Senate-houſe, and commanded the Conſuls, *Pompeius* and *Sylla*, to revoke their edict concerning the holidays, that the People might give their votes with regard to the Laws in queſtion. The Conſuls refuſed: *Sulpicius*'s party drew their daggers; *Pompeius* made his eſcape, his ſon was killed, and *Sylla*, being cloſely purſued, took refuge in *Marius*'s houſe. Some ſay, that *Marius* let him out at a back-door: but *Sylla*, in his own Memoirs, quoted by *Plutarch*, denied that he took refuge in *Marius*'s houſe, and affirmed, that *Sulpicius*'s followers forced him thither, and then obliged him to return to the Forum, and revoke the edict in queſtion [a]. Be that as it will, it is certain, he revoked the edict, for which reaſon *Sulpicius* left him in poſſeſſion of the Conſulſhip, degrading only his collegue *Pompeius*. *Sylla*, immediately after the tumult, left the City, and joined his army, then employed in the ſiege of *Nola*, which ſtill held out againſt the Republic. The Tribune, having obtained the Laws he propoſed [b], ſent two officers to *Nola*, to receive the army from *Sylla*; but the ſoldiers fell upon them, and murdered them. *Marius*, in revenge, put to death many of *Sylla*'s friends in the City, and confiſcated their effects. In the mean time *Sylla* marched his troops, conſiſting of 30,000 foot, and 5000 horſe, towards *Rome*. *Appian* tells us, that they followed him very readily, becauſe they hoped, that under his conduct they ſhould enrich themſelves by the plunder of *Aſia*, and feared leſt *Marius* would make uſe of another army in the *Mithridatic* war. All things were in confuſion at *Rome*. Some (among whom was the Conſul *Pompeius*) fled to the camp of *Sylla*, while others, deſerting *Sylla* [c], took refuſe in the City. The Senate found themſelves obliged to obey the orders of *Sulpicius* and *Marius*. Theſe, on *Sylla*'s approach, ſent to him two of the Prætors, *Servilius* and *Brutus* [d], forbidding him to proceed

Plut. in Sylla & in Mar.

[a] *Vell. Pat.* and *Eutropius* ſay, that *Sylla* was with an army in *Campania*, during this tumult, contrary to what *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Sylla*'s own Memoirs affirm. [If thoſe Memoirs of *Sylla* were genuine, it may reaſonably be aſked, why did not *Paterculus* follow them?]

[b] According to *Appian*, *Sulpicius* concealed his deſign of giving the conduct of the *Mithridatic* war to *Marius*, till after the tumult above mentioned, and his obtaining the Law, authorizing the new citizens and the freedmen to vote in all the tribes: nor did *Sylla* ſuſpect any thing of the matter till he joined his army at *Nola*.

[c] The ſame writer tells us, that none of *Sylla*'s principal officers ſtaid with him, except his Quæſtor.

[d] Ambaſſadors were ſent ſeveral times to *Sylla* to enquire, why he approached the City

U.R. 665. Bef. Chr. 87. 3d Conſ.

proceed any farther on his march. The ſoldiers inſulted thoſe Magiſtrates, pulled off their robes, and broke the Faſces of their Lictors. Hereupon the Senate diſpatched new Ambaſſadors to *Sylla*, intreating him not to come nearer the City, and promiſing to ſatisfy him. He anſwered, that he would ſtay where he was; and, as if he intended ſo to do, ordered a camp to be marked out: but the Ambaſſadors were no ſooner gone, than he detached two of his officers, with a body of men, to ſeize one of the gates of *Rome*, and the wall near the *Eſquiline* hill. The detachment entered the City, but the inhabitants drove them back to the foot of the walls. In that inſtant, *Sylla* arriving, commanded his men to ſet fire to the houſes, and he himſelf gave the example. *Marius*, *Sulpicius*, and their followers, made what reſiſtance they could; and promiſed freedom to all ſlaves that would arm in their cauſe. Few or none, daring to join them, they fled out of the City. *Sylla* marched on to the Capitol, where he aſſembled the Senate; and propoſed to them the baniſhment of *Sulpicius*, *Marius*, and the ſon of *Marius*, together with nine more of their principal adherents. Of all the Senators, *Q. Mucius Scævola* was the only man who refuſed to concur in this vote; and when *Sylla* endeavoured to terrify him by menaces, he boldly anſwered, "Although you ſhould threaten me with death, and give me up to thoſe ſoldiers, with whom you have ſurrounded the Senate-houſe, you ſhall never perſuade me, for the ſake of a life, now exhauſted to the dregs, to pronounce *Marius* an enemy, who has ſaved *Italy* and *Rome*." The decree paſſed; and it would ſeem that *Sylla*, by edict, ſet a price upon the heads of the exiles, and confiſcated their eſtates.

Val. Max. l. vi. c. 8. § 5.

Val. Max. l. vi. c. 5. § 7.

Sulpicius, being taken through the treachery of his ſlave, was put to death, and his head fixed upon the Roſtra. To reward the ſlave, *Sylla* gave him his freedom; and, to puniſh his treachery, cauſed him to be thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock. The two Conſuls, after their victory, took great care that the City ſhould not be pillaged by the ſoldiers. The next day, having convened the *general aſſembly*, they notified, that, for the future, the People ſhould not be aſſembled by tribes, but by centuries, and that nothing ſhould be brought before the Comitia, till it it had been firſt approved by the Senate. They likewiſe annulled all thoſe acts of *Sulpicius*, which had been paſſed ſince the proclamation of the holidays: and, to have a Senate at their devotion, they created (if we may believe *Appian*) three hundred new Senators. To the Conſul *Pompeius* was aſſigned the command of an army, which then ſerved under his kinſman *Cn. Pompeius Strabo*, who had reduced *Aſculum*.

App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 386.

City in arms? to which he always anſwered, that his deſign was to reſcue it from tyranny. At laſt *Marius* and *Sulpicius* ſent orders to him, in the name of the Senate, not to come within five miles of *Rome*. Appian.

Affairs

Affairs being thus regulated, *Sylla* ſent his troops before him to *Capua*, intending ſoon to ſet out for *Aſia*. The *Marian* faction, in the mean time, laid a ſnare (as it is ſaid) for his life, and the People were ſo exaſperated againſt him, that, at the election of certain Magiſtrates, they not only paſſed by his nephew and his friend, but choſe two of the candidates, whom they thought the moſt diſagreeable to him. On this occaſion he affected to ſay, that he was pleaſed to ſee the People make uſe of the liberty he had procured them. Y.R. 665. Plut. in Sylla.

When the Conſul *Pompeius* came to take the command of the army appointed him, *Strabo* gave it up to him, without any ſeeming reluctance: But the next day, the ſoldiers, ſuborned by their old general, fell upon the Conſul, while he was ſacrificing, and killed him. *Strabo* pretended to be in great wrath for this murder, yet he reſumed his former command. App. p. 388. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 20. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 7. § 6.

At *Rome*, *Sylla*, to ingratiate himſelf with the People, ſuffered them to give the Conſular Faſces to *L. Cornelius Cinna*, a Patrician of their own party; but had the precaution to make him ſolemnly ſwear, he would ſupport *his* intereſt. The other Conſul was *Cn. Octavius*, a peaceable man, and a ſtrict obſerver of the laws. Y.R. 666. Bef. Chr. 86. 365 Conſ. Plut in Sylla.

Cinna, raſh in counſel (ſays *Paterculus*) but a man in action, dared what no man of virtue would dare, and performed what none but a man of the greateſt reſolution could have performed. No ſooner did he enter upon his office, than he began to entertain projects for overturning all that *Sylla* had done; and even excited *Virginius*, a Tribune of the People, to accuſe him of a capital crime: but *Sylla* neglecting the accuſation, ſet out for his province. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 24. Plut. in Sylla.

According to *Appian*, the friends of the exiles, depending upon *Cinna*, began to revive *Marius*'s propoſal of diſperſing the new Citizens among all the tribes; and *Cinna*, had been gained to favour this project, by a bribe of 300 talents: His collegue *Octavius* undertook the cauſe of the old Citizens. On the day when the Comitia met to determine concerning to this affair, the two parties, each headed by a Conſul, came to a battle in the Forum: victory declared for *Octavius*, and, if one may believe *Plutarch*, near 10,000 of the new Citizens were ſlain [a]. App. p. 389. 581 or 582 l. Arb. Plut. in Sertor.

[a] *Appian* relates the affair thus: *Cinna* and his party, armed with daggers under their gowns, took poſſeſſion of the Forum. *Octavius*, attended by the honeſter part of the people, armed likewiſe with daggers, kept at home, till he was informed, that the majority of the Tribunes, having forbid proceeding to paſs the Law, the new Citizens had driven them from the Roſtra; then he, and his followers, broke like a torrent into the Forum, puſhed through the midſt of the croud, and having frighted away the rioters, retired to the temple of *Caſtor*; for *out of regard to his collegue he forbore to attack him.* Nevertheleſs, the followers of *Octavius* fell upon the new Citizens, killed many of them, and drove the reſt out of the city.

Cinna,

Y.R. 666. Bef. Chr. 86. 365 Conf.

Cinna, who had depended upon his ſuperiority in number, ſeeing his party, contrary to his expectation, defeated, ran up and down, inviting the ſlaves, by a promiſe of liberty, to take arms. This ſtratagem not ſucceeding, he left *Rome*, and made a progreſs through ſeveral towns of the allies, ſoliciting them every where to revolt, and raiſed money for the expences of the war. While he was thus employed, *C. Marius Gratidianus*, *C. Milonius*, and *Q. Sertorius* [b] joined him, but the Senate paſſed a decree againſt him to this effect: *Becauſe* Cinna *has deſerted the Republic in her danger, and called the ſlaves to arms, we declare him fallen from his right of Citizenſhip, and depoſe him from the office of Conſul.* In his place was ſubſtituted *L. Cornelius Merula*, then Flamen Dialis. Hereupon *Cinna* haſtened to *Capua*, where was quartered a *Roman* army, and having gained the officers who commanded it, and, by their means, got the troops convened, he entered the Aſſembly without the Faſces, and in the habit of a private man. Then, with tears, addreſſing himſelf to the ſoldiers: *From you, Citizens, I received the honour of the Conſulſhip: what you gave me by your ſuffrages, the Senate, without conſulting you, has taken from me. This injury I do not lament ſo much for my own ſake, as for yours. What occaſion will there be hereafter to court the favour of the tribes? What occaſion for Aſſemblies and Comitia? And wherein can you be uſeful, if you ſuffer your determinations to be ſo eaſily annulled?* After complaining much of his own misfortunes, he rent his garment, and coming down from the place where he had harangued, threw himſelf upon the ground, before the Aſſembly. The ſoldiers, moved with compaſſion, raiſed him up, gave him back his Faſces, and deſired him to take courage, and lead them wherever his affairs ſhould require. That this opportunity might not be loſt, both officers and ſolders immediately took an oath of fidelity to *Cinna*.

App. p. 390.

In the mean time, *Octavius* and *Merula* made diligent preparation for the defence of *Rome*, and ſent to make levies of ſoldiers, not only among the allies, but among the *Gauls*. They, moreover, ordered *Cn. Pompeius Strabo* to come inſtantly with his army to the aſſiſtance of the Republic. He had continued at the head of this army ever ſince the murder of his kinſman (*Sylla*'s collegue in the Conſulſhip) who had been appointed to command it, as we have before obſerved. Some ſay, that *Strabo* firſt offered his ſervice to *Cinna*, who rejected it: Others, that, by encouraging both parties, he fomented a war which he could eaſily have ſuppreſſed in the beginning. Be that as it will, he marched to *Rome*, and joined *Octavius*, but acted in ſuch a manner, as made

Oroſ. l. v. c. 19. Liv. Epit. l. lxxxv. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 23.

[b] *Sertorius*, according to *Plutarch*, was preſent at the late conflict in the Forum, and fled from thence together with *Cinna*. He had, not long before, ſtood for the Tribuneſhip; but though he was ſo great a favourite of the People, that, one day, when he entered the Theatre, they broke out into a ſhout of applauſe, yet he loſt his election through the influence of *Sylla*'s party. *Plut. in Sertor.*

it viſible he had nothing in view, but his own intereſt. *Cinna*, on the other hand, to give credit to his party, ſent to recal *Marius* and his ſon from baniſhment. Y. R. 666. Bef. Chr. 86. 365 Conſ.

We have already ſeen, that *Sylla* drove *Marius* from *Rome*, and ſet a price upon his head. In the evening of that day, on which he made his eſcape, he arrived at a villa of his own, called *Salonium*, and from thence ſent his ſon to ſome neighbouring farms belonging to his father-in-law *Mucius*, there to provide neceſſaries for their voyage. He himſelf went, in the mean time, to *Oſtia*, where his friend *Numerius*, having prepared him a ſhip, he, without ſtaying for his ſon, but taking with him *Granius*, his wife's ſon by a former huſband, weighed anchor. Paſſing along the coaſt of *Italy* with a favourable wind, he was in no ſmall apprehenſion of one *Geminius*, a man of great intereſt at *Tarracina*, and his enemy. He therefore bade the ſailors keep off from that place, and they were willing to obey, but the wind changing, and blowing hard from the ſea, and their veſſel being ſcarce able to reſiſt the waves, *Marius* too being indiſpoſed, and ſea-ſick, it was with great difficulty they could get ſo far as *Circeii*, on this ſide of *Tarracina*. Plut. in Mar.

The ſtorm now increaſing, and their proviſions failing, they went on ſhore, and wandered up and down they knew not whither; avoiding, as it uſually happens in great dangers, the preſent evil, and relying on uncertain hopes. The land and the ſea were both perilous: they feared to meet with people, and yet, wanting food, feared more to meet with nobody. Towards night they lit upon a few poor herdſmen, who, unhappily, had nothing to give them: but, knowing *Marius*, they adviſed him to get away, as ſoon as poſſible, for they had ſeen a party of horſe in ſearch of him. *Marius* ſeeing that his attendants, ſpent with long faſting, were unable to go farther, turned aſide out of the road, and hid himſelf in a thick wood, where he paſſed the night in great diſtreſs. The next day, though pinched with hunger, yet willing to make uſe of the little ſtrength he had left, he travelled by the ſea-ſide, encouraging his companions by prophecies, upon which, he ſaid, he depended. He told them, that, when he was a child, he brought home an eagle's neſt, in which were ſeven young ones, and that his parents, much aſtoniſhed at the accident (for it is ſaid, that an eagle never hatches more than two,) having conſulted the diviners, theſe had declared, that he would be the greateſt amongſt men, and be ſeven times poſſeſſed of the higheſt magiſtracy in his country.

When he and his company were now about two miles and a half from *Minturnæ*, they eſpied a troop of horſe making towards them with all ſpeed, and, at the ſame time, two ſhips pretty near the ſhore. Hereupon they ran as faſt as they could to the ſea, and plunging themſelves into it, ſwam to the ſhips. *Granius*, and thoſe that were with him, got into one of them, and paſſed over to the oppoſite iſland, called *Ænaria*.

Y. R. 666. Bef. Chr. 86. 365 Conſ.

Marius, heavy and unwieldy, was, with much difficulty, borne above the water by two ſlaves, and put aboard the other ſhip. In this inſtant the ſoldiers arrived at the ſea ſide, and from thence called out to the mariners, to bring their veſſel to ſhore, or elſe to throw out *Marius*. He, on the other hand, beſought them with tears, not to deliver him up to his enemies. The mariners, after a conſultation, wherein they inclined ſometimes to the one ſide, ſometimes to the other, at length anſwered poſitively, that they would not deliver up *Marius*. But ſoon after the ſoldiers were gone away, and out of ſight, the ſailors brought the veſſel to an anchor, at the mouth of the *Liris*, where it makes a great marſh; and then they adviſed *Marius* to go off ſhore, and refreſh himſelf, till the wind ſhould come fair, which, they ſaid, would ſoon happen; for that when the ſea breeze fell, there generally aroſe a freſh gale from the marſh. *Marius* liſtened to their advice, and, when they had ſet him on ſhore, he laid himſelf down in a place not far from the ſea, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting what was to befal him: for the mariners, preſently after, weighed anchor, and ſailed away, not thinking it excuſable to deliver *Marius* into the hands of thoſe who ſought to deſtroy him, nor conſiſtent with their own ſafety to protect him. Deſerted thus by all, he lay a good while ſilent on the ground: at length, collecting the remains of his ſtrength, he got up, and travelled along moſt diſconſolately. After wading through bogs, and ditches full of water and mud, he at laſt ſtumbled upon an old man's cottage, who worked in the fens. Falling at his feet, he beſought him to give aſſiſtance to a perſon, who, if he eſcaped the preſent danger, would make him returns beyond his expectation. The poor man, whether he had formerly known *Marius*, or was then moved, ſays *Plutarch*, with the majeſty of his countenance, anſwered, *If you want only reſt, you may repoſe yourſelf conveniently in my cottage; but if you are flying from an enemy, I will hide you in a more retired and ſecret place.* *Marius* having deſired he would do him that good office, the old man led him to a cave, by the river ſide, and there covered him with reeds, and other light things which would conceal, but not burden him. Scarce had he laid himſelf down, when he was diſturbed by a great noiſe from the cottage. His enemy, *Geminius*, had ſent horſemen from *Tarracina* in purſuit of him, and ſome of them happening to come that way, moſt ſeverely menaced the poor old man, as one who had entertained and concealed an enemy of *Rome*. *Marius*, thinking himſelf in imminent danger, ſtripped off his clothes, and, leaving his concealment, plunged himſelf into a great pool of water. From thence his purſuers dragged him naked, and all covered with mud, and in that condition carried him away to *Minturnæ*, where they delivered him into the hands of the magiſtrates. There had been publiſhed throughout all the towns of *Italy*, a decree of the Senate, importing, that ſearch ſhould be made for him, and that he ſhould be put to death,

if he were found. The magiſtrates, therefore, in obedience to this decree, caſt him into priſon, and ſent a ſlave, belonging to the Public, a *Cimbrian* by birth, to cut off his head: for none of their own citizens would undertake the office. Y. R. 666. Bef. Chr. 86. 365 Conſ.

Several authors have reported, that *Marius*, ſeeing the ſlave enter the priſon, ſaid to him with a ſtrong voice, *Haſt thou the audaciouſneſs to kill Marius?* and that, at theſe words, the *Cimbrian* inſtantly ran away into the town, and, throwing down his ſword before the people, cried out, *I have not the power to kill Marius:* nevertheleſs, it would ſeem, from certain paſſages in *Cicero*, that this ſtory is an invention of ſome of the later writers. Be that as it will, the *Minturnenſes* furniſhed *Marius* with a ſhip and proviſions; he ſailed firſt to *Ænaria*, where having found *Granius*, and the reſt of his company, that had eſcaped thither, he, together with them, ſteered his courſe towards *Africa*. Want of water forced him to put in near *Eryx* in *Sicily*. A *Roman* Quæſtor, who guarded that coaſt, fell upon *Marius* at his landing, ſlew ſixteen of his men, and was near taking him priſoner. The illuſtrious fugitive, however, at length arrived in *Africa*, and went on ſhore near *Carthage*, in the hope that *Sextilius*, the Prætor of that province, a man to whom he had done neither good nor harm, would, out of mere compaſſion, aſſiſt him in his diſtreſs. But ſcarce was he landed, when an officer from *Sextilius* forbad him to ſet foot in that country, and declared to him, that if he did not obey, he would be treated, conformably to the decree of the Senate, as an enemy of *Rome*. *Marius*, ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at this meſſage, remained a conſiderable time without ſpeaking a word, his eyes fixed upon the meſſenger. The man, at length, aſked him, what anſwer he ſhould carry back to the Prætor: *Go tell him* (ſaid *Marius,*) *that you have ſeen* Marius, *an exile from his country, and ſitting among the ruins of* Carthage: meaning by this (ſays *Plutarch*) to propoſe the fortune of that city, and his own fortune, as inſtructive leſſons to the Prætor. He went again on board, and wandered about in thoſe ſeas, a great part of the winter. His ſon *Marius*, who had taken refuge in the court of *Mandreſtal* (or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Hiempſal,*) King of *Numidia*, came from thence, and joined his father.

Liv. Epit. l. lxxvii. Vell. Pat. Val. Max. Plut. App. & alii. Cic. pro Plan. c. 10 pro Sext. c. 22. Plut. in Mar.

We left the younger *Marius* in *Italy*, at ſome farms belonging to *Mucius*, whither he had been ſent to get neceſſaries for his father's voyage, the very day his father ſet ſail from that country. While the ſon was buſy in executing his commiſſion, he had like to have been ſurpriſed by ſome troopers, who were in ſearch of his father; but, by the care of *Mucius*'s ſteward, who had notice of their approach, he was put into a cart covered over with beans, and conveyed to his wife at *Rome*. From thence, together with *Cethegus*, and ſome others, he made his eſcape in the night, went on board a ſhip, paſſed into *Africa*, and there implored the protection of the King of *Numidia*. *Hiempſal* treated him, and his

Y. R. 666. Bef. Chr. 86. companions, with great civility; but whenever they expreſſed an intention to depart, found ſome pretext or other to detain them, and it was manifeſt he made thoſe delays with no good deſign. An accident contributed greatly to their preſervation. The hard fortune of young *Marius*, who was very handſome, nearly touched one of the King's concubines; and this her pity was the beginning of her love, and a veil to cover it. At firſt, he avoided all engagements with her; but, finding he had no other probable way of making his eſcape from *Numidia*, and that her paſſion was no leſs generous, than violent, he returned it with kindneſs; and ſhe, in requital, procured him, and his friends, the means of eſcaping. Having joined his father, they left *Africa*, and ſailed for *Italy*, whither *Marius*, as was before mentioned, had been invited by *Cinna*. As ſoon as they landed, they ſet about raiſing ſoldiers. *Marius* proclaimed liberty to all ſlaves that would arm in his quarrel, and, in a ſhort time, got together a conſiderable body of troops; which was ſoon after ſtrengthened by 500 of his party from *Rome*. He then ſent a deputation in form to *Cinna*, offering to ſerve under him, and obey his orders as Conſul. All *Cinna*'s officers, except *Sertorius*, were of opinion, that *Marius* ſhould be received. *Sertorius*, a great warrior, but prudent and moderate, and who dreaded the revengeful temper of *Marius*, remonſtrated to *Cinna*, that, without the aſſiſtance of *Marius*, he was powerful enough to triumph over his enemies; that *Marius*, if received, would rob him of the glory and advantage of the war, and prove a troubleſome and unfaithful partner in the government. *Cinna* owned all this to be very juſt and ſolid; but he added, *With what face can I reject a man, whom I myſelf have invited to join with me in the war?* To which *Sertorius* replied, *I thought* Marius *had come into* Italy *of his own accord, and therefore I only conſidered what, in that caſe, was expedient to be done. But ſince he is here by your invitation, you ought not to have even deliberated, whether you are to receive and employ him. Your promiſe given precludes all conſultation and uncertainty.*

Plut. in Sertor.

Plut. in Mar.

Cinna hereupon wrote immediately to *Marius*, gave him the title of Proconſul, and ſent him the Faſces, and other badges of that dignity. *Marius* would not accept of theſe honours: he ſaid, they did not ſuit with his preſent misfortunes. From the day that he fled from *Rome*, he had worn an old robe, and neglected his hair and beard; and he walked ſlowly, like a man oppreſſed with calamities: but, through the diſguiſe of that doleful countenance, ſomething was diſcerned ſo fierce, that he rather created terror, than moved compaſſion. After he had joined *Cinna*, they marched together, and encamped on the *Tiber*: *Cinna* and *Carbo* over-againſt *Rome*; *Sertorius* above it; and *Marius* lower down towards the ſea. The laſt applied himſelf to cut off all proviſions, that were ſent up the river to ſupply the city; and he poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral of the maritime towns; and, among the reſt, of *Oſtia*, which, having

App. de Bell Civ. p. 391. Plut. in Mar. Liv. Epit. l. lxxix. App. loc. cit.

having reduced it by force, he plundered, and maſſacred the greateſt part of the inhabitants. *Cinna* ſent a party of ſoldiers to take poſſeſſion of *Ariminum*, that no aſſiſtance might be ſent to *Rome* from *Gaul*. *Appius Claudius*, to whom the guard of *Janiculum* had been intruſted, received *Marius* and *Cinna* into the place; but they were driven out again by *Pompeius Strabo*, and the Conſul *Octavius*. *Strabo* being ſoon after killed by a flaſh of lightening[k], the ſole command of the army devolved to *Octavius*. The incapacity (ſays *Plutarch*) of this Conſul, was not ſo detrimental to the public affairs, as was his too ſcrupulous attachment to the laws: for when they adviſed him to ſet the ſlaves at liberty [in order to make ſoldiers of them, and prevent their going over to the enemy,] he anſwered, that he could never give to ſlaves the privileges of that city, the gates of which he had, in obedience to the laws, ſhut againſt *Caius Marius*. Y. R. 666. Bef. Chr. 86. 365 Conſ. Plut. in Mar.

About this time, *Metellus Pius*, the ſon of *Numidicus*, arrived at *Rome*. He had lately commanded an army in *Samnium*, where the Social War was not totally extinguiſhed; and the Senate had deſired him to make peace with the *Samnites* upon any honourable terms, and lead his forces to the defence of his country; but while he hiſitated about granting the conditions inſiſted upon by the enemy, *Marius* yielded to all their demands, and they joined themſelves to his party. App. loc. cit.

At *Rome*, the ſoldiers of *Octavius* deſerted him, and offered their ſervice to *Metellus*, who was much the better General; but, upon his reproving them roughly, and ordering them back to the Conſul, they went over to *Cinna*. Plut. in Mar.

Marius, in the mean time, reduced *Antium*, *Aricia*, *Lanuvium*, and ſeveral other towns, where the *Romans* had magazines of proviſions. After this, the confederate Generals drawing nearer to *Rome*, *Octavius*, *Craſſus*, and *Metellus*, marched out to oppoſe them, but did not think it adviſeable to truſt the ſafety of their country to the hazard of a battle. *Cinna* having proclaimed liberty to all the ſlaves in the city, who ſhould join him, they flocked to him from thence in crouds. The Senate terrified hereby, and fearing the diſcontent of the people, who ſuffered greatly through want of proviſions, ſent deputies to *Cinna* to negociate a peace. His firſt queſtion to them was, whether they had a commiſſion to treat with him as Conſul, or as a private perſon: and they not giving him a ſatisfactory anſwer, could effect nothing. After their return to the city, *Cinna* advanced and encamped under the walls. Multitudes went over to him, ſome through fear of famine, others becauſe they favoured his cauſe, and his nearneſs gave them an opportunity to eſcape. The Senate, unwilling to depoſe *Merula*, who had been appointed Conſul in the room of *Cinna*, were in great perplexity. Appian. p. 392.

[k] *Vell. Pat.* reports, that the plague raged in both armies. He adds, that the joy for the death of *Pompeius* was almoſt balanced by the grief for the loſs of ſo many citizens as died by the ſword, or the peſtilence.

Y. R. 666. plexity. But *Merula*, that he might be no hindrance to the public tranquillity, voluntarily laid down his office; and the Senate immediately dispatched new deputies to *Cinna*, with orders to acknowledge him as Conſul.

Diod. Sic. ap. Val. p. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 22. App. p. 393. They required no other condition of peace, but his taking an oath, not to put to death any of the citizens. He refuſed to ſwear[m], but gave them his promiſe, that none ſhould be ſlain with his knowledge, or conſent; and even deſired, that the Conſul *Octavius* might leave *Rome*, leſt ſome misfortune ſhould befal him. *Marius* was ſtanding next to *Cinna*'s Tribunal. He did not ſpeak a word, but the gloomineſs of his countenance, and the malice that appeared in his eyes, ſufficiently prognoſticated, that he would ſoon fill the city with ſlaughter.

Plut. in Mar.

Shortly after this conference, *Cinna* entered *Rome*, ſurrounded with ſoldiers, but *Marius* ſtopped at the gate, ſaying angrily, *That he was an exile, and forbidden by the laws to enter the City: if therefore they wanted his preſence, they muſt reverſe the decree of his baniſhment.* The people accordingly were aſſembled; but ſcarce had three or four of the Tribes given their votes, when he, throwing off the maſk, entered the city with his guards: a band of about 4000 of the ſtouteſt ſlaves, whom he had choſen to be miniſters of his cruelty. Inſtantly the gates were ſhut, that none might eſcape, and a ſlaughter enſued, as in a town taken by aſſault. *C.* and *L. Julius*, with many other conſiderable Senators,

Dio. Caſſ. ap Vleſ. p. 642. Liv. Epit. l. lxxx.

Diod. Sic. ap. Val. p. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 22. App. p. 393. Plut. in Mar.

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Diod. Sic. ap. Val. p. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 22. App. p. 393. Plut. in Mar.

sentence, caused his veins to be opened. As he was priest of *Jupiter*, it was not lawful for him to die with the mitre on his head: he therefore left a writing behind him, signifying that, before his death, he had put off that sacred ornament. Y. R. 666. Bef. Chr. 86. 365 Conf.

Catulus, the collegue of *Marius* in the *Cimbrian* war, smothered himself with the vapour of charcoal. It is reported, that *Marius*, when the friends of *Catulus* interceded for him, made no answer but, *he must die, he must die.*

Some authors say, that *Cinna* began to cease his cruelties; but that *Marius*, growing daily more thirsty of blood, proceeded to destroy every man of whom he had the least suspicion; 'till at length *Cinna* and *Sertorius*, having surprised, and surrounded with soldiers, the murderous guards of *Marius*, put every man of them to death. Plut. in Mar. & in Sertor.

Many of the Nobles fled to *Sylla*, then in *Greece:* his wife and children likewise, with some difficulty, escaped to him, and he learnt from them, that his enemies had burnt his house, and ravaged his lands.

When the time came for chusing supreme magistrates, *Marius* and *Cinna* declared themselves CONSULS, without so much as the form of assembling the *Comitia*. On the day of their inauguration, *Marius* caused a Senator, named *Sex. Lucinius*, to be thrown from the *Tarpeian* rock. His own death soon after put a stop to his cruelties. He died, according to the most probable account, of a pleuritic fever, on the 13th of *January*, about the seventy-first year of his age. Y. R. 667. Bef. Chr. 85. 366 Conf. Liv. Epit. l. lxxx. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 23.

To grace his funeral, *C. Fimbria* (at this time *Quæstor Urbanus*) ordered *Q. Scævola* (the Pontifex Maximus) to be put to death; and hearing afterwards, that he might recover of the wound he had received, summoned him to take his trial before the People. When somebody asked *Fimbria*, *Of what crime he could accuse so good a man?* he answered, *Of not having received in his body the whole of the weapon with which he was stabbed.* Cic. pro S. Rof. c. 12. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 11. § 2. Vell. Pigh. ad Ann. 667.

CHAP. XI.

VALERIUS FLACCUS, *associated by* Cinna *in the Consulship for the remainder of the year* 667, *is likewise appointed by him to succeed to* SYLLA'S *command in* Asia.

An account of the progress of Mithridates, *after his defeating the three* Roman *Generals in* 665. *The arrival of* Sylla *in* Greece *in* 666. *He there vanquishes the armies of* Mithridates.

SYLLA *passes in* Asia, *and concludes a peace with the King of* Pontus *(in* 668 ;) *returns into* Greece *in* 669; *(being the* 4*th Consulship of* CINNA, *and the* 3*d year of his holding that magistracy by usurpation.) From* Athens SYLLA *writes a menacing letter to the* SENATE, *who had suffered him to be declared an exile, and to be loaded with other injuries and indignities.*

dignities. In 670, *he lands in* Italy, *totally ſubdues the* Marian *faction; and proſcribes thoſe of his enemies, who had eſcaped his ſword; and, in* 671, *he is conſtituted* PERPETUAL DICTATOR.

Y. R. 667. App. p. 396.

ON the death of *Marius*, *Cinna* choſe *L. Valerius Flaccus* to be his collegue in the Conſulſhip, appointing him to ſucceed *Sylla* in the conduct of the war againſt *Mithridates*[x], and giving him *Fimbria* for his lieutenant.

Vid. ſupr. p. 123. Id. l. ii. c. 18. Cic. pro L. Manil. c. 3. App. in Mithridat. p. 185. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. App. in Mithrid. p. 186.

We left *Mithridates*, in 665, victorious over the *Roman* armies in *Aſia Propria*, and maſter of all that country, and the iſlands adjacent, except *Rhodes*. This prince, a ſecond *Hannibal* in his hatred to the *Romans*, diſpatched circular letters throughout *Aſia*, directing, that the people, on a certain day, ſhould maſſacre all the *Italians* that were in that country; men, women, and children, freemen, and ſlaves: and that the effects of the ſlain ſhould be diſpoſed of, part to his own treaſury, and part to the aſſaſſins; and he forbad the people, under pain of death, to ſpare the life of any *Italian*, or to bury him, when dead. Fourſcore thouſand[y] of that nation periſhed in this maſſacre; and the cruelty, with which the *Aſiatics* executed the vengeance of *Mithridates*, ſhewed plainly (ſays *Appian*) that they were actuated more by hatred to the *Romans*, than fear of the King.

Cic. 2. in Verr. c. 65 App. in Mithrid. p. 186. & ſeq. Plut. in Sylla.

After this he attacked *Rhodes*, by ſea and land, with all his forces; but miſcarried in the enterprize[z]. To hinder the *Romans* from entering *Aſia*, he reſolved to tranſport the war into *Europe*. With this view he ſent his youngeſt ſon (called by ſome *Arcathias*, by others, *Ariarathes*) with a powerful army, through *Thrace* into *Macedon*. *Archelaus*, the ableſt of his Generals, he commiſſioned to go with a fleet to *Greece*, in order to bring over to his party, the people of that country, either by perſuaſion or force; and diſpatched *Metrophanes*, another of his Generals, into *Eubœa*, and to the ſea-coaſt of *Theſſaly*.

Poſidon. ap. Athen. 5. 13.

The *Athenians* (we are not told for what cauſe) had been condemned to a fine by the *Romans*, and their magiſtrates forbidden to exerciſe their functions: and *Ariſtion*, an Epicurean philoſopher, whom they had ſent on an embaſſy to *Mithridates*, being gained by that monarch, had exhorted them to ſide with the King; aſſuring them, that the popular government ſhould be reſtored, and that not only the public would be bene-

[x] The King of *Pontus*, by ſeizing the effects of the Publicans, and of all other *Italians* in *Aſia*, had occaſioned an almoſt univerſal bankruptcy in *Rome*. *Valerius*, before he ſet out upon his expedition, publiſhed a law, importing, that the debtors ſhould not be obliged to pay to their creditors, more than one quarter of the principal ſums they owed. *Cic. pro L. Manil.* c. 7. *Vell. Pat.* l. ii. c. 23.

[y] *Plut. (in Sylla)* makes the number amount to 150,000.

[z] *Cic. (loc. cit.)* tells us, that notwithſtanding the *Rhodians* were beſieged by *Mithridates*, and that they particularly hated him; yet they did not demoliſh a ſtatue, which they had formerly erected to him in the moſt conſpicuous part of their town.

fited,

fited, but private perſons would reap great advantages from the alliance of ſo powerful, and ſo generous a Prince. The people, dazzled with theſe proſpects, gave a favourable anſwer, and the chief men of the city, finding themſelves unable to reſtrain the madneſs of the multitude, paſſed into *Italy*, and took refuge in *Rome*. Y. R. 667. Bef. Chr. 85. 366 Conſ. Cic. in Brut. c. 89.

Archelaus ſubdued the iſland *Delos*, which had revolted from the *Athenians*, ſlew there 20,000 men, moſt of them *Italians*, and plundered the temple of *Apollo*[b]. The iſland he reſtored to the *Athenians*, and depoſited in their city the booty he had taken. But under pretence of guarding it, he ſent along with it 2000 ſoldiers, by whoſe aſſiſtance *Ariſtion* aſſumed to himſelf the chief power in *Athens*, and put to death, or delivered up to *Mithridates*, all the citizens that adhered to the *Romans*. *Archelaus* likewiſe brought over to his maſter's intereſt, the *Achæans*, the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Bœotians*, and reduced the *Cyclades*, and all the other iſlands, as far as the promontory of *Malea*. At the ſame time *Metrophanes* landed in *Eubœa*, and, ſoon after, pillaged the territories of *Demetrius* and *Magneſia*. Some ſay, that *Bruttius Sura*, the lieutenant of *Sentius*, Prætor of *Macedon*, not only attacked *Metrophanes*, and drove him out of the country but gained three victories over *Archelaus* (or, according to ſome, fought with him three days ſucceſſively with equal advantage) and forced him to confine himſelf to his fleet. App. Mithrid. p. 188. Id. p. 189. Plut. in Sylla.

Sylla [in the year of *Rome* 666] arrived in *Greece* with five legions and ſome *Italian* cohorts. Having received ſupplies of men and money from *Ætolia* and *Theſſaly*, he marched into *Attica* againſt *Archelaus*. In his way, almoſt all the *Bœotians* ſubmitted to him, with the ſame readineſs they had declared for *Mithridates*. Soon after, the other towns of *Greece*, except *Athens*, diſpatched deputies to him, offering to put themſelves under his protection. *Lucullus*, whom he had ſent before him, obliged *Sentius* to retire into *Macedon*; and the General, on his arrival, left part of his forces to beſiege *Athens*; while he himſelf went to attack the *Piræeus* (the port of that city) where *Archelaus* had ſhut himſelf up. App. p. 190. Plut. in Sylla.

Athens was divided into two parts; the one called *Cecropia*. from its founder *Cecrops*; the other *Athens*, from the Greek * name of *Minerva*, its protectreſs. They were ſeparated only by a wall, and one common rampart encloſed them. On the weſt ſide of the city ran the *Cephiſus*; on the eaſt the *Iliſſus*. *Phalerum* had been anciently the port of *Athens*, till the time of *Themiſtocles*, who, finding a bay near the *Cephiſus*, more large and commodious, built there the port *Piræeus*. *Pericles* raiſed walls about it forty cubits high, and of a very extraordinary thickneſs; and on each ſide the road, five miles in length, between it and the city, he Plin. lvii. c. 56. * Ἀθῆναι. Cor. Nep. in Them. App. Mithrid. p. 190.

[b] *Pauſanias* (*in Lacon.* c. 23.) aſcribes theſe actions to another of *Mithridates*'s Generals, named *Menothanes*.

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built a ſtrong wall. *Athens* had alſo another port, called *Munychia*, leſs than the *Piræeus*: it was nearer the town, encompaſſed with the ſea, and well fortified.

Sylla, at firſt, thought to carry the *Piræeus* by aſſault: but being repulſed by *Archelaus*, he retired to *Eleuſis* and *Megara*, between *Athens* and *Corinth*, in order to build towers and engines for carrying on the ſiege in form. For this work he cut down the ſacred woods about *Athens*, and the trees of the fine walks belonging to the academy[a], and the *Lyceum*. He demoliſhed the long walls that joined the *Piræeus* to the city, and turned them into ramparts, upon which he erected his engines. So great were his preparations, that, for the ſervice of the engines alone, he kept 20,000 mules conſtantly employed. And, as he wanted large ſums of money for carrying on the war, he ſent to the council of the *Amphictyons*, or deputies, from the ſtates of *Greece*, then aſſembled at *Delphi*, and deſired they would ſend him the riches of *Apollo*'s temple in that place; adding, that the treaſure would be ſafer with him, or, if he ſhould be obliged to make uſe of it, he would take care to return the value. To receive this treaſure by weight, he ſent one of his friends, named *Caphis*, who, being unwilling to violate the holy place, wrote to *Sylla*, that, on his arrival at *Delphi*, the ſound of *Apollo*'s lyre had been heard from the ſanctuary: thinking to terrify the General with an apprehenſion of the anger of the God. The Proconſul returned anſwer, that he much wondered *Caphis* had not made the juſt reflection on what had happened: that muſic was a ſign of joy and not of anger: that therefore he might boldly take away the treaſure, and be well aſſured that the God was kind, and offered it. It was accordingly delivered up to *Caphis*, nor did the inhabitants of *Olympia* and *Epidaurus* dare to refuſe him the conſecrated treaſures in the temples of *Jupiter* and *Æſculapius*.

Plut. in Sylla.

App. p. 191.

Sylla, having finiſhed his works, renewed the ſiege of the *Piræeus*. *Archelaus* neglected nothing that could conduce to the defence of the place, or to the annoyance of the beſiegers. Upon the walls he erected moveable towers, equal in height to thoſe uſed by *Sylla*; ſent for a reinforcement of troops from *Chalcis*, and the *Greek* iſlands; armed the mariners of his fleet; and, in a general ſally by night, repulſed the *Romans*, and burnt one of their *galleries* (they had but two) with all its appurtenances. *Sylla* puniſhed ſome of the cohorts, which had given ground, by obliging them, in the next engagement, to fight in the van, without ſhoes, and with their clothes ungirt; and, as for the damage done to the

Frontin. Stratag. l. iv. c. 1. § 27.

[a] The academy was a part of the *Ceramicus* without the city, from which it was diſtant about ſix furlongs. It was the place where *Plato* and his followers held their lectures. *Hipparchus*, the ſon of *Piſiſtratus*, ſurrounded it with a wall. The *Lyceum* was ſituate on the banks of the *Iliſſus*, and ſacred to *Apollo* Λύκιος, from whence it had its name. There *Ariſtotle* and the *Peripateticks* taught.

engines,

engines, it was repaired in ten days time. *Archelaus* therefore made a ſecond eruption upon the works. The attack was briſk, but, by the obſtinate reſiſtance of thoſe cohorts, which had recoiled in the laſt action, and by the ſingular bravery of *Muræna*, a Legionary Tribune, the *Aſiatics* were at length forced to retire, after a loſs of near 2000 men. Their General ſtaid ſo long without the gates, endeavouring to ſtop the run-aways, that he was ſhut out, and had been taken priſoner, if the beſieged had not expeditiouſly drawn him up by a cord to the top of the wall. Y.R. 667. Bef. Chr. 85. 366 Conſ. App. p. 192.

Winter now came on. which obliged *Sylla* to abate ſomewhat of his ardour, and retire to *Eleuſis*. The ſiege, however, was continued, and frequent ſkirmiſhes happened between the *Romans* and the *Aſiatics*.

All this while, *Athens* was ſo cloſely ſhut up, that it could receive no ſupplies of proviſions, and there was a great ſcarcity in the town. *Ariſtion*, nevertheleſs, ſpent his time in debauchery and feaſting with his companions, and is ſaid to have railed from the walls at the Proconſul and his beloved wife *Metella*. *Archelaus* had plenty of every thing in the *Piræeus*, becauſe he commanded the harbour; and *Mithridates's* fleet, commanding the ſeas frequently cut off *Sylla*'s proviſions. To remedy this evil, the *Roman* ſent his Quæſtor *Lucullus* with five ſhips, in the middle of winter, to *Rhodes*, and the eaſt, to get together a fleet. The *Rhodians* durſt not put to ſea, for fear of meeting with the ſhips of *Mithridates*: the Quæſtor therefore ſailed to *Egypt*, to aſk aſſiſtance of *Ptolemy*; but the King would enter into no alliance with *Sylla*, leſt he ſhould thereby draw the war into his own country. *Lucullus*, however, was furniſhed with a conſiderable number of ſhips from the maritime towns of *Syria*. Plut. in Sylla. Plut. in Lucull. App. loc. cit.

It has been already mentioned, that *Mithridates* ſent his youngeſt ſon with an army through *Thrace* into *Macedon*. The young prince, joined by a multitude of *Thracians*, drove out of the laſt mentioned country, the few *Romans* he found there, ſubdued it totally, and then marched to oppoſe *Sylla*; but died on the way, at *Tidæum*. The approach of this army made the Proconſul redouble his efforts to reduce *Athens* and the *Piræeus*. *Archelaus* made repeated attempts to ſupply the city with proviſions; but the *Romans* never failed to diſappoint him: for they had always timely notice of his deſigns. Two ſlaves in the *Piræeus*, either out of inclination for the *Romans*, or from a view to their own ſafety, wrote the reſolutions of the beſieged on balls of lead, which they threw by ſlings into the enemies camp. The *Aſiatic* General, finding the *Romans* always ready, concluded he was betrayed. To draw the beſt advantage, therefore, from the treachery, he cauſed a ſally to be made upon the beſiegers, at the ſame time that he ſent out a convoy of proviſions for *Athens*. The ſucceſs anſwered his expectation; *Sylla* became maſter of the convoy: but the garriſon burnt ſeveral of the *Roman* engines. The reſt of the *Roman* works *Archelaus* endeavoured to deſtroy by ſap, but his purpoſe being App. Mithrid. p. 193. Liv. Epit. l. lxxxi. App. loc. cit.

Y.R. 667. diſcovered by the tottering of one of the engines, the *Romans* immediately withdrew it, and filled up the hollow. After this example, they fell to
App. p. 194. ſapping in their turn, and the pioneers of the two parties frequently met, and fought under ground. At length the beſiegers found means to undermine the wall in ſeveral places; but ſupported it with timbers, from which timbers, to the entrance of the mine, they laid a train of ſulphur, pitch, and other combuſtible matter. After this, when they had made a breach above with their battering rams, *Sylla* led his men to the aſſault, ordering fire to be put to the combuſtible matter in the mine. Very ſoon the wall came tumbling down in ſeveral places; and, during the conſternation of the beſieged, the *Romans* lodged themſelves in the breaches, and burnt one of *Archelaus*'s towers. But he, encouraging his ſoldiers, and bringing freſh men to ſucceed thoſe who had given way, made ſo obſtinate a defence, that all the bravery and ſkill of *Sylla* proved ineffectual to get poſſeſſion of the place. The *Roman*, after a long attack, ſounded
App. p. 195. a retreat, in order to give his weary troops ſome repoſe. The garriſon, in the night, built up another wall, not exactly on the foundations of the old one, but in the form of ſeveral creſcents; the horns projecting towards the enemy. Next day *Sylla* attempted, with all his forces, to deſtroy this work; imagining it might eaſily be done, while new and unſettled. However, he met with ſo warm a reception from the garriſon, eſpecially that part of it which defended the horns of the creſcents, and galled his flank, that he was forced to give over his enterprize. And being, doubtleſs, convinced, that it was impracticable to take the *Piræus* with the troops he then had before it, he contented himſelf with keeping it blocked up on the land-ſide, and turned his chief efforts againſt *Athens*; purpoſing, when he ſhould be maſter of the city, to bring more forces to the attack of the port.

Plut. in Sylla. The city was already in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions. *Ariſtion* alone, and the companions of his tyranny, enjoyed plenty, while the citizens were reduced to feed upon horſes, dogs, boiled leather, and the herbs that grew on old walls. The tyrant had even the inhumanity to inſult the people in this extremity, to which he himſelf had brought them. He refuſed to give a little oil, to ſupply the ſacred lamp which
Dio Caſſ. ap. Valeſ. fed the perpetual fire in *Minerva*'s temple; and when the high prieſteſs deſired of him, in her great indigence, half a buſhel of barley, he ſent her, in deriſion, that quantity of pepper. The exceſſive miſery of the
Plut. in Sylla. *Athenians* conſtrained them to petition their tyrant, that he would come to an accommodation with the *Romans*. Their Prieſts and Senators, in a body, went to him with this requeſt, but he inſolently cauſed them to be driven from his preſence with blows. However, when at length *Sylla* appeared before the town, *Ariſtion* ſeeing no way to eſcape, was prevailed upon to ſend a deputation to him. The men he choſe for that commiſſion, were two or three of the companions of his debauchery.

Theſe, when admitted by the Proconſul to an audience, inſtead of making any propoſal tending to the preſervation of the city, began a pompous harangue in praiſe of *Theſeus* and *Eumolpus*, and the exploits of the *Athenians* againſt the *Perſians*. *Sylla*, tired with their impertinence, bad them be gone with their rhetoric; adding, the *Roman* People have not ſent me hither to ſchool, but to puniſh Rebels. Y. R. 667. Bef. Chr. 85. 366 Conſ.

During this conference, ſome old men of the *Athenians* were overheard, in the *Ceramicus* without the city, blaming the tyrant for neglecting to guard a weak part of the wall, oppoſite to a place, called the *Heptachalchos*. The *Roman* General, being informed of this, went to view the wall; and finding the place acceſſible in that part, made an aſſault in the night of the firſt of *March*, and ſucceeded.

No ſooner was he maſter of the town, than, by his order, the ſoldiers put to the ſword all the inhabitants that fell in their way; without diſtinction of ſex or age. Such a quantity of blood was ſpilt in the ſtreets, that it flowed out of the gates. Many of the *Athenians*, believing their native city was going to be deſtroyed, killed themſelves, that they might not ſurvive its ruin. *Ariſtion* with ſome of his adherents, retired into the citadel, but it was not long before want of water conſtrained him to ſurrender at diſcretion. The firſt fury againſt the *Athenians* being now abated, *Sylla*, at the requeſt of *Midias* and *Calliphon*, two *Athenian* exiles, and of all the *Roman* Senators in his camp, ſpared the reſt of the citizens, ſaying, that *he pardoned the living for the ſake of the dead*; meaning the great men which *Athens* had produced. Nevertheleſs, he deprived the *Athenians* of the privileges of chuſing their own magiſtrates, and making laws. He alſo condemned to death *Ariſtion*, together with his counſellors, his generals, and all the miniſters of his tyranny; but the execution of the tyrant was deferred till another time. App. Mithrid. p. 195. Plut. in Sylla.

The *Piræeus* ſtill remained to be reduced. *Sylla* led all his forces againſt it, and *Archelaus* defended it with his wonted courage, and ability. According to *Florus*, *Sylla* beat down the wall ſix times, and *Archelaus* as often reſtored it. Neceſſity, however, at length, compelled the brave *Aſiatic* to abandon the place: and he then retired to the port of *Munychia*. The *Romans* demoliſhed the fortifications of the *Piræeus*, and burnt the ſtore-houſes, together with the magnificent arſenal built by *Philo*. App. Mithrid. p. 196. Florus, l. iii. c. 5.

Archelaus ſoon quitted *Munychia*, and went into *Bœotia*, and from thence into *Theſſaly*. There he aſſembled all the *Aſiatic* troops that were in *Greece*, and ſent for the army of *Archathius*, now under *Taxiles*, to come and join him. *Taxiles* obeyed, and *Archelaus* took upon him the chief command of all the forces, which conſiſted of 100,000 foot, 10,000 horſe, and 90 chariots of war. *Sylla*, from *Attica*, marched into *Bœotia*, to meet the enemy. This he was blamed for, becauſe the vaſt plains of *Bœotia* were much more convenient for the cavalry and chariots of the barbarians, App. loc. cit. Plut. in Sylla.

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barbarians, in which their chief ſtrength conſiſted, than the rough and rocky country about *Athens*. But *Sylla* wanted proviſions; and *Attica*, naturally barren, and now ruined by war, could not ſubſiſt his army. Beſides, he was in anxiety for a body of troops, which, by his order, *Hortenſius* was bringing to him from *Theſſaly*. *Hortenſius*, under the guidance of *Caphis*, eſcaped the enemy, who endeavoured to intercept him; and, paſſing over mount *Parnaſſus*, joined *Sylla* at the foot of it. *Plutarch* ſays, the proconſular army conſiſted of no more than 15,000 foot, and 1500 horſe. According to *Appian*, it did not amount (auxiliaries included) to a third part of the *Aſiatics*. *Sylla* poſted himſelf on an eminence in the middle of the plains of *Elatea*, and in ſight of the enemy. *Archelaus*, notwithſtanding his ſuperiority of numbers, did not think it prudent to hazard a general action; nevertheleſs, being prevailed upon by the preſſing inſtances of his officers, he drew out his forces, and offered battle. The *Roman* General would have accepted the challenge; but could neither by remonſtrances, nor intreaties, ſpirit up his men to fight; they were ſo terrified at the ſight of the enormous multitude of the barbarians[a]. Theſe, on the other hand, deſpiſing their enemies, quitted their camp in large companies, without leave of their commander, and went roaming about the country to pillage. *Sylla*, in the mean time, employed his ſoldiers in the moſt laborious and difficult works; that he might bring them to demand the fight, rather than ſubmit to ſuch drudgery. After three days, they called out to be led to battle. *Sylla* anſwered, *You are only weary of labour. If you really deſire to fight, arm yourſelves immediately, and ſeize that poſt*; pointing to a ſteep rock at the confluence of the *Cephiſus* and *Aſſus*. *Archelaus* had already detached a body of his troops to take poſſeſſion of that rock. The *Romans* obeyed their General, and, by their diligence, prevented the enemy. On this diſappointment the *Aſiatics* decamped, and marched to *Chæronea*, thinking to ſurprize it: But *Sylla* again prevented them, and threw into the town a *Roman* Legion, under the command of *Gabinius*. *Archelaus* encamped in the neighbourhood of *Chæronea*, in a place difficult of acceſs, and overlooked by a ſteep hill, called *Thurium*; where he poſted a large detachment. The *Roman* General followed him, and ſoon after ſent off a party of ſoldiers under the guidance of ſome *Chæroneans*, to diſlodge the enemy from *Thurium*. In the mean time, he drew up his forces in order of battle, and *Archelaus* did the like. While the two armies ſtood fronting each other, the *Roman* detachment, which by a private road, had mounted unſeen to the top of the hill, drove from it the *Aſiatics*, who, in their flight, falling in among their own men, put them into diſorder. Inſtantly *Sylla* advanced, and with ſo much diligence, that he allowed no oppor-

App. p. 197. Plut. in Sylla.

[a] According to *Appian*, *Archelaus*, ſo ſoon as the two armies came near enough to each other, offered battle, and *Sylla* declined it.

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tunity, no ſpace, for their chariots to act. Their efforts were ſo weak, that, according to *Plutarch*, the *Romans*, who had eaſily repelled them, called out for more, as they uſed to do at the chariot races in the *Circus*. The hiſtorians have left us a very confuſed deſcription of this battle: the victory they unanimouſly aſcribe to *Sylla*. Of the numerous forces of *Archelaus*, we are told, that only about 10,000 eſcaped with their General to *Chalcis*; but what is yet more incredible, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Eutropius*, makes the loſs on the ſide of the *Romans* to amount, the firſt to twelve, the ſecond to thirteen, and the laſt to fourteen men. It would ſeem, that *Sylla* invented this fable himſelf: for in ſome Memoirs of his, quoted by *Plutarch*, he wrote, that, after the battle, he miſſed only fourteen of his men, two of whom returned to the camp before night.

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Plut. App. Liv. Epit. Eutrop.

In honour of this victory, he celebrated muſical games at *Thebes*, and ſent to the neighbouring towns for judges to determine to whom the prizes ſhould be given: for ſuch was his hatred to the *Thebans*, that he would admit none of them to be judges; and what doubtleſs they felt more ſeverely, he took from them half their lands, and allotted the produce to the payment of the money, of which he had robbed the temples of of *Jupiter* and *Apollo*.

Plut. in Sylla.

Scarce were the games over, when he received intelligence, that the Conſul *Valerius Flaccus* was croſſing the *Ionian* ſea with an army, in order to diveſt him of his authority, and aſſume the conduct of the war againſt *Mithridates*. The Proconſul marched directly to oppoſe him, and in *Theſſaly* was joined by ſome troops, which *Valerius* had ſent before him to take poſſeſſion of that country. Hearing of this defection, the Conſul ſailed to the *Helleſpont*, with a view to paſs that way into *Aſia*. At the ſame time *Sylla* turned his arms againſt *Dorylaus*, one of *Mithridates*'s Generals, who had juſt entered *Greece* at the head of 80,000 men, and was ravaging *Bœotia* in conjunction with *Archelaus*. The latter endeavoured to diſſuade *Dorylaus* from hazarding a pitched battle with the *Romans*, but with little effect, till ſome unſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes convinced him, that his collegue judged rightly. They then retired before the enemy, and encamped near *Orchomenos*, in a vaſt plain watered by the river *Melas*, which, at a little diſtance, ſpreads itſelf in ſeveral muddy marſhes covered with reeds. So advantageous a ſituation induced the *Aſiatics* to venture a battle. *Sylla* took meaſures to render this advantage uſeleſs to them. That he might not be ſurrounded, and that he might ſecure his wings, he cauſed ſeveral broad trenches [a] to be dug in the plain, and at the extremities of theſe trenches raiſed little forts to defend the approaches.

App. Mithrid. p. 204.

Plut. in Sylla.

Frontin. Stratag. l. ii. c. 3. §. 17.

App. Mithrid. p. 202.

[a] According to *Plutarch*, *Sylla* drew thoſe trenches to encloſe the enemy between him and the marſhes, ſo that they might not have room to employ their numerous cavalry; and their endeavour to hinder the works brought on the battle.

Y. R. 667. Bef. Chr. 85. 366 Conf.

On the day of battle, the *Aſiatics* ranged their chariots in the front; their phalanxes in the ſecond line; the auxiliaries and *Italian* deſerters (all armed after the *Roman* manner) in the third line; and their light troops in the rear: their numerous cavalry were placed on the wings.

Sylla drew up his infantry in three lines, leaving ſpaces between the battalions, that the cavalry, which he poſted in the rear, might have room to advance to the charge. Before the ſecond line, he cauſed a great number of ſtakes to be fixed in the ground, to ſtop the progreſs of the chariots; and gave orders to the ſoldiers of the firſt line to retire behind thoſe ſtakes, when the chariots approached. Victory declared for *Sylla*. Having killed 15,000 of the enemy, he purſued the reſt to their camp, and forced it. We hear no more of *Dorylaus*. As for *Archelaus*, we are told, that he hid himſelf, two days, in the marſhes, and then found a bark which carried him to *Eubœa*, where he aſſembled all the *Aſiatic* troops, that remained in *Greece*.

App. p. 203.

Id. p. 201.

Mithridates, in the mean time, by his cruelties in *Aſia*, had occaſioned *Epheſus*, *Tralles*, and ſeveral other cities to revolt from him. Thoſe which he reduced by force, he puniſhed with great ſeverity; but fearing a general defection, he proclaimed liberty to the *Greek* cities, remitted to the debtors the payment of what they owed to their creditors, and gave to all ſlaves and ſtrangers the freedom of the cities, in which they lived.

Id. p. 202.

Id. p. 206.

Hearing of the defeat of his army at *Orchomenos*, he ſent orders to *Archelaus* to make peace with *Sylla*, on the beſt conditions he could obtain. *Archelaus* immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to propoſe a treaty. *Sylla* very willingly conſented; for he had neither ſhips nor money to carry on the war, and longed impatiently to be in *Italy*, that he might revenge himſelf upon his enemies, who tyrannized in that country.

Y. R. 668. Bef. Chr. 84. 367 Conf.

Cinna, without the formality of holding the Comitia, had declared himſelf Conſul for the third time, and appointed *Cn. Papirius Carbo* to be his collegue in that office.

Liv. Epit. l. lxxxiii. Plut. in Sylla.

The *Aſiatic* General knowing theſe things, propoſed, in a conference which enſued, that *Sylla* ſhould leave *Mithridates* in poſſeſſion of *Aſia* and *Pontus*, and return to *Italy*, there to put an end to the civil war, to which end, the king, he ſaid, would ſupply him with men, money and ſhips.

On the other hand, *Sylla* adviſed *Archelaus* to deſert *Mithridates*, deliver up his fleet to the *Romans*, and declare himſelf king in his ſtead: On which condition he offered him the title of Friend and Ally of the Senate and People of *Rome*. *Archelaus* expreſſing his deteſtation of ſuch treachery, *Sylla* replied, *If you, a* Cappadocian, *and the ſlave, or, if you will, the friend of a barbarian King, refuſe, for ſo great a reward, to commit a baſe action, how dare you make treaſonable propoſals to a* Roman *General—to* Sylla? *Have you forgot, that you are the ſame* Archelaus *who fled from* Chæronea *with a handful of men, the remains of* 120,000 *ſoldiers? That you afterwards hid yourſelf two days in the marſhes of* Orchomenos,

and

and that Bœotia *is now rendered inacceſſible by the heaps of your ſlaughtered troops with which its plains are covered*[a] *?* *Archelaus*, then changing tone, begged of the *Roman* to grant peace to *Mithridates*. *Sylla* conſenting, theſe terms were agreed upon. V.R. 668. Bef. Chr. 84. 367 Cont.

The King was to relinquiſh *Aſia* and *Paphlagonia*; give up *Bithynia* to *Nicomedes*, and *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*; pay the *Romans* 2000 talents for the expences of the war, and deliver to them 70 gallies with all their rigging.

On the other hand, *Sylla* was to confirm *Mithridates* in the poſſeſſion of his other dominions, and procure him the title of *Friend and Ally of* Rome.

Theſe articles were ſent, without delay to the King of *Pontus*, to be by him ratified. Then *Sylla* ſet out for *Macedon*, in his way to the *Helleſpont*, and took with him *Archelaus*, who falling ſick at *Lariſſa*, he ſtopped the march of the army to wait his recovery, expreſſing the ſame tender regard for him, as if he had been his collegue, or his intimate friend. He alſo gave him 10,000 acres of land in *Eubœa*, and honoured him with the title of the *Friend and Ally of* Rome; and though the Proconſul ſet at liberty all the other priſoners that were friends of *Mithridates*, yet he put to death *Ariſtion*, becauſe he was at enmity with *Archelaus*. Such extraordinary kindneſs to this General raiſed a ſuſpicion, that he had betrayed the *Aſiatics* at the battle of *Chæronea*. *Mithridates* himſelf, in a letter to *Arſaces*, king of the *Parthians*, ſpeaking of theſe times, ſays expreſly, that *Archelaus*, the moſt unworthy of his ſervants, had ruined his affairs, by betraying his army. The eaſy victory which the Frag. Salluſt. l. v.

[a] *Appian* gives a different account of this conference. According to him, *Archelaus* thus addreſſed *Sylla*: "King *Mithridates*, "who inherits his father's friendſhip for "*Rome*, was compelled to make war againſt "her by the covetouſneſs of other Generals, "whom ſhe employed; but now having had "experience of your virtue, he ſues to you "for peace, provided you require nothing "but what is *equitable*."

Sylla anſwered:

"*Mithridates* ought firſt to have ſent ambaſſadors to complain of injuries; but, inſtead of that, he injuriouſly invaded the "territories of other powers, ſlaughtered "multitudes of people, plundered the public treaſuries and the temples, and ſeized "the poſſeſſions of the ſlain. Nor has he "acted with more fidelity or moderation, "with regard to his own friends, than to "us. Many of thoſe he has put to death "without cauſe. And he diſcovered an inveterate hatred to us, not any neceſſity of "making war, when he exerciſed all manner of cruelties upon the *Italians* of *Aſia*, "without diſtinction of ſex or age. Such "was the hatred of this *hereditary friend* of "*Rome* to the *Roman* name: nor did he "think of that friendſhip, till I had deſtroyed 160,000 of his men. *Equity*, "therefore, does not demand that we ſhould "receive him into an alliance; yet, for your "ſake, I promiſe that the *Romans* ſhall forgive him, if he ſincerely repents. But, "if he ſtill diſſembles, I adviſe you, *Archelaus*, to reflect upon the preſent ſituation of his affairs, and *of your own*; and "to conſider, how *he* uſes to treat his friends, "and how *we* acted towards *Eumenes* and "*Maſiniſſa*."

Archelaus, offended at this intimation, replied with heat, "Peace may be concluded "upon reaſonable terms; I will never betray the forces intruſted to me."

Y.R. 668. Bef. Chr. 84. 367 Conſ.

Romans obtained, at *Chæronea*, over the numerous forces of *Archelaus*, who had fought ſo bravely in *Aſia*, and ſo ſtoutly defended the *Piræeus*; his giving battle in a place where his troops had not room to act; and *Sylla*'s dexterity in corrupting his adverſaries with money (an art to which his ſucceſs in war ſeems to have been chiefly owing) make the ſtory of *Archelaus*'s treachery not improbable [a].

Plut. in Sylla.

Whilſt the Proconſul ſtayed at *Lariſſa*, ambaſſadors from *Mithridates* arrived there, and informed him, that their maſter approved of all the other articles of the treaty, but would by no means part with *Paphlagonia*, or the ſeventy gallies demanded. To this *Sylla*, in great anger, *What!* Mithridates *refuſes to give up* Paphlagonia *and the ſhips! He, who I thought would have fallen at my feet, and thanked me for leaving him that right-hand, with which he has maſſacred ſo many* Roman *citizens! He'll ſpeak in another tone, when I am in* Aſia. *At preſent let him ſit at* Pergamus, *and form projects for a war which he has not ſeen* [b].

The ambaſſadors, confounded, did not anſwer a word; but *Archelaus*, taking *Sylla* by the hand, begged of him to moderate his anger. At length he obtained leave to go to the King, promiſing to return with the ratification of the treaty, or to kill himſelf in his maſter's preſence.

App. Mithridat. p. 207. Plut. in Sylla.

In the mean time, *Sylla*, to keep the troops in exerciſe, and enrich them with ſpoil, turned his arms againſt the *Medi* and *Dardani*, nations bordering upon *Macedon*: and pillaged their country.

Archelaus, at his return, acquainted the Proconſul, that the peace would be concluded on the terms he had propoſed, but that *Mithridates* earneſtly deſired a conference with him. The reaſon why the King deſired this conference, was to procure the aſſiſtance of *Sylla* againſt *Fimbria*, who made war upon him with great vigour.

App. loc. cit. Liv. Epit. l. lxxxiii. Dio. Caſſ. ap. Val.

Fimbria, a good ſoldier, but an execrable villain, had (as was before mentioned) been by *Cinna* appointed lieutenant to *Valerius Flaccus*, a man extremely covetous, and diſagreeable to the ſoldiers. The laſt year, when the army arrived in *Aſia*, *Fimbria*, on occaſion of a quarrel between him and the Quæſtor, was diſplaced by *Valerius*, and his office given to the Quæſtor. *Fimbria* reſenting this, ſtirred up the ſoldiers to ſedition, murdered the General, and put himſelf at the head of

[a] According to *Appian (Mithrid.* p. 214,) the King growing jealous of *Archelaus*, as if, in the treaty of peace, he had yielded too much to *Sylla*, the *Cappadocian*, thereupon, deſerted to *Muræna* (whom *Sylla* had left at the head of the *Roman* forces in *Aſia*) and perſuaded him to renew the war againſt the King of *Pontus*. *Plutarch* likewiſe (in *Lucull.*) ſays, that *Archelaus* deſerted to the *Romans*.

[b] The report of the ambaſſadors, according to *Appian*, was, that *Mithridates* conſented to every thing but the ceſſion of *Paphlagonia*; and they added, "That the King could have "obtained better terms from *Fimbria*" [then at the head of the forces, which the *Marian* faction had ſent into *Aſia* under *Valerius Flaccus*.] *Sylla*, angry at the compariſon, anſwered; "*Fimbria* ſhall be puniſhed; and "when I come into *Aſia*, I ſhall ſee whe-"ther *Mithridates* chuſes peace or war." *App. Mithrid.* p. 207.

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the forces. He afterwards defeated in battle one of *Mithridates*'s ſons, forced the King himſelf to quit *Pergamus*, and then beſieged him in *Pitanes*, a maritime town, whither he had fled. At this time, *Lucullus*, *Sylla*'s Quæſtor, returning from *Syria* with a fleet, *Fimbria* ſent to him, deſiring he would block up *Pitanes* by ſea, and ſhare the glory of finiſhing the war, by taking the King of *Pontus* priſoner; a glory which, he ſaid, would far outſhine the boaſted victories of *Sylla* at *Chæronea* and *Orchomenos*. It is ſaid, that *Lucullus*, either unwilling to act without authority from his General, or to enter into a confederacy with ſo infamous a man as *Fimbria*, refuſed to join in the enterprize, and gave the King time to make his eſcape. Be that as it will, *Mithridates* got ſafe to *Mitylene* in *Leſbos*. Y.R. 668. App. Mithridat. p. 205. Plut. in Lucull.

After the King's flight, *Fimbria* ravaged the country at pleaſure, committing every where exceſſive cruelties [a]. The inhabitants of *Ilium*, fearing the ſame treatment with their neighbours, ſurrendered themſelves to *Sylla*, by deputies whom they ſent to him: whereupon he ſent to *Fimbria* not to attempt any thing againſt that town. *Fimbria*, nevertheleſs, having, by force or fraud, got admiſſion into the place, put all the inhabitants he met with to the ſword, demoliſhed the walls, and burnt the houſes. Next day he went round it, to ſee that nothing was left ſtanding [b]. It is alſo ſaid that he put to death, by torture, the meſſengers whom *Sylla* had ſent to him. Dio. Caſſ. ap Valeſ. App. loc. cit. Liv. Epit. l. lxxxiii.

To reduce this violent outrageous enemy, and to plunder *Aſia*, *Sylla* haſtened into that country, having firſt ordered *Lucullus* to ſail to the *Helleſpont*, thereby to ſecure the paſſage of the army. When he had reached *Dardanus*, *Mithridates* arrived there with 200 gallies, and an army of 26,000 men. At the conference which enſued, the King, approaching the *Roman* Proconſul, held out his hand to him, as a token of friendſhip. *Sylla*, before he made any return to that civility, aſked him, whether he accepted of the peace, on the conditions to which *Archelaus* had agreed. The King making no anſwer, *Sylla* continued: *It belongs to ſuppliants to ſpeak; conquerors may be ſilent, if they pleaſe.* Then the King began to juſtify his own conduct, laying the blame of the war upon the avarice of the *Roman* Generals, who had deprived him of *Phrygia*, and ſtirred up *Nicomedes* againſt him. *Sylla*, at length, interrupting him, ſaid, *I have often heard*, Mithridates, *that you are very eloquent, but now I am convinced* Plut. in Sylla. App. Mithridat. p. 208. Plut. in Sylla.

[a] *Dio. Caſſ. (ap. Valeſ. 653.)* reports, that *Fimbria* having ordered ſome wretches to be whipped to death, and having obſerved, on the day of execution, that there were more poſts fixed in the ground, than perſons condemned, cauſed ſome of the ſpectators to be ſeized, and whipt at thoſe ſupernumerary poſts, that they might not ſeem to have been ſet up to no purpoſe.

[b] The *Palladium* (ſays *Appian*) it is thought was found entire among the rubbiſh. Some chuſe rather to believe, that *Diomedes* and *Ulyſſes* took it away in the time of the *Trojan* war. The hiſtorian calls the *Palladium*, *the ſhrine of* Minerva.

Y.R. 668. *of it by my own experience, ſince you can give ſuch plauſible colours to the moſt unjuſt and enormous actions.* And when he had put the King in mind, that the *Roman* Senate had annulled the bargain made between his father and *Aquilius* about *Phrygia:* that *Nicomedes* complained of his having aſſiſted *Socrates* to invade *Bithynia*, and therefore had a right to make repriſals; and that *Mithridates* ſhould have carried his complaints to the Senate, and waited for their anſwer before he began hoſtilities: he added,

App. in loc. cit.

App. p. 209. " but, granting you had a right to defend yourſelf againſt *Nicomedes*, what " injury had *Ariobarzanes* done you, that you ſhould diveſt him of his " kingdom? your oppoſing his reſtoration, brought upon you this war; " a war which you had long before meditated; for you hoped, that, " when you had conquered the *Romans*, you ſhould make yourſelf maſter " of the whole world, and therefore ſought an occaſion of quarrel with " them. This is undeniably clear from hence, that, before the war " began, you made alliances with the *Thracians*, *Scythians*, and *Sarma-* " *tians*, ſolicited the neighbouring Kings, built a fleet, and provided " yourſelf with pilots and maſters of ſhips; but your deſigns are diſ- " covered, chiefly by the time in which they broke out; for when " you found that our allies in *Italy* had revolted from us, you laid hold " of that opportunity, attacked *Ariobarzanes* and *Nicomedes*, the *Gallo-* " *greeks*, and *Paphlagonia*, and even our province of *Aſia*. Not content " with this, you carried your arms into *Europe*, though, by the decrees " of the Senate, the *Aſiatic* Kings were forbid to hold any thing there. " You over-ran *Macedon*, and deprived the *Greeks* of their liberty: nor " did you repent of theſe actions, till I had delivered *Greece* and *Macedon* " from your violences, and cut off many thouſands of your men. I won- " der you now attempt to excuſe, what you before aſked pardon for, by

App. p. 210. " *Archelaus*. Perhaps, you were afraid of me when at a diſtance, but " now, when I am preſent, imagine I am come to hear a trial, a cauſe " pleaded. The time for trials and pleadings is over: the affair is ſub- " jected to the determination of war: a war, in which you are the aggreſ- " ſor, and we upon the defenſive; and, as we have ſtrenuouſly defended " ourſelves hitherto, we ſhall continue to do ſo to the end." The King, terrified at this angry ſpeech, declared, that he ratified the PEACE [b] on

Conſid. ſur les Cauſes, &c. c. 7.

[b] Concerning *Mithridates*, the ingenious and judicious M. *Monteſquieu* writes thus:

" Of the many Kings whom the *Romans* " attacked, *Mithridates* was the only one " who made a courageous defence, and " brought them into danger.

" His dominions were ſituated moſt ad- " vantageouſly for a war with *Rome*, they " reached to the inacceſſible country of " Mount *Caucaſus*, inhabited by a fierce and " ſavage people, whom that prince could " call to his aſſiſtance: from thence they " extended along the ſea of *Pontus*, which " was covered with his ſhips, and he was " inceſſantly purchaſing new armies of *Scy-* " *thians*; *Aſia* lay open to his invaſions, and " he was rich, becauſe the inhabitants of his " maritime cities carried on an advantage- " ous traffic with nations leſs induſtrious than " they.

" Pro-

on the conditions ſettled by Archelaus. Hereupon *Sylla* embraced him, and made a reconciliation between him and the two kings, *Ariobarzanes* and *Nicomedes*. Y.R. 668.

How advantageous ſoever this treaty was to the *Roman* General, his ſoldiers complained, that he had ſuffered the greateſt enemy of the *Roman* name to depart in peace, loaded with the ſpoils of *Aſia*. *Sylla*, to juſtify his conduct, repreſented to them, that he ſhould not have been ſtrong enough to reſiſt *Mithridates* and *Fimbria*, had they joined againſt him. Some days after he marched towards *Fimbria*, who lay encamped under the walls of *Thyatira* in *Lydia*; and on his arrival in the neighbourhood, ſent him a ſummons to deliver up the command of an army which he held contrary to Law. *Fimbria* anſwered him ſharply, that *his own authority was not very legal*; but his ſoldiers deſerting in great numbers to *Sylla*, and thoſe who remained with him refuſing to take the military oath, he hired a ſlave to murder *Sylla*; and this attempt Plut. in Sylla. App. Mithridat. p. 210.

" Proſcriptions, the cuſtom of which began at this time, had forced ſeveral *Romans* to leave their country. Theſe were received by *Mithridates* with open arms, and he formed Legions, into which he incorporated thoſe exiles, who proved the beſt ſoldiers in his army.

" The cities of *Greece* and *Aſia*, finding the *Roman* yoke grow more intolerable every day, repoſed their whole confidence in this barbarian king, who invited them to liberty.]

" On the other ſide, the *Romans*, diſtreſſed by inteſtine diviſions, and threatened with more imminent dangers, neglected the affairs of *Aſia*, and ſuffered *Mithridates* to purſue his victories, or take breath after his defeats.

" Nothing had contributed more to the ruin of moſt kings, than the manifeſt deſire they ſhewed for PEACE: by this, they had prevented all other nations from ſharing with them in a danger, from which they were ſo anxious to extricate themſelves. But *Mithridates* immediately *made the whole world ſenſible, that he was an enemy to the* Roman *and would be ſo eternally*." The author, when he penned theſe laſt words, had probably in his mind *the maſſacre of the* Italians *in* Aſia.

Dr. *Middleton* ſpeaks to the ſame effect in his Life of *Cicero*.

" The *Italic* war was no ſooner ended, than another broke out, which, though at a great diſtance from *Rome*, was one of the moſt difficult and deſperate, in which it ever was engaged, againſt *Mithridates*, king of *Pontus*; a martial and powerful prince, of a reſtleſs ſpirit and ambition, with a capacity equal to the greateſt deſigns; who diſdaining to ſee all his hopes blaſted by the overbearing power of *Rome*, and confined to the narrow boundary of his hereditary dominion, broke through his barrier at once, and over-ran the *Leſſer Aſia*, like a torrent, and, in one day, cauſed *eighty thouſand* Roman *Citizens* to be maſſacred in cold blood. His forces were anſwerable to the vaſtneſs of his attempt, and the INEXPIABLE WAR, *that he had now declared againſt the Republic*." Midd. Life of *Cicero*, vol. i. p. 21.

What is here ſaid, by theſe two excellent writers, concerning the purpoſe of *Mithridates*, in maſſacring ſo many thouſand *Italians* in cool blood, ſeems very well founded; that is to ſay, it was probably the king's intention at the time of his committing that maſſacre, that the neighbouring ſtates, and all the world, ſhould underſtand it as *his declaration of an* INEXPIABLE WAR againſt the *Romans*. However, from the ignominious terms of peace to which he ſubmitted by his treaty with *Sylla*, he ſoon forfeited all the benefit he could poſſibly have promiſed himſelf from ſuch a declaration.

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Y. R. 668. not ſucceeding, he at laſt deſired an interview with him. The Proconſul ſent to him one of his officers, named *Rutilius*. *Fimbria* reſented it extremely, that *Sylla* ſhould refuſe him a conference, which it was not uſual to refuſe even to an enemy: however, he aſked pardon for what he had done, and made his youth his excuſe. *Rutilius* anſwered, that if he would quit *Aſia*, *Sylla* would allow him a ſafe paſſage to the ſea. To this *Fimbria* replied, that he knew a better way; and then, retiring into a temple in the town, ran himſelf through with his ſword. The wound not proving mortal, he commanded one of his ſlaves to diſpatch him. The ſlave immediately obeyed, and then killed himſelf upon his maſter's body. What ſoldiers had remained with him, now liſted in *Sylla*'s army.

App. Mithridat. p. 211.

Plut. in Sylla. App. loc. cit.

The Proconſul ſtaid ſometime in *Aſia*, to ſettle the government, plunder the inhabitants, amaſs money for the *Italian* war, and enrich his ſoldiers. The *Ilienſes*, the *Chians*, the *Rhodians*, the *Lycians*, the people of *Magneſia*, who had all ſuffered great loſſes and hardſhips by *Mithridates*, were re-eſtabliſhed in their liberty, and declared the friends and allies of *Rome*. *Sylla* then publiſhed an edict, commanding all the ſlaves who had been ſet free by the king of *Pontus* to return to their maſters. This edict occaſioning great tumults, and ſome cities revolting, the *Romans* made a prodigious ſlaughter of the people, both ſlaves and free, demoliſhed the walls of many towns, and ſold all the effects belonging to the inhabitants of many others. Thoſe of *Mithridates*'s party were every where ſeverely puniſhed, eſpecially the *Epheſians*, who had taken from their temples the preſents which the *Romans* had dedicated to the Gods. After this, the Proconſul convened at *Epheſus* an aſſembly of deputies from all the cities of *Aſia*. There he repreſented to them, the kindneſs of the *Roman* People to the *Aſiatics*, in delivering them from the yoke of *Antiochus* the Great, and in declaring them all free, except ſome nations which they had given to *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, rather as allies than ſubjects; and he reproached them with their readineſs to join *Mithridates*, and execute his cruel orders. He added, you have been in part puniſhed for theſe crimes by the king of *Pontus* himſelf, who exhauſted you by rapine and ſlaughter, deprived you of your lands, cancelled the debts due to you, ſet your ſlaves at liberty, placed tyrants in ſome towns, and gave all ſort of encouragement, both by ſea and land, to pirates and robbers (from whence you may know, by experience, what patrons you choſe to yourſelves, in the room of thoſe you renounced) and the authors of theſe miſchiefs have been in part puniſhed by us. Nevertheleſs, a public puniſhment muſt be inflicted for your demerits. But far be it from *Roman* clemency to command impious murders, unmerited confiſcations, and to deprive maſters of their ſlaves; barbarous practices, of which my mind abhors the very thought. Regard ſhall be had to the *Grecian* name, the glory of *Aſia*; and our ancient friendſhip. I ſhall therefore (and may the Gods proſper it) only fine you

Idem, p. 212.

Idem, p. 213.

you in a ſum to the value of five years tribute, which I now order to be paid over and above the expences I have been at in this war, and the uſual taxes due from the province. I ſhall ſettle in juſt proportions what each city is to advance, and fix a time for payment. All who diſobey I ſhall look upon as enemies. Y.R. 668. Bef. Chr. 84. 367 Conſ.

After this moſt gracious ſpeech, he ſent parties of ſoldiers into all the towns to collect the ſeveral ſums required. The people were obliged to borrow money at high intereſt, and to mortgage their theatres, their gymnaſiums, the fortifications of their towns, their walls, and whatever belonged to the public. According to *Plutarch*, the public fine, impoſed upon *Aſia*, amounted to twenty thouſand talents. Beſides this, *Sylla* gave up the people to the inſolence and covetouſneſs of his ſoldiers, obliging their hoſts to pay to each of them ſixteen drachmas a day, and to entertain them, and as many of their friends as they ſhould pleaſe to invite. Every centurion had fifty drachmas a day allowed him, and two ſuits of apparel [a]. Plut. in Sylla. 3875000 l. Arbuth. 10 s. 4 d. Id. 1 l. 12 s. 3 d ½ Id.

Nor did the Proconſul defend the *Aſiatics* from the pirates, to whom *Mithridates* had given ſuch encouragement, that they not only infeſted the ſeas, but were become terrible to the towns. *Sylla* quietly ſuffered them, while he was in in *Aſia*, to take *Jaſſus*, *Samos*, *Clazomenæ*, *Samothrace*, and to plunder the temple in the laſt-mentioned place of ornaments to the value of a thouſand talents. At length he prepared for his *Italian* expedition; and leaving *Muræna* in *Aſia*, at the head of that army, which *Fimbria* had lately commanded, he ſet ſail from *Epheſus*, and, the third day, arrived at *Athens*, where he was initiated in the *Eleuſinian* myſteries. App. Mithridat. p. 213. 193,750 l. Arbuth.

At *Rome*, *Cinna* and *Carbo* had continued themſelves in the Conſulſhip for the new year, and the former had married his daughter to the famous *Julius Cæſar*. On the news of the approach of *Sylla* with a victorious army, a great fleet, and an immenſe treaſure, the Conſuls levied ſoldiers all over *Italy* to a prodigious number, fitted out ſhips, and collected money and proviſions for the impending war. The Proconſul, not daunted at theſe preparations, wrote a letter to the Senate, wherein he reckoned up all his exploits, from the time of his Quæſtorſhip to that of his Conſulſhip, againſt the *Numidians*, the *Cimbri*, and the *Italians*; exaggerated his victories over *Mithridates*, and boaſted of the number of nations he had reduced to the obedience of *Rome*: But he gloried in nothing ſo much, as that his camp had been a ſanctuary for the *Roman* Citizens, whom the cruelty of *Cinna* had driven into baniſhment. He added, that, for a reward of theſe ſervices to the ſtate, his enemies had prevailed to have him declared an exile, his houſe demoliſhed, his friends murdered, Y.R. 669. Bef. Chr. 83. 368 Conſ. Sueton. in Jul. Cæſar, c. i. App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 396. App. ibid. p. 397.

[a] According to *Salluſt*, *Sylla*, to gain the affections of his ſoldiers, firſt introduced debauchery and drinking among them, and taught them to admire ſtatues and pictures, and to riſle private houſes, plunder temples, &c. *Bell. Cat.* c. xi.

and

Y. R. 669. Bef. Chr. 83. 368 Conſ.

and his wife and children forced to fly from *Rome* to ſave their lives: but that he would ſoon return, and take vengeance, both on his private enemies, and thoſe of the public. The reſt of the Citizens, the new as well as the old, he promiſed not to hurt. The Senate, terrified at this letter, immediately diſpatched commiſſioners, with an earneſt requeſt to him to be reconciled to his adverſaries, offering him the ſecurity of the public faith for the performance of whatever he ſhould demand. At the ſame time, they forbad the Conſuls to make any more levies till an anſwer could be obtained from him. *Cinna* promiſed to obey; but no ſooner were the commiſſioners ſet out for *Rome*, than the Conſuls made a progreſs through *Italy*, enliſted ſoldiers, and forming different armies to oppoſe their enemy. Their deſign was, that the ſeat of the war ſhould be abroad; and, with this view, they ordered forces to be tranſported into *Dalmatia*. The firſt detachment had a ſafe paſſage, but the next, meeting with a ſtorm, returned home, and diſperſed themſelves, giving out every where, that they would not fight againſt their countrymen. The reſt of the army, encouraged by this example, refuſed to embark for *Dalmatia*. Whereupon *Cinna* aſſembled them, and by menaces would have compelled them to obey, but they mutinied, and ſlew him [a].

Liv. Epit. lxxxiii.

Carbo, by the death of his collegue, remained ſole maſter of the adminiſtration, found various pretences to put off the election of a new Conſul to the next year. In the mean time, the commiſſioners who had been ſent to *Sylla* returned with an anſwer to this effect (according to *Appian*) that he would never have any friendſhip with the actors of ſuch crimes; that if the *Roman* People had an inclination to pardon them, he would not oppoſe it; but that thoſe would be in the ſafeſt condition, who took refuge with him, as he had an army ſo much at his devotion [b]. By which [laſt] words, ſays *Appian*, it was plain, he deſigned to retain his command, and to poſſeſs himſelf of the government *.

App. de Bell. Civ. l. 1. p. 398

* τυραννίδα.

Carbo, to keep the *Italians* ſteady to his cauſe, would have obliged all the towns and colonies of *Italy* to give hoſtages for their fidelity. But the Senate hindered the execution of this project. However, by the intereſt of his party, he got a Law paſſed, for diſtributing the freedmen among all the five and thirty tribes, and obtained a decree of the Senate, ordaining that all armies every where ſhould be diſbanded.

Liv. Epit. l. lxxxiv.

[a] *Plutarch* ſays, the mutiny was occaſioned by a ſuſpicion, that *Cinna* had murdered *Pompey* (afterwards ſurnamed the Great;) that *Cinna*, in his flight, was overtaken by a Centurion; that when this man was going to run him through, he fell on his knees, and offered him, if he would ſpare his life, a ſeal ring, which was of great value. I do not come, ſaid the officer, to ſeal a contract, but to puniſh a wicked, and a cruel tyrant; and, at theſe words, plunged his ſword in the Conſul's body. *Plut. in Pomp.*

[b] The Epitome of *Livy*, l. lxxxiv. (with which *Vell. Pat.* ſeems to agree) tells us, that *Sylla* offered to ſubmit to the authority of the Senate, on condition, that all who had been baniſhed by the *Marian* faction, and had fled to him, ſhould be reſtored: and that *Carbo*, and his party, hindered theſe terms from being accepted.

Sylla paid no regard to this decree. Leaving *Athens*, he marched to *Dyrrachium*, in order to embark there on board a fleet of twelve hundred ſhip, (1600, according to *Appian*.) Before he ſet ſail, he began, it is ſaid, to fear leſt his troops ſhould, on their arrival in *Italy*, diſband themſelves, and return to their reſpective homes. But they ſoon freed him from his apprehenſions; for, of their own accord, they took a new oath of fidelity to him; nay, thinking that he wanted money, they made a contribution among themſelves, and offered it to him: but he declined their preſent. Y. R. 669. App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 398. Plut. in Sylla.

It was in the Conſulſhip of *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Junius Norbanus*, that *Sylla* landed at *Brunduſium*, with an army of five *Roman* legions, and ſix thouſand horſe, beſide the *Macedonian* and *Peloponneſian* auxiliaries, in all 60,000 men[d]. By *Sylla*'s account, as given by *Plutarch*, the *Marian* faction had on foot 450[e] cohorts of good troops, commanded by fifteen Generals. *Appian* ſays, their forces, at this time, amounted to 200 cohorts of 500 men each, but that afterwards they were increaſed. He adds, that the People favoured the Conſuls much more than *Sylla*, becauſe he ſeemed the aggreſſor, invading his country in a hoſtile manner; whereas the Conſuls, though they had in reality only their own intereſt at heart, yet pretended a view to the public good. Beſides, the People, conſcious of being themſelves equally tranſgreſſors, took up arms out of fear, knowing, that *Sylla* would not be ſatisfied with chaſtiſing them, but was meditating ravages, ſlaughter, and deſtruction. Thus far *Appian*. But if we may believe *Vell. Paterculus*, all the beſt men flocked to *Sylla*'s army. Among theſe, it ſeems, was *Cethegus*, who had been a great enemy to the Proconſul, and had by him been drived out of *Rome*, when *Cinna* was expelled. *Verres* alſo, ſo well known by *Cicero*'s pleadings againſt him, quitted *Carbo*, to whom he had been Quæſtor in *Gaul* the laſt year, carried off the public money with him, and took refuge with *Sylla*, that he might not be obliged to paſs his accounts. The Proconſul, ſays *Cicero*, would not truſt him as a friend, but removed him from the army, and placed him at *Beneventum*, where he could do no hurt, being narrowly watched by perſons ſteady to the cauſe: yet *Sylla*, afterwards, rewarded him, as a traitor, liberally with the eſtates of ſome of the inhabitants of that town, whom he proſcribed. *Metellus Pius*, *Craſſus*, and *Pompey* (the ſon of *Pompeius Strabo* formerly mentioned,) likewiſe repaired to *Sylla*'s camp. *Metellus*, ſince his flight from *Rome*, when *Marius* and *Cinna* entered the city, had endeavoured to kindle a war in *Africa*, but had been driven from thence by *Fabius*, Prætor of that province. *Craſſus*, on the death of *Cinna*, had raiſed ſome forces in *Spain*, tranſported them into *Africa*, Y. R. 670. Bef. Chr. 82. 369 Conſ. App. loc. cit. App. p. 400. App. p. 399. Cic. in Ver. l. c. 12, & ſeq. Liv. Epit. l. lxxxiv. Plut. in Craſſ.

[d] *Vell. Pat.* (l. ii. c. 24) ſays, that *Sylla*'s army amounted to no more than 30,000 men.

[e] *Vell. Pat.* (loc. cit.) tells us, that the *Marian* army conſiſted of above 200,000 men.

Y.R.670. and joined *Metellus*: but, ſoon quarrelling with him, he left that country, and went to *Sylla*. *Pompey* (afterwards ſurnamed the Great) was, at this time, about twenty-three years of age. Having, by his credit in the country of *Picenum*, raiſed three legions, he led them to *Sylla*, and, in his march, defeated *Brutus*, one of the chiefs of the *Marian* faction, who oppoſed his paſſage. On his arrival, *Sylla* roſe up to receive him (a civility which he paid to none of the other Generals,) and ſaluted him by the title of Imperator.

Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 29. Liv. Epit. l. lxxxv. Plut. in Pomp.

App. p. 399.

Sylla, advancing into the country, fought a battle with the Conſul *Norbanus*, at *Canuſium*, vanquiſhed him, and ſlew ſeven thouſand of his men[g]. The Proconſul loſt only ſeventy ſoldiers on this occaſion, or as ſome ſay, an hundred and twenty-four; and, if we believe *Plutarch*, he obtained this victory merely by the courage of his troops, for he led them to the attack without forming them into any order. *Norbanus* ſhut himſelf up in *Capua*; and the other Conſul, *L. Scipio*, marched to oppoſe the enemy. As he was more ſolicitous to bring about a peace than to carry on the war, *Sylla*, who knew his diſpoſition, ſent him ſome overtures, which he very willingly liſtened to: but the Proconſul found various pretences to put off the concluſion of the affair. During this negociation, his ſoldiers, long practiſed in wiles and cunning, under ſo artful a maſter, corrupted many in *Scipio*'s army by bribes, promiſes and flattery. At length, all the Conſul's troops deſerted him, and went over in a body to *Sylla*[h]. *Scipio* was taken priſoner in his tent, together with his ſon; but the Proconſul, after having in vain endeavoured to engage them into his party, ſet them both at liberty: ſo different, ſays *Velleius*, was *Sylla*, when carrying on the war, from the ſame *Sylla*, when he had finiſhed it. On the news of this deſertion, *Norbanus* is reported to have ſaid, that, in *Sylla*, he had to fight againſt a Lion and a Fox; but that the Fox was the moſt dangerous enemy. To him likewiſe the Proconſul ſent deputies to treat of peace; but *Norbanus*, dreading the fate of his collegue, would not ſo much as return an anſwer. Hereupon, *Sylla* decamped, and drew nearer to *Rome*, ravaging the country in his march. *Norbanus* directed his courſe to the ſame city,

Plut. in Sylla.

App. p. 402.

Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 25.

Plut. in Sylla.

App. loc. cit.

[f] According to *Plutarch*, *Sylla* advanced to meet *Pompey*, and alighted from his horſe, as ſoon as he came up to him.

[g] In the Epitome of *Livy*, we are told, that, before this battle, *Sylla* ſent deputies to *Norbanus* to treat of peace; and that the latter offered violence to them. *Appian* ſays, that *Sylla* ſent deputies to *Norbanus* ſome time after the battle. Both ſtories can hardly be true.

[h] *Appian* reports, that, during the truce, *Sertorius*, who had been ſent by *Scipio* to conſult with *Norbanus* about the articles of peace, ſeized upon *Sueſſa* in his way: that, *Sylla* looking upon this as an infraction of the truce, *Scipio*, either conſcious of the fact, or not knowing what anſwer to make, reſtored to the Proconſul the hoſtages he had given in the beginning of the treaty; and that the Conſul's army, offended both at the taking of *Sueſſa*, and the returning of the hoſtages, deſerted to *Sylla*.

but

but by a different route. *Carbo*, the laſt year's Conſul, entered it before either of them, and obtained of the Senate and People a decree, declaring *Metellus*, and all the Senators who had joined *Sylla*, enemies to the State. Y. R. 670. Bef. Chr. 82. 369 Conſ.

About this time, the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was burnt down in the night. Some ſaid, it was ſet on fire by *Carbo*'s order: ſome ſuſpecting the Conſul; others *Sylla*. This laſt, in his Memoirs, wrote, that a ſlave had told him, that if he did not haſten to *Rome*, the Capitol would be burnt, and had named the day when it ſhould happen, which was the ſixth of *July*. Plut. in Sylla.

The reſt of the ſummer was ſpent by both parties in recruiting their armies. Multitudes flocked daily to the Conſuls, from all parts of *Italy* and *Ciſalpine Gaul*. *Sylla*, on the other hand, diſperſed emiſſaries up and down the country, to bring over people to his intereſt by bribes, promiſes, and threats; and, that the *Italians* might have no reaſon to fear him, he entered into a league with them, promiſing to continue to them their right of *Roman* citizenſhip. *Sertorius*, ſeeing the incapacity of the leaders of the *Marian* faction, and loſing all hope of preſerving *Italy*, after the deſertion of *Scipio*'s army, had paſſed into *Spain*; there to aſſemble troops, and maintain the war againſt *Sylla* and his adherents. Liv. Epit. l. lxxxvi. Plut. in Sertor.

At the next election of Conſuls, *Cn. Papirius Carbo*, for the third time, and *C. Marius*, the [l] ſon of the great *Marius*, were appointed to that office. Y. R. 671. Bef. Chr. 81. 370 Conſ.

Marius, at the head of eighty-five cohorts, fought an obſtinate battle with *Sylla*, at *Sacriportus*, not far from *Præneſte*: but five cohorts of foot, and two troops of horſe, in the heat of the action, going over to the Proconſul, the *Marians* were routed with great ſlaughter. *Sylla*'s Memoirs, ſo often mentioned, ſay, that he killed 20,000 of the enemy, and took 8000 priſoners, with the loſs of only twenty-three of his own men [k]. Of the priſoners, all that were *Samnites* he ordered to be ſlain, as Plut. in Sylla. App. de Bell. Civ. p. 403.

[l] *Appian* calls this *Marius*, the nephew of the other *Marius*. *Florus* (b. iii. c. 21.) ſays, he was the brother of *Marius*, meaning *Marcus*, or, according to *Pliny*, (l. xxxiv. c. 6.) *Caius Marius Gratidianus*, whom *Catiline*, by *Sylla*'s order, murdered at the tomb of *Catulus*; and whoſe father (ſays *Cicero in Brut.* c. 45.) was *M. Gratidius*, the ſiſter of whom was *Cicero*'s grandmother. *Cic. de Leg.* l. iii. c. 16. *Pighius* (vol. III. p. 191, and 252.) thinks, that both *Marcus* and *Caius* were not adopted ſons of the great *Marius*, a thing the very probable. That *M. Marius Gratidianus*, the ſon of *M. Gratidius*, was adopted by ſome *Marius* or other, ſeems plain from his name: but the Capitoline Tables, the Epitome of *Livy*, *Pliny* (l. xxxiii. c. 1.) *Velleius Paterculus*, *Dio Caſſius*, *Plutarch*, *Auct. de Vir. Illuſt.* and *Eutropius*, call the Conſul of this year, *C. Marius*, the ſon of *Marius*, without mentioning adoption. The Conſul, according to the Epitome of *Livy*, was at this time but twenty years of age; the author *de Vir. Illuſt.* ſays twenty-five; *Vell. Pat.* twenty-ſix; and *Appian* twenty-ſeven.

[k] If we believe *Plutarch*, a dream, which *Sylla* had, made him very eager to fight this battle; but his men were ſo fatigued with endeavouring

Y. R. 671. Bef. Chr. 81. as perpetual enemies to the *Romans*. *Marius* eſcaped with the remains of his army to *Præneſte*, which *Sylla* ſoon after blocked up.

370 Conſ. About the ſame time *Metellus* defeated another army of the *Marians*, the victory being facilitated by the deſertion of ſome of their cohorts during the battle. Young *Marius*, ſeeing his affairs deſperate, and being eager to revenge himſelf upon his enemies, ſent orders to *Brutus Damaſippus*, the Prætor of *Rome*, to aſſemble the Senate upon ſome pretence, and put to death *L. Domitius*, *P. Antiſtius* (*Pompey*'s father-in-law,) *Mucius Scævola*, the Pontifex Maximus, and *C. Carbo*, a relation of the Conſul, and, according to *Cicero*, the only good man of the family. This cruel[k] order was punctually executed, and, according to the cuſtom then eſtabliſhed at *Rome*, the bodies of the ſlain were thrown into the river.

App. p. 404. Cic. Ep. Fam. l. ix. Ep. 21.

Sylla, propoſing to march to *Rome*, left the blockade of *Præneſte* to the care of *Lucretius Ofella*, an obſcure man: for the Proconſul, if we may credit *Dio Caſſius*, being now almoſt ſure of the victory, began to neglect the Nobles, who had hitherto done him ſingular ſervice, and to put his chief confidence in men of low birth and no virtue, as knowing, that theſe would be ready inſtruments of his wicked purpoſes, and that they would not arrogate to themſelves the glory of any exploit by him performed.

Dio Caſſ. ap. Valeſ. p. 654.

App. p. 404. On his approach towards the Capitol, thoſe of the *Marian* faction fled from it. The inhabitants, famiſhed with hunger, immediately opened their gates to him, and he, as ſoon as he was maſter of the city, confiſcated the effects of *Marius*'s followers. Then, aſſembling the People, he told them, that the wickedneſs of his enemies had forced him upon thoſe meaſures, and exhorted the citizens to take courage, for that, in a ſhort time, they would ſee an end of their miſeries, and the commonwealth ſettled upon a good footing. Having ordered all matters in the city, according to the preſent exigence, and left a guard there, he marched to *Clufium*, where he fought a battle with the Conſul *Carbo*: it laſted the whole day, and night put an end to it before victory had declared on either ſide[l]. After this, *Carbo* having ſent eight legions under the command of *Marcius* to relieve *Præneſte*, *Pompey* laid an ambuſcade for thoſe troops, and with great ſlaughter forced them to retire to an eminence, where he ſurrounded them: and, though *Marcius* brought them off in the night, yet, they thinking they

Idem, p. 405.

endeavouring to favour the junction of a part of their forces with the main army, that they lay down upon the ground to reſt themſelves; and *Sylla* was prevailed upon not to offer battle. But *Marius* marching up boldly to the entrenchments, *Sylla*'s ſoldiers, in a paſſion, ſallied out upon their enemies, and routed them at the firſt ſhock. *Feneſtella*, and ſome other authors, wrote, that *Marius*, exhauſted with fatigue, fell ſo faſt aſleep under a tree, that he did not hear the noiſe of the battle, and could ſcarce be waked by the flight of his troops.

[k] The Epitome of *Livy* (l. lxxxvi.) places this order before the battle of *Præneſte*, and adds, that the Prætor murdered all the Nobles that were in *Rome*.

[l] The Epitome of *Livy*, l. lxxxviii. gives the victory to *Sylla*.

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had been defeated through his fault, the greater part of them diſbanded themſelves, ſo that he returned to *Carbo* with only ſeven cohorts. Y. R. 671.

About the ſame time, this Conſul, in conjunction with *Norbanus*, attacked *Metellus*'s camp at *Faventia*, in the evening, but without ſucceſs. Ten thouſand of their men were killed, 6000 ſurrendered themſelves to the enemy, and the reſt were diſperſed in ſuch a manner, that only a thouſand men retired, with their commanders, to *Arretium*. On the news of this defeat, a legion of *Lucanians*, under *Albinovanus*, deſerted their leader, and went over to *Metellus*. *Albinovanus* returned to his General *Norbanus* at *Arretium*, but it was only, the more infamouſly, to betray him. For, ſoon after, being bribed by *Sylla*, he invited to an entertainment *Norbanus*, his lieutenants *Apuſtius* and *Fimbria* (brother of that *Fimbria* who had killed himſelf in *Aſia*,) and all the chiefs of the *Marian* party then in the town, and cauſed every one of them to be murdered, except *Norbanus*, who did not come to the entertainment. The aſſaſſin made his eſcape to *Sylla*, to whom *Ariminum*, about this time, revolted, and ſome *Marian* armies, in that neighbourhood, deſerted. After ſo many misfortunes, *Norbanus*, apprehending that none of his people would be ſteady to him, embarked on board a ſmall veſſel, and ſailed to *Rhodes*. *Sylla* ſent to demand him, and, while the *Rhodians* were deliberating, whether they ſhould give him up, he killed himſelf in the middle of the Forum. App. p. 406.

Carbo, notwithſtanding theſe diſaſters, made ſeveral attempts to relieve *Præneſte*, but without ſucceſs. A detachment of his army was routed at *Placentia*, by *Lucullus*, one of *Sylla*'s lieutenants; and all *Ciſalpine Gaul* ſubmitted to *Metellus*. Hereupon, *Carbo*, though he had 30,000 men at *Cluſium*, two legions under *Damaſippus*, and two more, commanded by *Marcius* and *Carinas*, beſides a powerful army of *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, yet abandoned *Italy*, and paſſed into *Africa*. After his departure, his troops at *Cluſium* were entirely defeated by *Pompey*, and 20,000 of them cut off. Idem, p. 407.

Some time before this, *Pontius Teleſinus*, a *Samnite*, and *M. Lamponius*, a *Lucanian*, had levied 40,000 men in thoſe countries, and attempted to raiſe the blockade of *Præneſte*. According to *Appian*, they were now joined by *Damaſippus*, *Marcius*, and *Carinas*, with the troops under their command[n]. But, fearing to be hemmed in between the armies of *Sylla* and *Pompey*, who were advancing, with great expedition, to attack them in front and rear, *Teleſinus*, an able general, and a brave man, diſappointed their purpoſe; he decamped in the night, and marched directly to *Rome*. On his arrival there, the terror was no leſs than when *Hannibal* appeared before the gates. Yet the *Roman* youth marched out boldly, and attacked the enemy, but were repulſed with loſs. In the mean-time, a body of horſe, detached by *Sylla*, came opportunely to Plut. in Sylla. Vell Pat. l. iii. c. 27. App. loc. cit.

[n] *Vell. Pat.* and *Plutarch* make no mention of the *Samnites* being joined by any *Roman* troops.

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Y. R. 671. Bef Chr. 81 370 Conſ.

the aſſiſtance of the citizens, and the General himſelf, with all his army, approached ſoon after. His troops were fatigued with their march, which ſome of his officers obſerving, and conſidering, that they were to fight with *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, endeavoured to perſuade him to defer the engagement. He, nevertheleſs, ordered the trumpets to ſound a charge. On the other hand, *Pontius Teleſinus*, an implacable enemy of the *Roman* name, walking through the ranks of his army, cried out, "The laſt day of "*Rome* is come. The city muſt be razed to the ground. Wolves will "never be wanting to prey upon the liberties of *Italy*, till the wood in "which they ſhelter themſelves is cut down." The day was far ſpent before the battle began, which, it would ſeem, laſted the whole night, with great obſtinacy on both ſides. *Sylla*'s left wing, in which he commanded in perſon againſt *Teleſinus*, was entirely routed; and he himſelf was in imminent danger of being killed by two men, who, at the ſame inſtant, threw their darts at him: he eſcaped by his groom's opportunely ſtriking his horſe. It is ſaid, that when he ſaw his men give ground, he took out of his boſom a little image of *Apollo*, which he had ſtolen from the temple of *Delphi*, and had ever ſince carried about him when engaged in war. Kiſſing it with great devotion, he expoſtulated with the God for having brought him to periſh diſhonourably with his countrymen, at the gates of his native city, after having raiſed him, by many victories, to ſuch a height of glory and greatneſs. Then throwing himſelf among his troops, he endeavoured, by intreaties and threats, to make them face the enemy. All was to no purpoſe. They were routed with great ſlaughter, and, in their flight[a] to the camp, hurried him along with them. There, when it was very late in the night, meſſengers came to him from *Craſſus* (who had commanded the right wing,) with the good news, that he had defeated the left wing of the enemy, and purſued them to *Antemna*, where he kept them blocked up.

Moſt of the *Samnites* and *Lucanians* fell that night in battle, and, among the reſt, *Pontius Teleſinus*, who was found the next day with a countenance, ſays *Velleius*, which more reſembled that of a conqueror, than of a dead man.

As ſoon as it was light, *Sylla* marched to join the forces at *Antemna*. Three thouſand of the enemy ſent deputies to him, aſking pardon, and offering to ſubmit. He anſwered, that he would ſpare their lives, if they would do ſome ſignal miſchief to the reſt of his enemies. Whereupon,

[a] According to *Appian*, they fled to *Rome* with the *Samnites* at their heels, and the *Romans*, fearing leſt the enemy ſhould enter the town, let fall the Portcullus; ſo that *Sylla*'s men, urged by fear and neceſſity, returned to the fight, and obtained the victory. But ſince *Sylla* came laſt before the city, we muſt ſuppoſe, that the enemy was between it and him, and, conſequently, that his troops could not fly thither. By the ſame author's account, the loſs on both ſides amounted to 50,000 men, and 8000 were taken priſoners.

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thoſe wretches turned their ſwords againſt their companions, killed a great number of them, and then ſurrendered themſelves to the Proconſul. Y. R. 671.

The enemy being entirely diſperſed, *Sylla* ſent the heads of *Pontius Teleſinus*, *Marcius*, and *Carinas*, (the two laſt having been taken in their flight) to *Lucretius Ofella*, at *Præneste*, with orders to have them carried round the walls of the town. On the news of *Sylla*'s victory, and of the flight of *Norbanus* and *Carbo*, and of the conqueror's being maſter in *Rome*, the inhabitants of *Præneste*, in deſpair of relief, opened their gates to *Lucretius*. *Marius*, in attempting to make his eſcape through ſome ſubterraneous paſſages, was ſlain by thoſe who guarded him. Some ſay, he fell by his own hand: others, that he and the younger brother of *Pontius Teleſinus* fought together, and that *Teleſinus* being killed, and *Marius* wounded, the latter cauſed his ſlave to diſpatch him. *Lucretius* ſent his head to the Proconſul, who, on ſeeing it, is reported to have ſaid, that the young man ought to have learned to uſe the oar, before he attempted to manage the helm. Yet *Velleius* thinks, that *Sylla* had a high opinion of *Marius*'s talents, becauſe, upon his death, he immediately aſſumed the name of Felix, or the Fortunate, a name which, in the opinion of the ſame author, he would have been moſt juſtly entitled to, had his life ended with his victories. *Plutarch* ſeems to doubt, whether *Sylla*'s proſperity and power did really change his diſpoſition, or only diſcover his natural wickedneſs. It is, however, agreed, that no man ever made a more cruel uſe of victory. The *Romans* ſoon had an inſtance of the coolneſs with which he could perpetrate murders. The 3000 men, formerly mentioned, who, after maſſacring many of their companions, had ſurrendered themſelves to him upon promiſe of their lives, he cauſed to be ſhut up in a public place, together with ſome other priſoners, (the whole number amounting to 6 or 8000) on pretence of enliſting them in the Legions. He then aſſembled the Senate in the Temple of *Bellona*, which was hard by; and while he was making a ſpeech to the Conſcript Fathers, his ſoldiers, according to their inſtructions, began to maſſacre the wretches he had ſhut up. Their cries and lamentations greatly terrified the Senators. *Sylla*, without altering his countenance, ſaid to them "Mind "what I am ſaying, Conſcript Fathers; 'tis nothing but a few ſeditious "men whom I have ordered to be puniſhed."

App. p. 408.

Liv. Epit. l. xxxviii. App. p. 408.

Plut. in Sylla.

Plut. loc. cit. Liv. Epit. l. lxxxviii. Dio Caſſ. ap. Val. p. 657.

Senec. de Clement. l. i. c. 12. Plut. in Sylla.

After this, he filled *Rome* with ſlaughter, ſparing none of the adverſe party; nay, his friends, without regard to party, murdered, with his connivance, their own private enemies; and all were ſuch, whoſe birth or fortunes they envied. In the general conſternation cauſed by theſe murders, *Q. Catulus* had the courage to ſay to the Proconſul, "With whom do we "propoſe to live, if, in war, we kill all who are in arms, and, in peace, "all who are unarmed?" and *C. Metellus* aſked him in the Senate-houſe, "What end there was to be to theſe calamities?" He added, "We do not "petition you to ſpare ſuch as you have determined to deſtroy, but to "quiet

Oroſ. l. v. c. 21. Plut. in Sylla.

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& quiet the apprehenſions of thoſe whom you intend to ſave." *Sylla* anſwered, "That he was not yet certain, whom he ſhould leave alive." Then *Metellus* (or, according to others, one *Auſidius*) deſired him to let them know, who they were whom he had determined to puniſh. *Sylla* promiſed he would, and, on the morrow, cauſed to be fixed up in a public place an edict with a liſt of the names of eighty[a] perſons, whom he doomed to death. This method of condemnation was called PROSCRIPTION; a method of which *Sylla* was the inventor. By the edict, it was made capital to entertain or ſave any of the proſcribed. A reward of two talents was offered for each head; even a ſlave was entitled to it for killing his maſter, and a ſon for murdering his father. The eſtates and effects of the condemned were confiſcated, and their children and grandchildren declared incapable of holding any office in the ſtate. *Sylla*, ſays *Salluſt*, was the firſt among men, who appointed puniſhment for people yet unborn, and prepared injuries for thoſe whoſe life was yet uncertain.

Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 28. App. p. 409. Plut. in Sylla. Sall. Bell. Cat. c. 51.

The day after the firſt Proſcription, *Sylla* publiſhed a new liſt of 220 Perſons whom he condemned, and the next day a like number. In an aſſembly of the People, he told them he had proſcribed all he could think of, and that thoſe whom he had now forgot, he would proſcribe hereafter; and concluded with ſaying, that if the People were obedient to him, he would change their condition for the better; but as to his enemies, he would ſpare none of them. After this ſpeech, he proſcribed, according to *Appian*, forty Senators and 1600 Knights. The whole number of the Proſcribed amounted, according to *Val. Max.* to 4700; he adds, that *Sylla*, as if he gloried in his cruelty, cauſed their names to be entered in the public regiſters; but, probably, this was done, that it might be known, in future times, whoſe deſcendants ſtood excluded from offices. Whatever was the number of the proſcribed, that of the ſlain ſeems much to have exceeded *Valerius*'s account. And (if we may believe *Dio Caſſius*) when *Mithridates* ordered all the *Italians* in *Aſia* to be murdered, there did not periſh near ſo many of that nation, nor by ſuch cruel deaths, as in conſequence of *Sylla*'s edicts. Nor did the tyrant confine his cruelty to *Rome*. His aſſaſſins roamed over all *Italy*, every where ſearching out the favourers of the *Marian* faction. It was a crime, not only to have borne arms againſt *Sylla*, but to have given even the leaſt aſſiſtance to his enemies, to have been in friendſhip with them, to have lent them money, nay, to have travelled in company with any of them. The weight of the ſtorm fell chiefly upon the rich, more people being murdered for their eſtates, than on account of party, or private revenge. Nor did *Sylla* ceaſe his Proſcriptions, till he had enriched all his friends and followers. He became

App. p. 409. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. § 1. Diod. Sic. ap. Valeſ. p. 658. App. loc. cit.

[a] According to *Oroſius*, this firſt Proſcription was before the ſurrendry of *Præneſte*, or the death of *Norbanus*: for *Marius* and *Norbanus*, *Carbo*, and *Scipio*, were among the proſcribed.

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the protector of all villains. Among theſe were *Oppiancius* and *Catiline*. The former, a *Roman* knight of *Larinum* in *Apulia*, having privately cauſed his wife's brother to be aſſaſſinated, that his own ſon might inherit the whole of his grandmother's eſtate, and being threatened with a proſecution by the relations of the deceaſed, he firſt took refuge in the camp of *Metellus*; and when afterwards he had procured a commiſſion from *Sylla*, he returned to *Larinum* with a party of ſoldiers, and under cover of the proſcription murdered all who had threatened to bring him to trial. *Catiline* had formerly murdered his own brother, and now obtained of the Proconſul, that his brother's name ſhould be inſerted among the proſcribed, as if he had been ſtill living. In return for this favour, *Catiline* undertook the puniſhment of *M. Marius Gratidianus*, a man who had been twice Prætor, and ſo great a favourite with the *Roman* People, for his having promulgated a Law againſt the adulteration of the coin, that they erected ſtatues to him in all quarters of the City, and offered incenſe before them. *Catiline* cauſed *Gratidianus* to be whipped through the town, then dragged to the tomb of *Q. Lutatius Catulus*, where his legs and arms were broke, his eyes put out, and his hands and ears cut off; and when he had been tortured in every member, *Catiline* himſelf cut off his head, while he was yet alive, and, having carried it to *Sylla* in the Forum, went and waſhed his bloody hands in the luſtral water, that was at the door of *Apollo*'s temple. *M. Plætorius*, a Senator, was put to death for fainting away at the execution of *Gratidianus*.

In the great danger of the proſcribed was *C. Julius Cæſar*. His aunt had been married to the elder *Marius*, and he himſelf was ſon-in-law to *Cinna*. All *Sylla*'s authority could not prevail with him to divorce his wife; he was therefore degraded from the office of Flamen Dialis, deprived of his patrimony, and forced to abſcond to ſave his life. At length, the veſtal virgins, and ſeveral of the chief men of *Rome*, earneſtly intreating, that he might be ſpared, *Sylla* anſwered, "You have prevailed; but know "that he, whom you ſo eagerly wiſh to ſave, will one day prove the ruin "of the party, which you and I have been defending. You have no "penetration, if, in that boy, you do not ſee many *Marius*'s."

The tyrant not contented with proſcribing particular perſons, extended his revenge to whole towns and nations. *Spoletum*, *Interamna*, *Florentia*, *Sulmo*, and *Præneſte*, were razed to the ground, moſt of the inhabitants maſſacred, and their effects ſold. All the *Samnites* he put to death, or baniſhed *Italy*, alledging that, while they remained united, the *Romans* would never have peace; ſo that, in *Strabo*'s days, all their towns were either in ruins, or dwindled into villages.

All *Italy* now ſubmitted to the conqueror, except *Nola* and *Volaterræ*; but the *Marian* faction had ſtill leaders in the provinces. *Sertorius* had aſſembled an army in *Spain*; *Perperna* prepared to defend *Sicily*, and the

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Cic. pro Cluent. vii. & viii.

Aſcon. in Tog. cand. Cic. de Offic. l. iii. c. 20. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 9. Liv. Epit. l. lxxxviii. Senec. de Ira, l. iii. c. 18. Flor. l. iii. c. 21. Plut. in Sylla. Cic. de Pet. Conſul. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. § 1. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 41. Sueton in Jul. c. i.

App. p. 410. Flor. iii. 21.

Strab. l. v. p. 249.

Y. R. 671. Conſul *Carbo* and *Domitius* (*Cinna*'s ſon-in-law) were in *Africa*. *Pompey*, in virtue of a commiſſion from *Sylla*, paſſed with an army into *Sicily*, whereupon *Perperna* abandoned the iſland. Soon after *Carbo*, who had left *Africa* to go into *Sicily*, ſtopped at *Coſſura*, and from thence ſent *M. Brutus* to *Lilybæum*, to learn whether *Pompey* was there. *Brutus*'s veſſel being ſurrounded by ſome of the enemy's ſhips, he ſlew himſelf, that he might not fall into the enemy's hands; and *Pompey*, having diſpatched ſome veſſels in purſuit of *Carbo*, took him priſoner, with all his attendants. Theſe he cauſed to be ſlain, without ſuffering them to come into his preſence, but the Conſul to be brought in chains before his Tribunal; and when from thence he had reproached him in a long and bitter invective, commanded him to be led to execution. [*Pompey* has been cenſured, with ſome ſeverity, for his treatment of *Carbo*, a man who had been thrice Conſul, and had warmly patronized him, when all the effects of his father, *Pompeius Strabo*, were, after his death, going to be confiſcated, for his having embezzled the public money.]

Plut. in Pom.

Liv. Epit. l. lxxxix.

App. p. 410.

Val. Max. l. v. c. 3. § 5.

App. de Bell. Civ. p. 411, 412.

Both the Conſuls being dead, and the time for the election of new Magiſtrates approaching, *Sylla* left *Rome*, and went to his camp, from whence, by a meſſage to the Senate, he ſignified his deſire, that they would name an *Inter-rex*. The Fathers pitched upon *Valerius Flaccus*, hoping that he would hold the Comitia for an election of Conſuls: but *Sylla* wrote to *Valerius*, adviſing him to propoſe to the PEOPLE the creating a DICTATOR, who ſhould hold that office, *not for any fixed term, but till the affairs of* Rome, Italy, *and the whole empire, that were in great diſorder through the late wars, ſhould be entirely ſettled.* At the bottom of the letter he added, that, *with their approbation, he would burden himſelf with the care of doing the Republic that ſervice.*

Valerius, having convened the People, propoſed and paſſed a Law, which not only conſtituted *Sylla* DICTATOR *for an unlimited time* [a], but likewiſe ratified every thing he had hitherto done, and gave him a full and uncontroulable power [b] over the lives and fortunes of his Fellow-citizens: "A "Law (ſays *Cicero*) the moſt iniquitous that ever was made, and the moſt "unlike a Law:" and indeed it is harder to conceive how a Law, ſo contrary to the very eſſence of civil ſociety, ſhould ever be propoſed, than that it ſhould paſs, at this juncture, without oppoſition.

Plut. in Sylla. Cic. 3. in Rul. c. 2.

[a] There had been no DICTATOR in the Republic during the laſt 120 years: and this is the firſt inſtance of a DICTATOR *created by the* PEOPLE, or *for an indeterminate time*: The People had once, indeed, in a time of great diſtreſs, during the ſecond Punic War, created a PRO-DICTATOR, but without giving him the power of naming his *General of the horſe*. See Vol. II.

[b] *Legem interrex noſter tulit, ut Dictator quem vellet civium, indicta cauſa, impune poſſet occidere.* 1 de Leg. 3287. *Omnium legum iniquiſſimam diſſimillimamque legis eſſe arbitror eam, quam* Lucius Flaccus *interrex de* Sylla *tulit, ut omnia quæcunque ille feciſſet eſſent rata. Nam cum cæteris in civitatibus, Tyrannis inſtitutis, Leges omnes extinguantur atque tollantur, hic Reip. Tyrannum Lege conſtituit.* Cic. in Rul. iii. 2.

THE

THE

Roman Hiſtory.

EIGHTH BOOK.

From the Year 671, when SYLLA was created *Perpetual* DICTATOR, to the Commencement of the FIRST TRIUMVIRATE formed in the end of 693.

CHAP. I.

The Laws and Inſtitutions of SYLLA, *when* DICTATOR. POMPEY's *ſucceſſes in* Africa: *For which he obtains a Triumph at his return to* Rome. SYLLA *abdicates the* DICTATORSHIP *in* 674, *and dies in* 675.

SYLLA, having rewarded *Valerius*, the *Inter-rex*, with the office of *General of the horſe*, came into the Forum, attended by *four and twenty* Lictors; in whoſe *Faſces*, to the great terror of the City, appeared the *axes*, which were never ſeen in the Conſular *Faſces*, within the walls of *Rome*. Beſide theſe Lictors, he had for his guard, a numerous band of Ruffians, ever ready to execute his commands; and that all this was not merely *in terrorem* became quickly manifeſt. Appian.

To preſerve ſomewhat of the old form of the Commonwealth, it was the pleaſure of the Dictator, that *Conſuls*, *Prætors*, and other Magiſtrates, ſhould be elected as uſual. *Lucretius Ofella*, who had lately reduced *Præneſte*, preſented himſelf a candidate for the Conſulſhip. The DICTATOR forbad him to ſtand: Nevertheleſs *Ofella*, having intereſt with the People, and many friends among the Great, and having recently done the cauſe of *Sylla*'s party ſo conſiderable a ſervice, imagined he might ſafely Plut. in Sylla. Liv. Epit. l. lxxx x. Appian.

Y.R. 671. diſregard the prohibition. He perſiſted therefore, to ſolicit the voters. The DICTATOR, from his Tribunal, obſerving it, ſent to him a centurion, who killed him upon the ſpot. A tumult, an uproar [a] enſued; the aſſaſſin was ſeized, and brought priſoner to the foot of the Tribunal; *Let him go*, ſaid the DICTATOR, *he has only obeyed my orders.* After this, he
Y.R. 672. Bef. Chr. 80. 371 Conſ. cauſed *M. Tullius Decula*, and *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, to be elected Conſuls. The government of *Italy* fell by lot to *Decula*, that of *Macedonia* to his collegue.

Val. Max. l. xi. viii. After theſe elections, towards the end of *January*, the DICTATOR made his *Triumphal* entry into *Rome*, on account of his conqueſt in the Eaſt. The Proceſſion, which laſted two days, was adorned with the richeſt ſpoils of [b]
Plut. in Sylla. 473. *Aſia*: But neither the name of any *Roman* citizen vanquiſhed by him, nor the repreſentation of any city by him taken, that belonged to the *Romans*, appeared there. The principal ornament of his *Triumph* was a long train of Senators and other eminent Citizens, who, having been protected by him from the fury of *Marius* and *Cinna*, followed his chariot, calling him their *Father* and preſerver, and proclaiming, that they owed to him their
Appian. p. 414. lives, and whatever elſe they enjoyed that was dear to them. At the ſame time, ſome of his ſoldiers, agreeably to the freedom allowed on theſe occaſions, called his Dictatorſhip a *diſguiſed royalty*; intimating, that, though he declined the title, he was in effect a KING: Others, who were diſpoſed to call things by their true names, termed it a *manifeſt tyranny*, that is, an *uſurped deſpotiſm*.

The ceremony over, *Sylla* aſcended the Roſtra, and, in a ſtudied
Plut. ſpeech, gave a pompous account of his exploits, aſcribing all his ſucceſs to FORTUNE, and deſiring they would give him no other ſurname, but that of FORTUNATE, [FELIX [c];] which, accordingly, was given him in the

Appian. p. 410. [a] *Appian* tells us, that, on this occaſion, *Sylla* ſpoke thus to the People. "A countryman, being bitten by vermin, cleared "his ſhirt of them once or twice; but when "he found himſelf again teized by them, he "threw his ſhirt into the fire. Make the "application."

The ſame author (p. 413.) ſays, that *Oſella* was treated with this rigour, becauſe he had the audacioufneſs (in violation of a Law, which the Dictator had lately publiſhed) to ſue for the Conſulſhip, though he had not yet been either Prætor or Quæſtor, but was ſtill in the order of Knights. But *Vell. Pat.* l. ii. c. 27. tells, that *Oſella* was Prætor when he left *Carbo*'s party, and went over to *Sylla*: and it is not probable, that *Sylla*'s Inſtitutions were yet publiſhed.

[b] *Pliny* (l. xxxiii. c. 1.) tells us, that on the firſt day were carried 15,000 *pounds weight of gold* [i. e. 960,000 l. ſterl.] and 115,000 *pounds weight of ſilver* [which is 371,354 l. 3 s. 4 d. ſterling, which he had amaſſed in the war againſt *Mithridates*. And that on the ſecond day were carried 13,000 *pounds weight of gold* [i. e. 832,000 l. ſterling] with 6000 *of ſilver* [i. e. 22,604 l. 3 s. 4 d.] which had been ſaved when the Capitol was burnt, and had been tranſported to *Præneſte* by the younger *Marius*.

[c] *Sylla*, in writing to the *Greeks* in their language, ſtiled himſelf *Epaphroditus*, *Beloved of Venus*, in that manner tranſlating the word *Felix*. His trophies, that were ſtill extant in *Plutarch*'s time, bore this inſcription, LUCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA EPAPHRODITUS.

And

the inſcription upon the pedeſtal of the gilt equeſtrian ſtatue erected, at this time, to his honour, by a decree of the Senate [a]. Y R 672. Bef Chr. 80 380 Conſ.

THOUGH *Sylla*, by aſſuming the DICTATORSHIP, for an indeterminate time, brought the *Romans*, originally governed by KINGS, to be again ſubject (as *Appian* obſerves [b]) to regal domination; yet from ſome of the firſt acts of this new King, it would ſeem, that he never meant to retain the ſovereignty, longer than till he had ſatiated his revenge, and could return, ſecure of impunity, to the condition of a private Citizen. That he might be able to make a *ſafe* retreat from public life, he laid the foundation of an Ariſtocracy in the *Roman* ſtate, by ſuch ordinances as, upon his abdication of the DICTATORSHIP, would leave all authority and power in the hands of the SENATE: taking eſpecial care, at the ſame time, that the SENATE ſhould conſiſt wholly of his own creatures. His Proſcriptions had very much thinned the Aſſembly, and had left in it (we may preſume) few or none, but ſuch as he believed to be entirely at his devotion. To theſe he added 300 of the moſt conſiderable men of the *Equeſtrian* order: But in making this addition, he complimented [c] the PEOPLE Liv. Epit. l. lxxxix. App de Bell Civ. 413.

And when his wife *Metella* was delivered of twins, a boy and a girl, he gave to both the name of *Happy*, calling the boy *Fauſtus*, the girl *Fauſta*. Plut. in Sylla.

[a] The *Triumph* was followed (if we may believe *Appian*) by magnificent games; for the celebration of which *Greece* was exhauſted of all her beſt performers in every kind of exerciſe; inſomuch that, at the *Olympic games*, there was no contention this year, but in the exerciſe of *running* [ωλην ςαδίε δρομε.] *App.* p. 412.

[b] Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ρωμαῖοι βασιλεύονται. —— χρησάμενοι —— αὖθις ἐπειρῶντο βασιλείας. *App. de Bell. Civ.* l. i. p. 412.

N. B. It appears from theſe words, that *Appian* did not think the government of *Rome* to have been in the time of its KINGS ſo *democratic* as Dr. *Middleton* and Dr. *Chapman* have repreſented it. See *Obſervations*, &c. p. 99.

[c] From *Sylla*'s remitting to the People the nomination of the 300 Knights, who were to have admiſſion into the SENATE, Dr. *Middleton* would infer a probability, that the People, in virtue of a conſtitutional right, had, *in all times*, filled up, by their elections, the vacancies which happened in that houſe. *Middleton's treatiſe on the* Roman *Senate*, p. 73. He might, with almoſt as good reaſon, have inferred, from *Sylla*'s being named by the PEOPLE to the DICTATORSHIP, that it had ever been the cuſtom for the PEOPLE to chuſe the DICTATORS.

[d] As *Sylla*, by appropriating to the Senators the honour of judicature, deprived the People of the privilege of annually chuſing the perſons who were to perform the office of Judges; his view, perhaps, in taking the votes of the tribes, upon the 300 Knights, whom he recommended to them for Senators, was to leſſen the diſcontent of the multitude; this compliment carrying ſome appearance of remitting to them, for the preſent, the nomination of the greater part of the JUDGES.

Appian [*de Bell. Civ.* p. 386.] ſpeaks of a prior addition of 300 members to the Senate, in the year 665, when *Sylla* was Conſul, and ſays, that this ſection was made from the moſt reputable of the Citizens, ἐκ τῶν ἀρίςων ἀνδρῶν. But Dr. *Middleton*, in his *Treatiſe on the* Roman *Senate*, takes no notice of this pretended prior addition: He ſays only, that "*Sylla* when it [the Se-"nate] was particularly *exhauſted*, *added* THREE HUNDRED to it at once from the "*Equeſtrian Order*; which might probably

"raiſe

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PEOPLE with the *choice* of the Perſons, gathering the votes of the TRIBES upon every individual of the 300 Knights, propoſed to them for their approbation; a *choice*, in which they were, unqueſtionably, juſt as free, as they had been in their *Election* of him to be perpetual DICTATOR.

Cic. in Verr. 2.

And now he reſtored to the SENATE a privilege which they had many years loſt [and by their miſbehaviour had very juſtly forfeited] ordaining, that none but SENATORS ſhould for the future be appointed to the office of JUDGES. And

" raiſe the whole number to about 500, and " in this ſtate it ſeems to have continued till " the ſubverſion of their liberty by *J. Cæ-* " *ſar.*" For *Cicero*, in an account of a particular debate, in one of his letters to *Atticus*, mentions 415 to have been preſent at it, which he calls a full houſe. *Middleton's Treatiſe on the* Roman *Senate*, p. 91.

Father *Catrou*, the Jeſuit, paſſes over the pretended addition of 300 members, made to the Senate by *Sylla* in 665, without taking the leaſt notice of it in his text, as if he gave no credit to *Appian*'s report: and though it be mentioned by *F. Rouillé*, in a note on the other's text, it is mentioned only as a report made by *Appian*. M. *Crevier* omits it entirely; and *Pighius*, in this particular, pays no farther regard to *Appian*'s authority, than to ſay in general terms, when ſpeaking of *Sylla*'s Conſulſhip in 665, *ampliavit Senatum.*

But Dr. *Chapman* takes for granted the prior addition of 300 members reported by *Appian*. " We are not however (ſays the " Doctor) to ſuppoſe from *this*, or even the " *ſecond* Lection made by *Sylla*, when raiſed " to the DICTATORSHIP, that the Senate " from this time amounted to *ſix hundred*: " For as the houſe is ſaid to have wanted " much of its due complement in both theſe " inſtances, it is probable it fell conſiderably " ſhort of that number, even after each of " theſe two additions was actually made. " What therefore the Senate's preciſe number " was from henceforth, we cannot take upon " us to determine. Only as *Cicero Attic.* " l. i. 14.] in ſpeaking of a debate about " twenty years afterwards, mentions 415 " members being then in the houſe, 'tis pro- " bable, that the whole, in *Sylla*'s time, a- " mounted to 500 *at leaſt.*

As to the *preciſe number* of members, of which the SENATE, after the addition to it of 300, did immediately conſiſt; and of which *Sylla* intended it ſhould, for the future, always conſiſt (when complete;) if we cannot aſcertain it, yet, perhaps, by the help of ſome conſiderations, which the ſtate of things at that time ſuggeſts, we may make a reaſonable conjecture. *Tacitus* tells us (as we ſee above in the text) that by one of *Sylla*'s laws *twenty* Quæſtors were to be created annually *for ſupplying the* SENATE *to which he had transferred the* JUDICATURE. *Lege* Sullæ *viginti* [*Quæſtores*] *creati* SUPPLENDO SENATUI, CUI JUDICIA TRADIDERAT. *Tacit. Ann.* xi. 22. *Pighius* from theſe words gathers, that *Sylla* augmented the number of the Quæſtors for this end principally, *that there might be a greater choice of men in the Senate, to ſerve occaſionally as Judges, the ſole right of judicature having been juſt transferred to the Senators*, " Ex quibus " verbis ſit veriſimile, in eum maximè finem " ampliaſſe Quæſtorum Collegium, uti ube- " rior deinceps ſuppeteret Judicum e Senatu " ſelectio. Nam è Senatu dicebantur eſſe non " ſolum Patres Conſcripti vel Senatores à " Cenſoribus lecti in eum ordinem, ſed etiam " populi honoribus uſi, quibus in Senatum " venire licebat, et ſententiæ jus habebant." [And he conjectures from ſome paſſages in *Tacitus* and *Cicero*, that by *Sylla*'s Law for creating TWENTY Quæſtors, one half of the number was to be choſen by the People, the other named by the Conſuls.]

That *Sylla*, when he augmented the number of the Quæſtors from *eight* to *twenty*, had the *Judicature* in view, can hardly be queſtioned; not that this augmentation would of itſelf be effectual for ſupplying the public with a competent number of perſons to perform occaſionally the office of judges; but would perhaps be ſufficient to keep the SENATE up to its due complement of members,

And that the auguſt aſſembly, thus augmented and *thus honoured with the* JUDICATURE, might thereafter have the contingent vacancies in their houſe regularly filled up with properly qualified perſons, he ordained, that, inſtead of only EIGHT Quæſtors, as before, TWENTY ſhould be annually created. Y. R. 672. Tacit An. xi. 22.

But, in order to raiſe and eſtabliſh more effectually the authority of the SENATE, the DICTATOR almoſt totally annihilated that of the Tribunes, by depriving them of the power of LEGISLATION [b]; Vell Pat. [illegible] Liv. [illegible] Pat. [illegible]

bers, after his introduction of the 300 Knights into it, and his conſigning the Judicature wholly to the Senatorian order. *To provide Judges*, in ſufficient number, was his object in making, at once, ſo large an addition of members to the SENATE: To keep the SENATE full, after that addition, was his object in augmenting the number of the Quæſtors. By the *Plautian* [or *Plotian*] law [*Vid. ſupra, ann.* 664.] it had been ordained, that each TRIBE ſhould, annually, chuſe out of its own body FIFTEEN perſons, to ſerve as JUDGES; and the honour was made common to all the three orders [*Senators, Knights*, and *Commoners, i. e.* the *Plebs*] according as the votes carried it in every Tribe. *Cn. Pompeio Strabone, L. Porcio Catone Coſſ ſecundo anno Belli Italici, cum Equeſter ordo in judiciis dominaretur, M. Plautius Silvanus legem tulit, adjuvantibus nobilibus.—Ex ea tribus ſingulæ quinos denos ex ſuo numero creabant ſuffragio, qui eo anno judicarent.* Cic. pro Cornel, & ad Att. iv. The number of perſons qualified, by this law, to ſit as JUDGES, was therefore [35 times 15] 525. Now ſuppoſing the Houſe to have had its uſual complement of 300 members, at the time when *Sylla* proſcribed 90 of them [*Appian*, p. 415.] if to the remaining 210 we add the 300 Knights, and the 12 additional Quæſtors, the ſum total of the members of the houſe will be 522; a number almoſt the very ſame with that of the perſons, which the tribes, in conformity to the *Plautian* law, furniſhed annually by election to ſerve as JUDGES; and if we ſuppoſe (and ſurely there is reaſon to ſuppoſe) that the State had found it neceſſary or expedient (after taking the *Judicature* from the *numerous* body of the *Knights*) to provide ſo large a number as the *Plautian* law preſcribed, of qualified perſons, out of which to chuſe the JUDGES, this will account both for *Sylla*'s adding ſo many members at once to the Senate, and for the proviſion he made to keep the number always complete; and it may perhaps be thought no weak reaſon for our fixing the due complement of the Senate at 525.

[b] Mr. *Kennet* ſays, that *Sylla* deprived the TRIBUNES, not only of the power of *making Laws*, but of *interpoſing* [interceſſion] of *holding aſſemblies* and *receiving appeals*; and for this he cites *Cic. de Leg.* l. iii *Cæſ. Com. de Bell. Civ. Florus, Plutarch*, &c. I have not been able to find *all* this either in the authors named, or in, &c. We have *Cæſar*'s authority for *Sylla*'s leaving to the TRIBUNES the power of INTERCESSION. *Neque etiam extremi* JURIS INTERCESSIONE *retinendi*, QUOD L. SYLLA RELIQUERAT *facultas tribuitur*. Cæſ. de Bell Civ. l. i. c. 5. And we have, ſeemingly, *Cicero*'s authority for *Sylla*'s leaving to the TRIBUNES the power of *receiving appeals*: unleſs by *poteſtatem auxilii ferendi* he means no more than the power of preventing oppreſſive laws, by their *Veto*. *Quamobrem in iſta quidem re vehementer* Syllam *probo, qui* TRIBUNIS PLEB. *ſuâ lege injuriæ faciendæ* POTESTATEM *ademerit*, AUXILII FERENDI RELIQUERIT. *Cic. de Leg.* iii. 9.

M. *Crevier* (upon what authority I know not) write, that, by one of *Sylla*'s ordinances, *the* TRIBUNES *were to be always elected out of the body of the* SENATE. To *Appian*, it was not clear that *Sylla* made this regulation, though it afterwards prevailed, *ὃ ἐχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν*, &c. *nec conſtat an eam* [*Tribunitiam dignitatem*] *ut nunc eſt a Plebe ad Senatum tranſtulerit*. App. de Bell. Civ. p. 413.

N. B. Whether this regulation was made by *Sylla*, or afterwards, it carries a proof, that the Quæſtors did not always, by their office, become Senators, as Dr. *Middleton* will have it; or that the Tribunes did not, in their way to the Tribuneſhip, always paſs through the Quæſtorſhip, for which the Doctor likewiſe contends.

Y. R. 672. And by decreeing, that no citizen, who had ſerved in the office of TRIBUNE, ſhould ever be capable of holding any ſuperior dignity: a decree which would naturally hinder all perſons, whoſe high birth, or extraordinary talents, might render them formidable to the Ariſtocratic faction, from ſeeking, or even coveting the *Tribuneſhip*

App. de Bell. Civ. p. 413.

D. Hal. l. ii. Diod. l. xxxvii.

Not content with humbling the PEOPLE, by this diminution of the power of their TRIBUNES, the DICTATOR took from the *Tribes* the privilege, they had obtained by the *Domitian* law, of filling up, by their elections, the vacancies which happened in the ſeveral colleges of the PONTIFS, AUGURS, and GUARDIANS OF THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS; and reſtored to theſe colleges the power of ſupplying their vacancies by CO-OPTATION: increaſing, at the ſame time, the number of members in each college from TEN TO FIFTEEN.

App. de Bell. Civ. p. 413, 414. Pigh. ann.

With regard to the CIVIL MAGISTRACY, the DICTATOR enacted, that, whereas certain intervals had been required by Law between the offices of ÆDILE and PRÆTOR, and of PRÆTOR and CONSUL, it ſhould be permitted, for the future, to ſue for the higher office immediately after having held the lower. No man, however, was to ſtand for the Prætorſhip, who had not been Quæſtor; nor for the Conſulſhip, who had not been Prætor: and he revived the Law, which forbad the conferring on any citizen a ſecond Conſulſhip, before ten years were elapſed from his holding that dignity [c].

Pomp. de Orig. Jur.

And, having firſt augmented the number of the PRÆTORS from SIX to EIGHT, he decreed, that of theſe eight, ſix, at leaſt, ſhould continue at *Rome*, a whole year, to preſide in the ſeveral courts of juſtice, and ſhould, afterwards, have their provinces aſſigned them by lot.

Cic. Philip. 2.

And whereas it was the cuſtom for the Prætors, when they entered on their office, to fix up an edict, declaring the method in which they would proceed in trying cauſes during their year; which method their ſucceſſors (being under no obligation to obſerve it) did not obſerve, ſo that the forms of proceſs were continually changing; *Sylla*, to remedy this inconvenience, ordained, that the PRÆTORS ſhould always uſe one and the ſame method in their judicial proceedings.

Cic. in Verr. 4.

And he further decreed, that it ſhould no longer be permitted to reject above three of the Judges appointed to ſit upon a cauſe: and that in criminal cauſes the votes might be taken, either publicly, or privately, at the option of the perſon accuſed.

[c] This law had been often violated of late years, and if *Sylla* reſtored it at this time, he himſelf afterwards diſpenſed with it: For, the very next year, he cauſed himſelf to be elected Conſul, though he had been in that magiſtracy but ſeven years before. M. *Crevier*, therefore, with reaſon, thinks it probable that the revival of this law was not till after the ſecond Conſulſhip of *Sylla*.

The antient penalties for bribery and corruption in trials were revived, and ſuch precautions taken, as would be moſt likely to recover the honour of the Senatorian Judges, who, formerly, when in poſſeſſion of the Judicature, had not behaved themſelves in a manner that did them much credit. Y. R. 672. Bef. Chr. 80. 371 Conf.

To theſe regulations concerning the SENATE, the PRIESTS, and the MAGISTRATES OF THE CITY, the DICTATOR added others relating to the GOVERNORS OF THE PROVINCES. He decreed, that no Governor ſhould lead his army out of his province, or himſelf leave the province, without an order from the *Roman* people, or Senate.

That whoever was ſent with any command into a province, ſhould hold that command till he was expreſsly recalled; whereas, before, the office of a commander continued no longer than a ſet time, upon the expiration of which, if no ſucceſſor came, he was put to the trouble and inconvenience of getting a new commiſſion from the Senate. Cic. Ep. 9. ad. Lentul. & ad Attic. Ep. 6. l. iii.

Nor was any commander to remain, after the arrival of his ſucceſſor, more than thirty days in his province.

Nor, at his departure from it, to exact from the inhabitants a greater ſum than was allowed by the laws. Cic. Ep. Fam. 6. l. iii.

The reformation of the morals of private men[a] had likewiſe ſome ſhare of the DICTATOR's attention.

Ever ſince the times of the civil wars, when licentiouſneſs univerſally prevailed, the crimes of perjury, forgery, robbery, rape, poiſoning, and aſſaſſination, had been very common. He undertook to check the farther progreſs of theſe evils, by enforcing the penalties, which the ancient laws had denounced againſt the guilty. and by making the ſanctions even more ſevere: Only, with regard to aſſaſſins, an exception was made in favour of thoſe who had killed any of the *proſcribed.* Cic. pro Cluent.

As to the reſt of the *proſcribed*, who by flight had eſcaped being murdered, he made a law, that, where-ever they were found, they ſhould be put to death as enemies of the Republic; and that all who had concealed them, ſhould be ſubject to the ſame penalty: That their eſtates ſhould be ſold by auction, and their children ſhould be for ever incapable of holding any magiſtracy: but that ſuch perſons as had embraced his party in the late troubles ſhould have the privilege of bearing honours before they were, legally, capable by age. Cic. pro Roſ. Am. Plin. l. vii. Quintil. l. xi. c. 1. Cic. in Piſ.

At the public ſale of ſome of the confiſcated eſtates he himſelf pre-

[a] We are told, that he laid a reſtraint upon the diſpoſition to make expenſive entertainments; but that he did this, chiefly, with a view to lower the price of proviſions: That he likewiſe made a law to repreſs the prevailing folly of making coſtly and pompous funerals. *Macrob. Sat.* l. iii. *Cic. Verr.* 3. *Plin.* l. xxxiii. *A. Gell.* l. ii. c. 24.

Y. R. 672. fided, calling them *ſpoils*, as if they had been taken from a foreign enemy: and the eſtates, which he gave away, he beſtowed in ſo deſpotic and haughty a manner, as by this to give more offence, than even by the violence with which he had ſeized them. He made preſents of the revenues of a whole city, a whole province, to women, to muſicians, to players, and to the moſt worthleſs freedmen[a].

Cic. de Off. xi. 8. Plut.

But the Dictator did not confine his bounties to that ſort of people; he extended them to his moſt illuſtrious partizans, and particularly to the gold-thirſty *Craſſus*[b].

Notwithſtanding the low[c] price at which the eſtates of many perſons were ſold, near two millions ſterling, ariſing from the confiſcations, came into the public treaſury.

While

[a] *Cicero*, in his oration for the poet *Archias*, mentions one of *Sylla*'s preſents made in pleaſantry. When the Dictator was preſiding at the ſales, a bad poet preſented him with an epigram, which had no other reſemblance to poetry, than that every line was longer or ſhorter than the line which ſtood next to it. To reward his zeal, *Sylla* gave him ſomething of what was then expoſed to ſale, but upon expreſs condition, that he ſhould make no more verſes.

[b] We are told, that for the ſake of ſeizing upon the fortune of a very rich man, *Craſſus* ventured, of his own private authority, to proſcribe him; and that this ſo highly diſpleaſed *Sylla*, that he never after gave him any employment. *Plut. in Craſſ.*

[c] The eſtate of *Sextus Roſcius*, worth about 60,000 l. was ſold for leſs than 70 l. to *Chryſogonus*, a favourite freedman of *Sylla*.

This *Roſcius*, one of the moſt conſiderable citizens of *Ameria* (now *Amelia* in the dutchy of *Spoleto*,) was aſſaſſinated in *Rome*; and, though it was ſeveral months after the ceſſation of *proſcriptions*, his name, in order to ſcreen the murderers, was foiſted into the liſt of the proſcribed, by the contrivance of *Chryſogonus*; who, for the trifling ſum abovementioned, got the eſtate of the deceaſed adjudged to him: and, the more effectually to ſecure his poſſeſſion of it, he engaged *Sylla* to direct a proſecution againſt the ſon of *Roſcius*, as the murderer of his father [*Plut. in Sylla.*] " and had provided evidence to convict him; " ſo that the young man was like to be de- " prived, not only of his fortune, but, by a " more villainous cruelty, of his honour al- " ſo, and his life. All the old advocates re- " fuſed to defend him, fearing the power of " the proſecutor, and the reſentment of *Sylla*, " [*Cic. pro Roſc. Amer.* 10, 11.] ſince *Roſ- " cius*'s defence would neceſſarily lead them " into many complaints on the times and the " oppreſſions of the great: but *Cicero* (who " was then but in his twenty-ſeventh year) " readily undertook it. The popularity of " his cauſe, and the favour of the audience, " gave him ſuch ſpirits, that he expoſed the " inſolence and villainy of the favourite *Chry- " ſogonus* with great gaiety; and ventured " even to mingle ſeveral bold ſtrokes at *Sylla* " himſelf; which he took care to palliate, by " obſerving, *that through the multiplicity of* " Sylla's *affairs, who reigned as abſolute on* " *earth as* Jupiter *did in heaven, it was not* " *poſſible for him to know, and neceſſary even* " *to connive at many things, which his favou- " rites did againſt his will* [pro Roſc. 45.] " *He would not complain*, he ſays, *in times like* " *thoſe, that an innocent man's eſtate was ex- " poſed to public ſale; for were it allowed to* " *him to ſpeak freely on that head*, Roſcius *was* " *not a perſon of ſuch conſequence, that he ſhould* " *make a particular complaint on his account*; " *but he muſt inſiſt upon it, that by the law of* " *the proſcription itſelf, whether it was* Flac- " cus's *the Inter-rex, or* Sylla's *the Dictator,* " *for he knew not which to call it*, Roſcius's " *eſtate was not forfeited, nor liable to be ſold,* " [ib. 43.] In the concluſion, he puts the " Judges in mind, *that nothing was ſo much* " *aimed at by the proſecutors in this trial, as,* " *by the condemnation of* Roſcius, *to gain a pre- " cedent for deſtroying the children of the pro- " ſcribed: he conjures them therefore by all the " Gods, not to be the authors of reviving a ſe-*

" *cond*

While *Sylla* was thus employed in new-modelling the State, the war went on abroad againſt the remains of the *Marian* faction, in all parts whitherſoever any of them had fled [a]. V. R. 672. Bef. Chr. 80. 371 Conſ.

In *Italy*, *Nola* and *Volaterræ* made a brave defence for two years, but were at length reduced and levelled with the ground.

When *Pompey* had eſtabliſhed the peace of *Sicily*, he received orders to go into *Africa*, where *Domitius Ænobarbus*, *Cinna's* ſon-in-law, ſupported by *Hiarbas*, king of one part of *Numidia*, was aſſembling forces. *Pompey* left the iſland with ſix legions, 120 ſhips of war and 800 tranſports, loaded with all kinds of ſtores. Part of the fleet anchored at *Utica*, the reſt at *Carthage*. Plut. in Pomp.

His march was retarded a few days by a ridiculous adventure. Some ſoldiers having found a treaſure in the field, where the camp was pitched, the whole army became at once confidently perſuaded, that the field was full of gold and ſilver, hid under ground by the *Carthaginians* in the time of their calamities. Inſtantly every man furniſhed himſelf with a pick-ax, and to digging they went. *Pompey*, not being able to divert them from their purſuit, only laughed at the ſight of ſo many thouſand men turning up the earth to ſo little purpoſe. Weary at length of their fruitleſs labour, they ſignified to their General, that they had been juſtly puniſhed for their credulity, and were ready to march whitherſoever he pleaſed to lead them. A battle enſued; victory declared for *Pompey*, whereupon his ſoldiers proclaimed him *Imperator*. He declined the honour, which, he ſaid, he could not deſerve, ſo long as the enemy's camp ſubſiſted. Hereupon they inſtantly marched to attack it, though the day was far ſpent. *Pompey*, in the heat of the late battle, not giving a ready anſwer to one of his ſoldiers who aſked him the word, had like to have been killed by him; for which reaſon, he fought in the preſent action bare-headed. *Domitius* was killed, and his camp taken: Of 20,000 men, whereof his army had conſiſted, ſcarce 3000 eſcaped. The whole country preſently ſubmitted, and *Pompey* entered *Numidia*: *Hiarbas* being killed, or taken priſoner, his dominions were given to *Hiempſal*, king of another part of *Numidia*. This expedition, ſo ſucceſsful and glorious for *Pompey*, being finiſhed in forty days, he ſtrait returned to *Utica*.

" *cond proſcription, more barbarous and cruel* " *than the firſt: that the Senate refuſed to bear* " *any part in the firſt, leſt it ſhould be thought* " *to be authorized by the public council: that it* " *was their buſineſs, by this ſentence, to put a* " *ſtop to that ſpirit of cruelty, which then poſ-* " *ſeſſed the city, ſo pernicious to the Republic,* " *and ſo contrary to the character and temper* " *of their anceſtors.* —— *Roſcius* was ac- " quitted, to the great honour of *Cicero.*" See *Midd. Life of Cicero*, Vol. I. p. 37—40.

[a] *Norbanus* (the colleague of *Scipio* in the Conſulſhip, year of *Rome* 670) who had taken refuge in *Rhodes*, upon the firſt news of a demand from *Sylla* to deliver him up, killed himſelf in the Forum of the city.

Y. R. 672. Bef. Chr. 80. 371 Conſ.

On his arrival there, he received orders from *Sylla* to ſend back his whole army, except one legion, with which he was to remain in the province till a ſucceſſor came. *Pompey*, though much diſpleaſed with theſe orders, reſolved to obey. His troops were not of that mind: They mutinied openly, and declared they would not ſuffer him to put himſelf defenceleſs into the hands of the Dictator, whom they made no ſcruple to call a tyrant. *Pompey* did all he could to appeaſe them, but, notwithſtanding his intreaties and even tears, they replaced him ſeveral times upon his Tribunal, nor could he quiet them till he had proteſted, that, if they did not ceaſe their violence, he would inſtantly kill himſelf.

This commotion, in the firſt accounts brought of it to *Rome*, was related ſo imperfectly, that *Sylla* imputed it to *Pompey*, and, on that occaſion, ſaid, *it was his deſtiny to be obliged in his old age to make war with children*, meaning the younger *Marius* and *Pompey*. But when the matter came to be cleared up, and the public had declared in favour of the young conqueror, the Dictator reſolved to do him all kinds of honour; and, accordingly, went out to meet him on his arrival at *Rome*, and ſaluted him by the title of THE GREAT [a]. Nevertheleſs, when *Pompey* demanded a triumph, the Dictator refuſed it, repreſenting to him, "That, by law, "no one could have that honour, who had not been Conſul or Prætor: "For which reaſon, it had not been granted to the firſt *Scipio Africanus*, "who had done very great things in *Spain*: that if a man, too young to "have even a place in the Senate, ſhould be allowed to *triumph*, it would "render odious, not only him, who, contrary to law, received that ho- "nour, but the ſupreme magiſtrate who granted it." And he concluded with expreſly declaring to him, that he would not ſuffer him to *triumph*. *Pompey*, in anſwer, deſired him to conſider, that the *riſing ſun* had more worſhippers than the *ſetting ſun*. *Sylla* did not hear theſe words, but, obſerving an air of aſtoniſhment upon every face, he aſked the meaning of it. Then ſomebody repeated what *Pompey* had ſaid: and the Dictator, ſtruck with the boldneſs of the expreſſion, inſtantly cried out, *Let him triumph, Let him triumph.*

Magne. Plut.

Accordingly, the young General, not even a Senator, a *Roman* Knight only, had a *triumph* [b] for his victories over *Hiarbas* and the *Numidians*:

[a] According to *Plutarch*, this was the origin of that ſurname given to *Pompey*. But *Livy*, (l. xxx.) in fine, makes it owing to the flattery of his friends. Be that as it will, he did not himſelf aſſume the title till ſome years after, when he made war againſt *Sertorius* in *Spain*. Plut.

[b] We are told, that *Pompey*'s ſoldiers, not being content with the money he had diſtributed among them, threatened to interrupt the ceremony of his triumphal proceſſion; and that he declared, he would rather renounce his *Triumph*, than humour them; which made *Servilius*, an eminent Senator, ſay of him, that he now deſerved the honour, and was truly GREAT. *Plut.*

and

and the people were highly delighted to ſee him, after he had received that honour, continue ſtill in the Equeſtrian rank. Y.R. 672.

Sylla, though he retained the *Dictatorſhip*, did not chuſe to aboliſh the *Conſulſhip*. At the uſual time for electing Conſuls, he cauſed himſelf, together with *Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius*, to be named to that magiſtracy. The Dictator had a particular kindneſs for *Metellus Pius*[a], as being the firſt *Roman* General, who, with an army, had joined him. Y. R. 673. Bef. Chr. 79. 372 Conſ.

Though *Sylla*, by the methods which have been related, had ſecured to his intereſt the principal Nobles, and indeed the whole Senate, he would not neglect to make himſelf creatures, even among the loweſt order. Of the ſlaves belonging to the *proſcribed* he enfranchiſed 10,000 young men; who all became *Roman* citizens, and, from the name of their patron *Cornelius*, were (according to cuſtom) called *Cornelians*. But the moſt powerful ſupport, which he provided for himſelf and his party, were the military colonies which he diſtributed throughout all *Italy*. Having confiſcated the lands of a great number of municipal cities, which had favoured his enemies, he divided thoſe lands amongſt the officers and ſoldiers of three and twenty legions. Theſe amounted to above 100,000 fighting men, who, owing their fortunes and eſtabliſhment to his decrees, would, of courſe, be ever ready to ſupport both him and them.

By all theſe murders, proſcriptions, confiſcations, grants, laws, and regulations, *Sylla* became able, with ſafety, to abdicate the Dictatorſhip, and return to a private life; which he did ſoon after. His firſt ſtep towards the execution of this deſign, was a refuſal of the people's offer *to continue him in the Conſulſhip*. He cauſed his old friend, *P. Servilius Vatia* (afterwards ſurnamed *Iſauricus*,) and *App. Claudius Pulcher*, to be elected Conſuls. Y. R 674. Bef Chr. 78. 373 Conſ.

And now, to the great aſtoniſhment of the public, *Sylla*, in the higheſt fortune to which any mortal had ever attained, and in poſſeſſion of the moſt extenſive deſpotiſm, reſigned, of his own mere motion, and without the leaſt compulſion from any quarter, the reins of government to the new Conſuls, and retired from public life[b].

The ceremony of his abdication paſſed in the calmeſt manner poſſible. He came to the Forum with his lictors and guards, mounted the Appian.

[a] *Metellus Numidicus*, the father of *Pius*, had been baniſhed by *Saturninus*, and reſtored by the Tribune *Calidius*. This *Calidius*, ſtanding for the Prætorſhip, *Metellus Pius* not only ſolicited the people for him, in the moſt preſſing manner, but, though actually Conſul, and of the firſt claſs of the Nobles, condeſcended to ſtile *Calidius* his patron, and the protector of his family. *Cic. pro Planc.*

[b] We are told, that *Sylla* was the laſt of the *Roman* Generals, who removed the bounds, and enlarged the circumference of the city. This was an honour and privilege permitted to thoſe only, who by their exploits, had extended the empire of the Republic. *Tacit.* xii. 23. *Sen. de Benef.* v. 16.

Roſtra,

Y. R. 674. Bef. Chr. 78. 373 Conſ.

Roſtra, and, from thence, declared to the people aſſembled, that *he abdicated the* DICTATORSHIP, *and was ready to give an account of his adminiſtration to any perſon who ſhould require it of him.* He then came down, diſmiſſed his lictors and guards, and accompanied only with a ſmall number of his friends, walked ſerenely up and down the Forum, every body ſtruck with amazement, and ſcarce believing the teſtimony of their own eyes [a]. He received no affront, no mark of diſreſpect, but from one young man: This youth not only attacked him with injurious language, while in the Forum; but with repeated inſults and reproaches, followed him quite to his houſe. *Sylla* ſeemed undiſturbed; he only ſaid, as he entered the door, *The behaviour of this young fellow will hinder any man, who may hereafter be in the ſtation which I have held, from ever entertaining the thoughts of quitting it.*

Plut. in Sylla & Pomp.

Sylla, when he abdicated his ſovereign power, did not renounce all attention to public affairs; he endeavoured to hinder *Lepidus* from being choſen Conſul for the enſuing year, but failed of ſucceſs; becauſe *Pompey* with his whole credit, ſupported the candidate. Obſerving, that *Pompey* was much elated with this victory, he ſaid to him; *You have great reaſon, indeed, to triumph; it is a glorious exploit to have cauſed* Lepidus, *the moſt ſeditious of men, to be named to the Conſulſhip, and even before* Catulus, *the moſt virtuous citizen of* Rome. *Be upon your guard, however; for you have been arming an enemy againſt yourſelf.*

Y. R. 675. Bef. Chr. 77. 374 Conſ.

The next year, when *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *Q. Lutatius Catulus* had the Conſular Faſces, was the laſt of *Sylla*'s life.

[a] *Sylla*, after his abdication, made an offering of a tenth part of his effects to *Hercules*. On this occaſion, he feaſted the people during ſeveral days; and ſuch profuſion there was in his banquets, that every day a great quantity of proviſions was thrown into the *Tiber*. During this feaſt his wife *Metella* fell dangerouſly ſick. Religious rejoicings were not to be profaned by any melancholy circumſtances of death, or mourning. *Sylla*, therefore, exemplary religious, did, by order of the Pontifices, ſend her a bill of divorce, and cauſed her to be carried, while yet living, into another houſe. In this particular he was a ſtrict obſerver of the law; but at his wife's funeral he violated a law, which he himſelf had made, to limit the expence of funerals, as he did likewiſe that which he had enacted againſt too expenſive entertainments. To conſole himſelf for his loſs, he paſſed his days in luxurious feaſting and debauchery. Some months after, he entertained the public with a ſhow of gladiators; and as, on thoſe days, men and women ſat promiſcuouſly together, *Valeria* (the daughter of *Meſſala*, and ſiſter of *Hortenſius*, the famous orator) who had been, a few days before, divorced from her huſband, happened to ſit near *Sylla*; ſhe was beautiful, gay, and lively, but virtuous, and of an unblemiſhed reputation. She came behind him, and, reſting her hand gently upon his ſhoulder, took away a thread of his robe, and then returned to her ſeat. He, turning about, looked as if ſurprized at her familiarity; whereupon *Valeria* accoſted him thus, "It was not out of any want of reſpect, but "from a deſire to partake of your good for-"tune." *Vid. ſupra.* [p. 164.] *Sylla* was not diſpleaſed with this anſwer, and they immediately made love to each other by their eyes, and, in a ſhort time after, he married her. His marriage, however, with the beautiful *Valeria*, did not prove a charm ſufficient to reſtrain him from an infamous commerce with actreſſes and ſinging-women.

He

He had retired to his country-houſe at *Cumæ*, where he abandoned himſelf to pleaſure. In the midſt of his banquetings and debaucheries he was ſeized with an horrible diſtemper, called the *Louſy Diſeaſe*; his entrails were corrupted, and his fleſh was full of vermin, the multitude and rapid propagation of which rendered fruitleſs all the pains that could be taken to make him clean, by bathing and rubbing him, and continually changing his linen. In this miſerable condition, to divert his thoughts as much as poſſible from it, he had recourſe to buſineſs. Ten days before his death, being informed that the people of *Puteoli*, in his neighbourhood, were at variance among themſelves, he drew them up a body of bye-laws for their better government. Y. R. 675. Appian. Plut.

He amuſed himſelf likewiſe with reviſing, or enlarging, his Commentaries, which are frequently quoted by *Plutarch*. About three days before he died he made his will, in which he remembered all his friends, except *Pompey*, to whom he left no legacy: nor did he name him among the guardians of his ſon, then an infant almoſt in the cradle; but he expreſſed great affection for *Lucullus*, to whom he inſcribed his commentaries, and whom he appointed to be one of his ſon's guardians. And, it is ſaid, that this gave birth to the miſunderſtanding between *Lucullus* and *Pompey*, which aroſe afterwards to a very great height. Appian. Plut. in Pom. & Lucull.

A few days before his death he compoſed his own epitaph, wherein we may read, not only his true character, but a ſatisfactory anſwer to that queſtion, *How could* Sylla, *after ſo many murders, and other violences, relinquiſh with ſafety his ſovereign power?* The epitaph was in ſubſtance to this effect, that *no man had ever outdone him, either in obliging his friends, or in avenging himſelf on his enemies.*

Some think, that *Sylla's abdicating the Dictatorſhip* infallibly proved, that *ambition* was not his predominant paſſion [a], and that he had ſeized the ſovereign power only to make ſure of his *revenge*. This vindictive ſpirit continued with him to the laſt, as appears by his treatment of *Granius*, the chief Magiſtrate of *Puteoli*. A certain tax had been impoſed on all the cities for the reparation of the Capitol. *Granius* had received the contributions of his fellow-citizens, but deferred paying in the money, imagining he ſhould be able to retain it for his own uſe, in caſe *Sylla* died ſoon. *Sylla* informed of this, and enraged at the inſolence of a man who built hopes upon the proſpect of his ſpeedy death, ſent for him and cauſed him to be ſtrangled in his preſence. The anger and violent agitation he was in, on this occaſion, broke an impoſthume within him: He threw up a vaſt quantity of black and corrupted blood, and died the night following through extremity of pain, having concluded all the acts of his life with a ſtroke of dear revenge. Plut. in Sylla.

[a] Others are of opinion, that this is no proof of moderation in the ambition of *Sylla*; but rather of his good ſenſe and prudence, being aware that he had made ſome of his creatures (*Pompey* in particular) too powerful to remain ſubject to his deſpotiſm.

Y.R. 675. Such was the end of the famous *Cornelius Sylla.* The Conſuls had a warm diſpute about his funeral. *Lepidus* was for having him privately interred in the burying-place of his anceſtors; but *Catulus*, ſupported by *Pompey*, prevailed to have his body carried in great pomp* through the ſtreets of *Rome*, and burnt in the *Campus Martius*; *Sylla* being the firſt of the Patrician branch of the *Cornelian* family, whoſe corpſe was not interred. It was feared that his bones might one day be treated as he had treated thoſe of *Marius*, which he had cauſed to be dug up, and thrown into the river. The tomb in which the aſhes of *Sylla* were depoſited, was in *Plutarch*'s time ſtill to be ſeen in the *Campus Martius*, with that epitaph upon it which has been before mentioned.

Appian. Plut. in Sylla & Pomp.

CHAP. II.

LEPIDUS *attempts, unſucceſsfully, an imitation of* SYLLA. *In* 676, POMPEY *is ſent into* Spain *againſt* SERTORIUS.

THE dangerous example of a private Citizen, who had found means to raiſe himſelf to ſovereignty, and maintain himſelf in it, made thoſe who came after him ſenſible that the *Romans* could bear a maſter; a diſcovery which proved the ſource of more revolutions. SCARCE were the eyes of *Sylla* cloſed, when *Lepidus* formed the project of aſcending to the ſame height of power.

* From his houſe at *Cumæ*, where he died, his body dreſſed in a triumphal robe, was carried to *Rome* upon a bed of ſtate, glittering with gold; four and twenty Lictors walked before it with the rods and axes. Of thoſe perſons who had ſerved under him, and had partaken of his favours, ſo great a number came to pay their laſt duties to their General, that they formed rather the appearance of an army, than that of a funeral proceſſion. In the ceremony of his obſequies, the colleges of the prieſts, and the veſtals ſurrounded the corpſe; then marched the Senate, with the Magiſtrates habited in the robes of their reſpective dignities: after theſe came the *Roman* Knights; and the troops, with their golden eagles and arms reſplendent with ſilver, cloſed the march; the trumpets all the way ſounding mournful airs.

When they came to the Forum, they ſtopped; and there (*Sylla*'s ſon *Fauſtus* being too young for the office) the beſt orator of *Rome* (who is not named) made the funeral panegyric: after which, (if we may believe *Appian*, whom M. *Crevier* thinks undeſerving of credit, in this inſtance) ſome of the moſt vigorous of the younger Senators took the body upon their ſhoulders, and carried it to the *Campus Martius*, where the funeral pile was erected. The ladies ſignalized their reſpect for the deceaſed, by an almoſt incredible quantity of aromatic ſpices, furniſhed at their expence, to be conſumed on this occaſion. For beſide 210 great baſkets of perfumes, they had cauſed a ſtatue of *Sylla* to be made to the life, and another of a Lictor bearing the Faſces before him, and both of cinnamon and other precious aromatics.

[Need we any other proof of the perfect ſecurity with which *Sylla* could retire from public life, when we find he had thus gained the hearts of the *Roman* ladies?] The Knights and principal officers of the troops ſet fire to the pile.

We have frequently ſeen, in the courſe of this Hiſtory, that the great men of *Rome*, to promote the views of their ambition, had made uſe of one of theſe two pretences, the intereſt of the PEOPLE, or that of the SENATE. *Lepidus* had indeed, to accommodate himſelf to the circumſtances of things at that time, declared for the SENATE: But as his collegue *Catulus*, *Pompey*, *Metellus*, and *Craſſus*, all men of more weight and intereſt than himſelf, were the chiefs of that faction, he thought he ſhould make a more conſiderable figure, if he eſpouſed the *Marian* cauſe; moſt of whoſe champions had been deſtroyed in the civil war. To give new life to this faction, at this time almoſt extinguiſhed, he propoſed to abolish ſome of the Laws made by *Sylla*. *Catulus*, the other Conſul, oppoſed his deſign with a ſteady courage and reſolution. Hereupon the two factions ranged themſelves under their reſpective leaders. *Lepidus* had gained the populace. He raiſed forces in *Hetruria*, where the remains of *Marius*'s faction had made a brave defence during two years. He drew together all the proſcribed who had eſcaped death: and when his partizans were ſufficiently numerous to form an army, he took off the maſk, and put himſelf at their head. Y. R. 675. Bef. Chr. 77. 374 Conſ.

As his ſtrength was not yet conſiderable, *Catulus* was of opinion, that he ſhould be puſhed to the utmoſt; but the majority of the SENATE inclined to gentler meaſures, and to negotiation; they ſent deputies to *Lepidus*, and an accommodation was concluded; the principal conditions were, that the two Conſuls ſhould take an oath not to employ arms againſt each other, and that *Lepidus* ſhould have the government of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, with the command of an army.

This army he led into the Province aſſigned him, and there remained till the year of his Conſulſhip was expired, without returning to *Rome* to hold the Aſſembly for electing new Conſuls, which it was his function to do. We are told, that he thought his oath obliged him no longer than the year of his office; at the expiration of which he ſhould be at liberty to employ, againſt his adverſaries, thoſe forces which they had imprudently put into his hands. The year expiring without the election of new magiſtrates, an interregnum enſued: and *Lepidus*, leaving in *Gallia Ciſalpine*, a body of troops under *M. Brutus*, to keep that country in his intereſt, advanced with the greater part of his forces to demand at *Rome* a ſecond Conſulſhip.

Among the fragmennts of *Salluſt*, there is an harangue, ſpoken on this occaſion, by the orator *Philippus*. He reproached[w] the Senators with their

[w] "When you entered into a treaty with "*Lepidus*, he was only a thief, ſupported by "a ſmall number of cut-throats, always ready "to riſque their blood and their life for "bread; he is now a *Proconſul* inveſted with "a command, which he did not buy, but "which you gave him. From all quarters "he has gathered about him the moſt corrupt "in the different orders, men whoſe indigence and vices made them capable of daring any thing, and who, tormented with "the remembrance of their paſt crimes, can "find

Y. R. 675. Bef. Chr. 77. 374 Conſ.

their indolence, whereby they had given a ſeditious man an opportunity of *making himſelf formidable:* and he concluded his ſpeech in the following manner—" As *Lepidus* is marching with an army againſt the City, and has " aſſociated himſelf with the vile enemies of the Republic, in contempt of " the authority of this Aſſembly, I am of opinion, that *App. Claudius,* " now *Inter-rex*, with Q. *Catulus* the *Proconſul*, and the reſt who are in " command, ſhould defend the City, and *take care the Commonwealth ſuffer* " *no detriment.*"

The Senate made a decree conformable to the opinion of *Philippus*, whereby they gave an almoſt unlimited power to thoſe whom they appointed to withſtand the enterprizes of *Lepidus*. And whereas *Catulus* excelled more in civil virtues than in military ſkill, they with him aſſociated *Pompey*, who, though he had contributed to raiſe *Lepidus* to the Conſulſhip, did not decline the preſent commiſſion. A battle was fought under the walls of *Rome*, near the bridge *Milvius*. *Lepidus*, being defeated, retired into *Hetruria*, and was immediately declared an enemy to his country: *Catulus* marched in purſuit of him, whilſt *Pompey* went into *Ciſalpine Gaul*, which, as was before mentioned, *M. Brutus* held for *Lepidus*.

Y. R. 667. Bef. Chr. 76. 375 Conſ.

In the election of new Conſuls, which was probably made about this time, the People's choice fell upon *Decimus Brutus* and *Mamercus Æmilius*[d].

Pompey, without difficulty, brought *Ciſalpine Gaul* to obedience; only he was ſtopt a conſiderable time before *Modena*, which *Marcus Brutus* defended againſt him: but *Brutus*, at length, ſurrendered himſelf *voluntarily*, (ſo *Pom-*

" find no repoſe but in ſeditions; to them " peace is a ſtate of violence. Theſe are the " men who make inſurrection ſucceed to in- " ſurrection, and civil war to civil war; ad- " herents formerly to *Saturninus*, then to *Sul-* " *picius*, afterwards to *Marius* and *Damaſip-* " *pus*, and laſtly to *Lepidus*.—Are you moved " by his propoſals? he demands, that to " every man ſhould be reſtored what apper- " tains to him, and is himſelf rich only by " poſſeſſing the fortunes of others. He is for " having the Laws, founded upon the rights of " war, aboliſhed, and to this he would reduce " us by force of arms: For the ſake of peace " and concord he would have you re-eſtabliſh " the *Tribunitian* power, from which all our " civil diſſenſions aroſe."

The orator then apoſtrophiſing *Lepidus* as if preſent—" O thou the moſt vile and impu- " dent of mankind, will you perſuade us that " you are moved by the indigence and tears " of the Citizens, whilſt you poſſeſs nothing " that you have not acquired by arms or in- " juſtice? You aſk a ſecond Conſulſhip, as if " you had reſigned the firſt to the Common- " wealth. You deſire to reſtore union and " concord, you, who are the only diſturber of " it. Traitor to the Nobles, whom you ought " to defend; perfidious even to thoſe whoſe " intereſt you pretend to ſupport; an enemy " to all perſons of worth; void of reſpect both " to Gods and men, whom you have made " equally your adverſaries, by your perfidies " and perjury. Go on then, perſiſt in thy " enterprize. The Laws, the Gods of our " country raiſe their voice againſt thee, and " cannot ſuffer thee in the number of our " fellow-citizens. Continue what thou haſt " begun, that thou mayeſt quickly feel the " juſt puniſhment thou haſt deſerved."

[d] *Æmilius* was very rich, but very frugal; and, to ſpare himſelf the expence of the games, which was indeed exceſſive, he had declined the office of ÆDILE. The People remembered this, and, the firſt time he ſtood for the Conſulſhip, rejected him; and were now very far from being unanimous for his promotion.

pey wrote to the Senate) nevertheleſs the victor, having ſent his priſoner under a guard to *Reggio*, diſpatched thither an officer, named *Geminius*, to kill him. And then, in a ſecond letter to the Senate, changed his ſtyle and calumniated *Brutus*. This was the father of the famous *Marcus Brutus*, who never forgave *Pompey*, till he was engaged to it by a regard to [what he called] the *public intereſt*. Y R 676 Bef Chr 76 375 Com. Plut in Brut

Catulus, having driven *Lepidus* into a corner of *Hetruria*, reduced him to the neceſſity of fighting; and *Pompey* arriving opportunely from *Ciſalpine Gaul*, determined the victory in favour of the Conſul. *Lepidus*, with what remained of his troops, eſcaped into *Sardinia*. He had no ſucceſs, the Prætor *Triarius* prevented his ſeizing any place. A domeſtic grief completed his diſtreſs. He learnt that his wife *Apuleia* was falſe to him. He divorced her; but, as he continued to love her, grief and vexation threw him into a diſorder, of which he died. *Perperna* drew together the wreck of the army, and went with it into *Spain*; where *Sertorius* ſupported the remains of *Marius*'s faction. Plut in Pomp Plin. vii 46

Thus ended the commotions raiſed by *Lepidus*. The SENATE, contented with having re-eſtabliſhed peace, granted an amneſty to thoſe who had been concerned in the laſt diſturbances, and their decree was ſupported by a decree of the PEOPLE, of which *Cæſar* was conſidered as the author: not only the general intereſt of the *Marian* faction, which he favoured, might induce him to this, but the private intereſt of his brother-in-law, *L. Cinna*, who had been engaged in the cauſe of *Lepidus*, and who obtained, by this amneſty, leave to return to *Rome*. The SENATE's view, in their lenity on the preſent occaſion, was to hinder the fugitives from going (through deſpair) to augment the forces of *Sertorius*, already too formidable. Suet in Caſ. v.

Againſt this General, under whoſe command were gathered all that now remained of *Marius*'s faction, *Metellus Pius* conducted the war in *Spain*, with little ſucceſs; for he was naturally ſlow in his motions, and by no means a match for *Sertorius* in military ſkill. His high birth, and his reputation of eminent virtue, ſecured him from the affront of being recalled, but it was thought expedient to ſend him a collegue to be his aſſiſtant *Pompey*, ambitious of the employment, had, for this reaſon, under various pretexts, kept his troops together at a ſmall diſtance from *Rome*, though *Catulus* had ordered him to diſmiſs them. The Senate, having more confidence in the abilities of *Pompey*, than of any other of their Generals, determined to ſend him into *Spain* with the title of Proconſul, notwithſtanding the objection made by ſome of the Senators, That it would be a ſtrange thing to ſee a Citizen, and of no higher rank than that of a *Roman* Knight, inveſted with *Proconſular* authority [d].

CHAP.

[d] To this objection *L. Philippus* is reported to have anſwered. *In my opinion, it is not to ſupply the place of one Conſul, but of both Conſuls, that* Pompey *ought to be ſent into* Spain.

CHAP. III.

The War of SERTORIUS *in* Spain.

Y. R. 676. IT has been already mentioned, that, after *Sylla* had, by his wonted arts of corruption, gained over to him the army of the Conſul *Scipio*, *Sertorius*[c] retired into *Spain*; which province had fallen to him by lot, after his Prætorſhip. He found the paſſes of the *Pyrenees* in the poſſeſſion of the Barbarians, whom only money could render tractable. Some of his officers thought it would be diſgraceful for a *Roman* Proconſul to pay a kind of toll to the mountaineers for leave to paſs: but *Sertorius* laughed at this unſeaſonable delicacy, telling them he ſhould never make a ſcruple to buy TIME, which of all things is the moſt precious to thoſe who have engaged in important enterprizes. He purchaſed his paſſage, entered *Spain*, armed with all expedition what *Romans* he found there (of an age to ſerve,) and provided himſelf with engines of war, and with *triremes* [gallies of three benches of oars.]

Vid. ſupra, P. 155.

[Y. 670.]

The oppreſſive rapaciouſneſs of the laſt Prætors had created in the minds of the *Spaniards* an averſion to the *Roman* government. *Sertorius* ſpared no pains to conciliate their good-will; he gained the principal perſons of the ſeveral Cantons by his affability and kindneſs, and the multitude by leſſening the taxes: But what more particularly obliged the *Spaniards* was, that, inſtead of taking up his quarters within the cities, he erected tents without the walls of them, and there made his whole army paſs the winter.

No ſooner had *Sylla* poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereign power, but he ordered *Annius* with an army into *Spain*. *Sertorius*, to hinder his entrance, ſhut up the paſſes of the *Pyrenees*, with 6000 foot, under the command of *Livius Salinator*. The aſſaſſination of *Livius*, by one *Calpurnius Lanarius*, opened the way to *Sylla*'s General; and *Sertorius*, not being in a condition to keep the field againſt him, retired with 3000 men into *Carthagena*; where he ſtaid no longer, than till he could get veſſels,

Spain. L. Philippus dixiſſe dicitur, non ſe illum, ſuâ ſententiâ, *pro Conſule*, ſed *pro Conſulibus* mittere. Cic. pro Lege Manil. lxii.

[c] According to *Vell. Pat.* l. ii. c. xxv. *Sertorius*, after the army had abandoned the Conſul *Scipio*, under whom he ſerved, fell into *Sylla*'s hands, who diſmiſſed him with life; as he did *Scipio*, and many others.—*Conſulem, ut prædiximus, exarmatumque* Sertorium *(proh quanti mox belli facem!) & multos alios, potitus eorum, dimiſit incolumes.* But *Plutarch* ſpeaks of *Sertorius*, as immediately retiring to his government of *Spain*, upon *Scipio*'s refuſing to liſten to his advice, when he warned him to be upon his guard againſt the wiles of *Sylla*, who pretended to be deſirous of peace.

whereon

whereon to embark his troops. He cruiſed ſome time upon the coaſts of *Spain* and *Africa*; and in vain attempted to make deſcents in different places. At length, having added a few ſmall ſhips of *Cilician* pirates to his fleet, he paſſed the Streights, and landed a little beyond the mouth of the *Bætis*, now called the *Guadalquivir*. Y. R. 676. Bef. Chr. 76. 375 Conſ.

While he was there, ſome mariners, newly arrived from the *Atlantic* or *Fortunate Iſlands*, gave ſo charming a deſcription of them, as made him ſeriouſly entertain the thought of retiring thither, to paſs the remainder of his life in an innocent tranquillity, far from the din of war and the horrors of tyranny. He propoſed this to his followers; but the ſcheme was not ſuited to the diſpoſition of pirates. They quitted him, and ſailed to *Mauritania*, where, having found two parties at war with each other, they offered their aſſiſtance to one of them. *Sertorius*, apprehenſive of being abandoned by his remaining friends and troops, paſſed thither likewiſe, and joined the other party, which he eaſily rendered victorious; and when, by the taking of *Tingis*, he was become maſter of the country, he did not deceive thoſe who had repoſed confidence in him, but, reſtoring all that belonged to them, accepted only of a reaſonable recompence: and this enabled him to ſubſiſt for ſome time the ſmall body of troops, that was then his ſole ſupport. The Canaries. Tangier.

His thoughts were full of anxiety about the event of things, when he very opportunely received an embaſſy from the *Luſitanians*, earneſtly inviting him to put himſelf at their head. This people ſtill defended their liberty againſt the *Romans*, and finding themſelves hard preſſed at that time, had recourſe to *Sertorius*, as to the only General that could protect them; ſo great a reputation had he acquired in *Spain*, during his ſhort appearance there. Nor were they miſtaken in their opinion of him. No captain of his time ſurpaſſed him in perſonal bravery, boldneſs of enterprize, and execution, nor equalled him in ſtratagem: On which account the *Spaniards* called him *Hannibal*. He underſtood likewiſe perfectly well, how to gain the confidence and affection of his ſoldiers, liberally rewarding merit, and puniſhing faults with reluctance. Naturally full of ſtrength and agility, he preſerved thoſe advantages by temperate meals, a plain diet, and a perfect ſobriety, and was able chearfully to ſupport the fatigue of long watchings, long marches, and all thoſe other hardſhips to which an enterprizing warrior muſt unavoidably be expoſed. He never drank to exceſs, even in his moſt vacant hours; if he had leiſure, his diverſion was hunting; which in time of war had its uſe, becauſe he thereby acquired a perfect knowledge of the country. App. de Bell. C. l. i. p. 421. Plut. in Sert.

——— ——— ——— *Arva beata*
Petamus arva, divites & inſulas,
&c. &c. Hor. Epod. xvi.

Sertorius

Y. R. 676. Bef. Chr. 76. 375 Conſ.

Sertorius left *Africa* with 2600 men, whom he called *Romans*, and 700 *Africans* collected from different nations. The *Luſitanians* ſupplied him with 4000 light-armed foot and 700 horſe. With theſe forces, he maintained the war againſt four *Roman* Generals, who had under them 120,000 foot, 6000 horſe, and 2000 bowmen and ſlingers. They were maſters likewiſe of innumerable cities, whereas *Sertorius*, at his arrival, had ſcarce twenty, that recognized his authority. Of the *Roman* Commanders who were ſent againſt him, he vanquiſhed *Cotta* in a ſea-fight, routed *Tidius*, Governor of *Hiſpania Bætica*, in a battle, wherein he ſlew 2000 *Romans*, near the banks of the river *Bætis*. By his Quæſtor he defeated *Domitius* and *Lucius*, and *Manilius*, Proconſul of the other province of *Spain*; and he cut in pieces the whole army of *Thoranius*, together with their leader, whom *Metellus* had detached againſt him. As for *Metellus* himſelf, he was at a loſs what conduct to obſerve with an enemy, that avoided a general action, attacked him when he leaſt expected it, then retreated with expedition, returned preſently after to the charge, gave him no repoſe, nor any opportunity of making advantage of his ſuperior ſtrength. Without fighting, *Metellus* ſuffered all the evils that attend a defeat; and *Sertorius*, by flying, had all the advantages of thoſe who purſue. He hindered his enemies from getting water, and haraſſed them in foraging: If they advanced, they found *Sertorius* in their way: if they halted any where, he preſently attacked them: if they beſieged a city, they were themſelves, in a ſhort time, beſieged by famine. Theſe things made the ſoldiers of *Metellus* weary of the war; and *Sertorius* having challenged him to ſingle combat, and he declining it, they turned him into ridicule. To retrieve his credit with them, he laid ſiege to the city of the *Lacobriges*[g], an important enterprize, becauſe *Sertorius* received great aſſiſtance from that place. As there was but one well in the city, and the other waters, uſed by the inhabitants, were in the ſuburbs, and fell immediately into the poſſeſſion of the beſiegers, the conqueſt ſeemed eaſy. Fully perſuaded, that it would be an affair but of two days, *Metellus* made his ſoldiers carry with them no more than five days proviſions.

Sertorius, conjecturing his deſign and his hope, contrived to convey two thouſand ſkins *(Borachios)* filled with water into the place. The conſiderable rewards, he promiſed to each bearer of a ſkin, made the ſoldiers, both *Spaniards* and *Moors*, all competitors for the employment. They had orders to turn out of the town all the uſeleſs mouths, ſo ſoon as the water was delivered. *Metellus*, thus diſappointed, and beginning to want proviſions, detached 6000 men to collect what they could find in the adjacent country. *Sertorius* laid an ambuſh for them, ſurpriſed them in their return, killed a great number of them, and ſeized

[g] This city was in the country now called *Old Caſtile*, on the North of the *Douro*.

the convoy; ſo that *Metellus* was conſtrained diſgracefully to raiſe the ſiege, and to call in to his aid *L. Manilius*, who commanded in *Gallia Narbonenſis*. This General with the three legions he had brought with him, was driven out of the field, and reduced, almoſt alone, to take refuge in * *Ilerda*. By this laſt victory *Sertorius* opened himſelf a way into *Gaul*, and he puſhed on quite to the *Alps*; in the paſſes of which he poſted guards to ſtop the troops that might be ſent againſt him. Y. R. 676. Bef. Chr. 76. 375 Conſ.

* Now Lerida.

Epit. Pomp. ad Sen. l. iii. Hiſt. Salluſt. Plut. in Sertor.

Theſe ſucceſſes could not fail to make him much admired by the *Spaniards*; and to his real merit he added artifice, the better to ſecure their reſpect and confidence.

A milk-white hind, which had been given him ſoon after it was yeaned, he tamed ſo well, that it knew his voice, came to him when he called it, and followed him every where. He had no other view, at firſt, in careſſing this animal, than to amuſe himſelf; but, when he ſaw it ſo tractable, he conceived the deſign of making it uſeful to him. He gave out, that his hind was a preſent from *Diana*, and often revealed to him the moſt ſecret things. To gain the public belief of this, he uſed, when he had privately received intelligence of any of the enemies motions, to conceal the bearer of it, and feign that the hind had whiſpered it to him. The intelligence, pretended to be thus received, always proving true, the *Spaniards* regarded him as a favourite of the Gods, and hearkened to him, as to a man inſpired: and, that he might profit the more by their zeal to ſerve him, he armed them after the *Roman* manner, taught them diſcipline, and made them ſenſible of the advantage of it.

But nothing contributed more towards his gaining the hearts of the principal men of the nation, than the care he took of the education of their children: for he drew together all thoſe of the higheſt birth, and placed them in † *Oſca*, a conſiderable city in thoſe days; and he gave them maſters to inſtruct them in the arts of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The children were in reality hoſtages; but his profeſſed deſign, in this meaſure, was only to qualify them to hold employments in the government, ſo ſoon as their years would permit. Their parents with delight beheld them, in robes bordered with purple, walking regularly every day to the public ſchools: where *Sertorius* himſelf (who paid for their ſchooling) frequently examined into the progreſs they made; giving rewards to ſuch as deſerved well, with permiſſion to wear, hanging at their breaſts, the golden *Bulla*, the ornament worn by the children of the better ſort at *Rome* [q].

† Huſc in Arragon.

[q] It was cuſtomary with the *Spaniards*, as with the *Gauls* and *Germans*, for every lord to have clients or vaſſals, who devoted their lives to his ſervice, and took an oath not to ſurvive him. Other chiefs had a ſmall number of men, who adhered to them under theſe conditions; but as to *Sertorius*, his adherents of this kind were computed by thouſands; and, we are told, that, after ſome engagement, wherein he had been defeated and was hard preſſed by the enemy, the *Spaniards*, ſolely intent upon ſaving him, took him upon their ſhoulders, and, paſſing him from one to another, conveyed him within the city walls (near which they then were,) not giving a thought to their own preſervation, till they had ſeen him ſafe. *Plut. in Sert.*

Sertorius,

Y. R. 676. Bef. Chr. 76. 375 Conſ.

App. & Plut.

Sertorius, notwithſtanding the extraordinary affection and reſpect which the *Spaniards* expreſſed for him, preſerved to the *Romans* all the ſuperiority to which they had been accuſtomed. Of the proſcribed Senators who had retired to him, and of the principal perſons among his other partiſans, he had formed a Senate, conſiſting of three hundred: affirming, that this was the real *Roman* Senate, and that the other, at *Rome*, was only an aſſembly of *Sylla*'s ſlaves. Out of his own Senate he choſe Quæſtors, Lieutenants, and other Commanders, imitating, as much as poſſible, the government of the Commonwealth. No *Spaniard* therefore had any command in his army; for he did not propoſe to ſtrengthen the Barbarians againſt *Rome*, but to make uſe of their aſſiſtance to deliver her from the tyranny of the uſurper. He is ſaid to have been a moſt ſincere lover of his country, and ſo paſſionately deſirous of returning to it, that, frequently, when his affairs were moſt proſperous (*never* when in a declining ſtate,) he offered to lay down his arms, on condition he might be ſuffered to live, as a private ſubject, at home; declaring, that he ſhould chuſe rather to be the moſt obſcure citizen of *Rome*, than, in baniſhment from thence, to command all the reſt of the univerſe.

With a heart ſo truly *Roman*, *Sertorius* muſt, neceſſarily, be eſteemed and beloved by the *Romans* who were in *Spain:* and of this we have a notable proof in the conduct of *Perperna*'s ſoldiers. This General was very rich, and of noble birth, and had been Prætor of *Rome*; where he took up arms, with the Conſul *Lepidus*, to reverſe the acts of *Sylla*, and recal the proſcribed *Marians*; and, after their defeat, he carried off the beſt part of their troops into *Sardinia*; and thence into *Spain*. Though embarked in the ſame cauſe with *Sertorius*, yet, being envious of his glory, he was very unwilling to contribute to its increaſe by joining him, wiſhing rather to uſurp his power. And with fifty-three cohorts (about 25,000 men,) which he had under his command, he did actually continue ſeparate from him, till advice came that *Pompey* was ordered into *Spain*. His troops then declaring to him, that if he did not lead them to *Sertorius*, they would go without him, he, reluctantly, complied: but his bad diſpoſition was, in the end, more detrimental to the common cauſe, than the ſtrong reinforcement he brought with him was beneficial.

Plutarch, to ſhew the ability of *Sertorius*, relates two particulars of his conduct, before the arrival of *Pompey*.

The *Spaniards*, under his command, flushed with their ſucceſſes, were for marching, at all events, to battle, impatient of their General's delays, who waited for a favourable opportunity. He at firſt endeavoured to diſſuade them by mild remonſtrances, but, finding that theſe had no effect, and that they were eagerly bent on fighting, he determined to let them receive from the enemy a leſſon that might teach them prudence, and render them more tractable. The *Spaniards*, as he had foreſeen, were worſted in the engagement, and would have been entirely cut to pieces, if, with great ſkill, he had not contrived their retreat.

Diſcouragement, as it uſually happens, was juſt going to ſucceed to preſumption, when *Sertorius*, to avert this evil, and to give the *Spaniſh* ſoldiers a juſt ſenſe of the reaſons of his conduct, made uſe of the following device. He cauſed to be placed in the midſt of them two horſes, the one lean and old, the other fat and full of vigour, and which had a tail abounding with fine long hairs. By the lean horſe ſtood a ſtrong robuſt man; near the other a little puny fellow. Upon a ſignal given, theſe two men, who were each to pluck off all the hairs of his reſpective horſe's tail, fell to work in the following manner: The ſtrong man graſpt the tail of his horſe, and pulled with all his might, to bring all off at once. The weak man ſet himſelf to pluck off the hairs of his horſe's tail one by one. Fatigue to himſelf, and much laughter from the ſpectators, were the only effects of the labour of the firſt: the other finiſhed his enterprize in a reaſonable time; not a ſingle hair remained on the tail of his horſe. *Sertorius* then broke ſilence; "You ſee, my good allies, how much more efficacious, than force, is perſeverance. A numerous and potent army "may, in ſeparate parts, be overcome, though we can make no impreſſion "on it while it remains one undivided body. Perſeverance can do any "thing: Time deſtroys the mightieſt powers, and ſhews itſelf the good "ally of thoſe who are not precipitate in their meaſures, but prudently "wait the proper ſeaſons for action." Y. R. 676. Bef. Chr. 74. 375 Conſ.

Pompey, in his way to *Spain*, finding the paſſes of the *Alps* ſhut up by the troops which *Sertorius* had poſted there, made himſelf a new road over thoſe mountains, and a more commodious one than that of *Hannibal*: After which, continuing his march through *Gallia Narbonenſis*, he retook all the places poſſeſſed there by the enemy; then paſſed the *Pyrenees*, and filled all *Spain* with great expectation. Though young, many victories had made his name famous, and prepoſſeſſed the public in his favour; inſomuch, that the fidelity of thoſe who had hitherto adhered to *Sertorius* began to waver. But, when the two Generals came to blows, the ſucceſs did not anſwer the public opinion: *Sertorius* re-eſtabliſhed his intereſt with the *Spaniards*, and acquired new reputation, not only in *Spain*, but even at *Rome*. Fp. Pomp. ap. Fragm. Sall. Hiſt. l. iii. Plut. in Pomp. & Sertor.

While *Sertorius* was beſieging *Laurona*[e], *Pompey* drew near in order to ſuccour the place; and once imagining, that he had ſhut up the enemy between the city and his army, vainly boaſted, that the *Lauronites* would have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing, from their walls, the beſiegers beſieged. *Sertorius*, when informed of this, only laughed, and ſaid, he would teach *Sylla*'s ſcholar, that a General ought to look more *behind* than *before* him: And, accordingly, by means of a body of 6000 men, which he had left in his camp, he kept *Pompey* in awe, who could not attack him, without expoſing himſelf to be attacked, at the ſame time, both in front and rear. The

[e] This city is thought not to have been far from *Valencia*.

Y. R. 676. young General, perceiving he had been too haſty in his boaſt, was mortified, aſhamed, and perplexed: And, what completely diſconcerted him, his foragers fell into an ambuſh laid for them by *Sertorius*; and a whole legion, that came to their aid, was itſelf ſurrounded, and periſhed, almoſt entirely, with its commander. The beſieged, having now loſt all hope of ſuccour, ſurrendered at diſcretion. *Sertorius* ſpared the lives of the inhabitants, but burnt their city; not out of cruelty to them, but to cover with ſhame both *Pompey* and his admirers, when it ſhould be reported throughout *Spain*, that a city[a], which he had undertaken to relieve, had been burnt before his eyes, and ſo near him, that he might, almoſt, have warmed himſelf by the fire that conſumed it.

Frontin. xi. 4. Plut. in Sertor.

Thus ended this campain: both armies went into winter-quarters. *Pompey* and *Metellus* paſſed the ſeaſon under tents in the *Pyrenees*, and in the midſt of numerous enemies, that haraſſed them. *Sertorius*, accompanied by *Perperna*, retired into *Luſitania*.

Y. R. 677. Def. Clr. 75. 670 Conſ.

It would ſeem, that, when the operations of war were renewed (in the Conſulſhip of *Cn. Octavius* and *C. Scribonius Curio*,) the two armies were each of them divided, ſo that *Hirtuleius*, the brave Quæſtor of *Sertorius*, remained in *Bætica**, to oppoſe *Metellus*; and *Sertorius* marched towards the country, now called the kingdom of *Valencia*, to make head againſt *Pompey*.

* Andaluſia.

Oroſ. l. v. 23. Frontin. xi. 1 & 3.

Hirtuleius came to an engagement with *Metellus*, near the city *Italica*[n], and the conflict proved very hot and bloody; both Generals expoſed their perſons; *Metellus*'s armour was pierced by a dart; *Hirtuleius* received a wound in his arm, and was at length conſtrained to quit the field, leaving 20,000 of his men upon the ſpot. The conqueror owed his victory to his able conduct, in not bringing his men to engage with their enemies till theſe, who had left their intrenchments at ſun-riſe, were quite ſpent with hunger and fatigue, having, without any refreſhments, ſuſtained all the heat of the day. Not long after, *Hirtuleius*, attempting, probably, to retrieve his honour, fell in battle, together with his brother. We are told, that *Sertorius*, with his own hand, killed the man who brought him the news of this great loſs; for, as he was upon the point of giving battle, he feared, that the report, if ſpread at that critical time, would diſhearten his ſoldiers. That his own courage was not abated, he well demonſtrated, when *Pompey*, having defeated *Herennius* and *Perperna*, near *Valencia*, came in queſt of him in the neighbourhood of *Sucro*[m]. Both Commanders were deſirous of coming to a

Frontin. xi. 7.

Plut. in Sert. & in Pomp.

[a] *Appian* reports, that, at the taking of *Laurona*, *Sertorius* being informed, that one of his ſoldiers had, in a brutal manner, abuſed a woman his priſoner, who, to revenge herſelf, had even torn out his eyes, he not only ordered the criminal to be executed; but, knowing that the whole cohort was infamous for theſe exceſſes, he put them all to death, without ſparing one, though they were citizens of *Rome*. *Appian*, l. i. p. 419.

[n] *Seville Vera* upon the *Guadalquivir*.

[m] A city ruined many ages ago, which ſtood at the mouth of the river *Sucro*, now the *Xucar*.

battle

battle before *Metellus*, who was marching from *Bætica*, ſhould arrive; *Sertorius*, that he might have fewer enemies upon his hands; *Pompey*, that he might have no partner in the glory of the ſucceſs he promiſed himſelf. The action did not begin till the evening, *Sertorius* waiting till then, becauſe he knew, that to his enemies, not well acquainted with the country, the night would be diſadvantageous, whether they ſhould be obliged to fly, or have occaſion to purſue. Y. R 677. Bef. Chr. 75. 376 Cont.

In the beginning of the engagement, *Sertorius* was at the head of his right wing, and fought with ſucceſs: but receiving advice that his left had given ground before *Pompey*, he repaired thither; and his preſence changed the face of things in a very ſhort time. Even *Pompey*'s perſon was twice in the greateſt danger: The ſecond time he ſaved his life by quitting his horſe; for it being richly capariſoned, and the Barbarians falling into contention for the ſpoil, this gave him opportunity to eſcape.

Sertorius's right wing, after his leaving it, was totally defeated by *Afranius*, who commanded the left of the enemy: The victorious troops puſhed on to the very camp of the vanquiſhed, and began to plunder it. *Sertorius*, in that inſtant, arrived, cut off a great number of the plunderers, and forced the reſt to retire in diſorder.

He prepared for another engagement the next day; but, upon receiving intelligence, that *Metellus* had joined *Pompey*, thought it prudent to retire; affecting, however, at the ſame time, to expreſs an utter contempt for the latter; "If the old woman had not come[n], I would have ſent the boy "back to *Rome* well chaſtiſed."

Not thinking that even the flight of his troops, in one body, would be ſafe, he commanded them to diſperſe themſelves; but aſſigned them a rendezvous: for this was his method, and what the Barbarians were accuſtomed to; ſo that ſometimes he was in the mountains almoſt alone; and, preſently after, ſaw himſelf at the head of a numerous army. This ſudden re-aſſembling of the diſperſed ſoldiers into one great body *Plutarch* compares to the flowing and concentring of the melted ſnows, ſo as to form one mighty torrent. Frontin. ii. 13. Plut. in Pomp.

What, at this time, gave *Sertorius* no ſmall concern, his hind, during the tumult of the laſt battle, and the plundering of his camp, was loſt; and he now wanted her ſervice more than ever for keeping the Barbarians in reſpect. Fortunately ſome of his ſoldiers met her in a wood, and, knowing her, brought her to him. He promiſed them a great reward, if they would keep the thing ſecret; and, having cauſed her to be hid for ſome days, one morning he put on an air of gaiety, and told the *Spaniſh* Plut. in Sertor.

[n] Why *old?* he was but *fifty-two*; for when he ſerved under his father, in *Numidia*, in the year 645, he was only *Twenty* years of age (*vid. ſupra*, p. 44.) yet *Plutarch* always ſpeaks of him as, at this time, weighed down with years, almoſt ſuperannuated.

Y. R. 677. Bef. Chr. 75. 3-6 Conſ.

chiefs, who were with him, that he had, the night before, had a dream, which foretold him ſome happy event by the favour of the Gods. After this, he, according to cuſtom, gave audience to thoſe who had buſineſs with him. The hind was on a ſudden let go, and, ſeeing *Sertorius*, came ſkipping to him, laid her head upon his knees, and licked his right-hand, which he held out to her. *Sertorius* careſſed her with an extreme tenderneſs, even to ſhedding ſome tears. The Barbarians were at firſt ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, but then, recovering themſelves, ſhouted loudly for joy, regarding him as a favourite of heaven, and as a perſon above the rank of mortal men.

Plut. in Pomp.

At the arrival of *Metellus*, *Pompey* would have lowered his Faſces before him, as before his ſenior and ſuperior; but *Metellus* would not ſuffer it; indeed he always treated *Pompey* as his collegue and equal (with this exception only, that, when they encamped together, *Metellus* alone gave the word;) and to *Metellus*'s opinion *Pompey* conſtantly paid a reſpectful difference.

Plut. in Sertor.

The two Generals, in this perfect concert, marched in queſt of *Sertorius*, and, at length, forced him to a battle. The armies met near *Segontia*[g]; the action continued from noon till after ſunſet. *Sertorius* faced *Pompey*, who, in this engagement, loſt his Quæſtor *Memmius*, the braveſt officer in his army, together with a great number of men: But *Sertorius* could not improve the advantage, which this gave him, being neceſſitated to go to the aſſiſtance of his left wing, which, under the conduct of *Perperna*, was almoſt entirely defeated by *Metellus*. A terrible ſlaughter of this General's troops was now made, and he himſelf wounded, having expoſed his perſon with great bravery and intrepidity: but this very wound gained him the day; for his ſoldiers, who both loved and honoured him, ſeeing the hurt he had received, and the conſequent danger he was in of falling into the hands of his enemies, grief and rage augmented their ſtrength, and animated them to ſuch vigorous efforts, as the *Spaniards* were utterly unable to withſtand; and *Sertorius* failed of victory, when he imagined himſelf ſure of it.

Urged by neceſſity, he had now recourſe to his uſual expedient in like caſes: He diſbanded his army, and, with a ſmall number of brave ſoldiers, retired into a ſtrong place in the mountains; and there he began to improve and increaſe the fortifications, as if he intended to ſuſtain a ſiege. By this he effectually baffled the enemy; who, hoping to reduce the place in a ſhort time, ſat down before it, ceaſed their purſuit of the ſcattered flying *Spaniards*, and thereby allowed them opportunity to reaſſemble themſelves, ſtrengthened with conſiderable recruits. He had ordered them to give him notice ſo ſoon as they were collected into a

[g] *Siguença* in *Old Caſtile*

body

body sufficiently strong to keep the field. The expected notice received, he, without delay, sallied out, and, having easily forced a passage through the enemy, put himself at the head of the army, that was waiting for him. And now by marches, and counter-marches, he harrassed and quite tired out the armies of *Metellus* and *Pompey*; kept them, by frequent ambushes, in constant perplexity; cut off the provisions that were coming to them by land; prevented, by his cruziers, their receiving any supplies by sea; and at length reduced, both the one and the other, to abandon all that part of *Spain* which had submitted to him. *Metellus* retired into farther *Spain*; *Pompey* into *Gallia Narbonensis*.

Y. R. 677. Bef. Chr. 75. 376 Conf.

Plut. in Sert.

Liv. Epit. xciii.

[GREAT commotions are said to have been at *Rome* during the present year, on occasion of *Sylla*'s innovations with regard to the Tribuneship. He had very much abridged (as we have seen) the powers belonging to that Magistracy: but he was no sooner dead, than the Tribunes exerted their utmost efforts to recover their ancient rights, an attempt which produced perpetual war between them and the Consuls: and the conflict was more sharp than ever this year, when the Consul *Curio*[d] maintained against the Tribune *Sicinius* the changes made by *Sylla*. Nor were the disputes between these terminated by speeches, but by the assassination of *Sicinius*, *Curio* being suspected of the crime.

Vid. supr. p. 167.

Sallust. Hist. iii. in Orat. Macri.

In the same Consulship, was a deputation from the SENATE to collect from every quarter, all that could be found of the *Sibylline* oracles. The books which contained them had seven years before been consumed in the burning of the Capitol. From *Erythæ* (a city of *Æolis*, the supposed country of the *Sibyl*,) *Ilium*, *Samos*, *Sicily*, and several cities of *Italy*, the deputies made a collection of verses which went under the name of the *Sibyl*; but in which *Varro*, by the acrostics (or initial letters) discovered numerous interpolations.]

Freinshem.

THE affairs of *Sertorius* were probably in the situation above-mentioned, when [during the Consulship of *L. Octavius* and *C. Aurelius Cotta*] he received an embassy from *Mithridates*, king of *Ponitus*,

Y. R. 678. Bef. Chr. 74. 377 Conf.

[d] *Cicero* (in *Brut.* 213, *& seq.*) tells us, that *Curio* was an orator of a singular cast; that he was extremely ignorant, and had nothing to entitle him to the name of Orator, but an abundant flow of words, and a florid diction: That his memory sometimes failed him entirely, insomuch, that one day, in a cause, where they were on opposite sides, *Curio* rising up to speak, forgot, that moment, all he had intended to say, and was reduced to complain, that the adverse party had deprived him of his memory by enchantments. As to his action, it was perfectly ridiculous; his arms, while he spoke, moving like the pendulum of a clock, which gave occasion to *Sicinius*, who had a good deal of humour, and more impudence, to make a smart jest upon him. The two Consuls being on the Rostra in an Assembly of the People, and *Octavius* being forced to keep siting, wrapt up in cloths with cataplasms and fomentations, *Curio* spoke in the name of both. When he had done, *Sicinius* addressing himself to *Octavius*, —You can never sufficiently acknowledge the obligations you have to your collegue: for if he had not swung his arms about as usual, the flies would have eat you up, before this time.

Y. R. 678. offering him the aid of money and ſhips, and demanding, in return the ceſſion of *Aſia*, which he had been obliged to bandon by his treaty with *Sylla*.

App. Mithrid. Plut. in Sert. This prince was meditating a renewal of the war with the *Romans*. He had at his court two *Roman* fugitives, *L. Fannius* and *L. Magius*, formerly companions and friends of *Fimbria*. Their hatred of *Sylla* recommended them to *Mithridates*, and they ſupported themſelves in his favour by flattery. As they had formerly adhered to the party, of which *Sertorius* now protected the remains, they ſuggeſted to the king the thought of making an alliance with him: they compared the *King* to *Pyrrhus*, and *Sertorius* to *Hannibal*, and nothing was to ſtand before two ſuch great Generals.

Sertorius, at the head of his Senate, gave audience to the king's Ambaſſadors; and when they were withdrawn, he brought the affair under deliberation. The Senators were unanimouſly for accepting the king's offers; for they wanted both money and ſhips; and they conſidered what the king aſked in return, as only an empty title. *Sertorius*, however, differed from them in opinion. He ſaid, he ſhould not object to the king's ſeizing *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, countries always governed by kings, and to which the *Romans* had no ancient title: but that as to *Aſia Minor*, of which they were lawfully poſſeſſed, at the time when that prince endeavoured to deprive them of it, and which, after he had been driven out of it by *Fimbria*, he had renounced by a ſolemn treaty, he would never conſent that it ſhould fall under the power of *Mithridates*. He added, "I ought to make my power ſubſervient to the aggrandizing "of the Commonwealth, and not aggrandize myſelf by its loſſes and "decreaſe. A brave man, undoubtedly, deſires to conquer with glory; "but he will think life itſelf too dearly purchaſed, if at the price of baſe "proceedings."

When this anſwer was brought to *Mithridates* by his Ambaſſadors, it aſtoniſhed him extremely. *What orders then*, ſaid he, *would* Sertorius *ſend, did he preſide in the Senate at* Rome; *he who, while baniſhed, proſcribed, and driven to the coaſts of the* Atlantic *ſea, ſets bounds to my dominions, and threatens me with war, if I make any attempts upon* Aſia? The treaty was concluded, upon the conditions preſcribed by *Sertorius*: it imported, that *Mithridates* ſhould have *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*: that *Sertorius* ſhould ſend him a General and ſome troops, and ſhould receive from the king 3000 talents, and 40 ſhips. *Sertorius* diſpatched one of his Senators, named *M. Marius*, into *Aſia*; and to this Proconſul of *Sertorius*'s creating, were all the honours of that office paid in the army of *Mithridates*. If any city of *Aſia* was taken, *Marius* entered it in pomp, preceded by his Lictors with their rods and axes, and followed by the king of *Pontus*, who condeſcended to take the ſecond place. The Proconſul granted liberty to ſome of the *Aſiatic* cities; to others immu-

immunities and exemptions, all in the name of *Sertorius*, without permitting *Mithridates* to perform any act of ſovereignty. Y.R. 678. Bef. Chr. 74. 377 Conſ.

To return to the war in *Spain*. *Pompey*, as was before mentioned, being reduced by *Sertorius* to take up his winter-quarters in *Gallia Narbonenſis*, wrote thence a letter to the Senate, in very high and menacing terms, complaining that they ſuffered him to want every thing; that, during the three years of his command in *Spain*, he had ſcarce received the money neceſſary for the expence of one; and he concluded with this declaration: "I have not only exhauſted my eſtate, but my credit: I have no reſource "but in you: if you fail me, I give you notice, that my army, and the "war itſelf, will ſoon be in *Italy*. Salluſt. Hiſt. l. iii.

When this letter arrived at *Rome*, *L. Licinius Lucullus* and *M. Aurelius Cotta* were in the Conſulſhip. As *Lucullus* ardently deſired to have the conduct of the war againſt *Mithridates*, and was apprehenſive that *Pompey* only ſought a pretence for quitting the war in *Spain*, that he might come to *Rome*, and diſpute with him the other employment, which was far more eaſy and more lucrative, he ſpared no pains to keep him at a diſtance, and with that view cauſed all the money he demanded to be ſent to him. This ſupply put *Pompey* into a condition to return out of *Gaul* into *Spain*. Y.R. 679. Bef. Chr. 73. 378 Conſ. Plut. in Pomp. & Lucull.

Metellus, to get the better of *Sertorius*, took meaſures of another ſort. He ſet a price upon his head, promiſing by proclamation, to any *Roman* who ſhould kill him, 100 talents and 20,000 acres of land; and, in caſe the aſſaſſin were an exile, liberty to return home. *Plutarch* obſerves, that this did not ſuit well with that contempt of *Sertorius*, which *Metellus* always affected in his diſcourſes, ſtyling him *Sylla*'s fugitive, and calling his followers the fragments of *Carbo*'s *ſhipwreck*. How ſincere and extreme a dread he had of the ſuperior abilities of *Sertorius*, he manifeſted yet more fully (as the ſame hiſtorian remarks) by his frantic joy, on occaſion of ſome ſmall advantage he imagined he had obtained over him. He cauſed himſelf to be ſaluted EMPEROR [Imperator] by his ſoldiers: altars were erected, and ſacrifices offered to him in the cities through which he paſſed: choirs of young men and maidens ſung hymns to his praiſe: and little figures of Victory were made to deſcend (as in puppet-ſhows,) and, in the midſt of artificial thunder and lightning, put crowns upon his head. All this was followed by the moſt magnificent and coſtly entertainments, which he gave in celebration of his mighty achievement; and, at theſe feaſtings, the ridiculous oaf, drinking and ſtaring, ſat in ſtate, his auguſt perſon being clothed in the proper *robe of* TRIUMPH. Plut. in Sert. Plut. in Sert. & Salluſt. ap. Macrob. Sat. iii. 13.

Sertorius had little to fear from the proweſs of ſuch an enemy, but much from a ſpirit of ſedition which proſperity had given birth to, among the *Romans* of his own army. Whilſt the danger was great and imminent, App. p. 421. Plut in Sert.

fear

Y. R. 679. Bef. Chr. 73. 378 Conſ.

fear kept all ſubmiſſive to the only man who could protect them: but *when that fear was removed*, envy and jealouſy took place. *Perperna*, who, from the beginning (as formerly mentioned) aſpired to the chief command, was the moſt active in ſpreading whiſpers. "What evil genius "has made us quit one unhappy ſtate, to precipitate ourſelves into a "worſe? Our own country, where we might have lived in peace and "quiet, we forſook, becauſe we diſdained to obey *Sylla*, whom the whole "univerſe obeyed; and we came hither to live in liberty. And here we "are become the moſt abject ſlaves; nay, have voluntarily ſubjected "ourſelves to be the guards and ſatellites of a baniſhed fugitive. He calls "us the SENATE: a vain title that expoſes us to ridicule. Noble Senators "indeed are we, who ſuffer from him the ſame imperious and inſolent "treatment, as the Barbarians of *Spain* and *Luſitania!*"

Diſcourſes of this kind had their effect[c]; and though the diſcontented feared the power of *Sertorius* too much to hazard an open revolt, yet they contrived to ruin him with the *Spaniards*, by treating them harſhly, and loading them with taxes, as if by his order. From hence aroſe commotions and revolts among thoſe nations; and the perſons whom he ſent to remedy theſe evils, deſignedly made them more difficult to be cured. That *Sertorius*, under theſe diſadvantages, loſt ground before *Metellus* and *Pompey*, will eaſily be ſuppoſed; and we are told, that, exaſperated by bad ſucceſs, and reduced to extremities by revolts, he forſook his former character to ſuch a degree, as to let the weight of his wrath againſt the parents fall upon the children whom he had cauſed to be educated at *Oſca*, of whom he killed ſome, and ſold the reſt[d].

Among

[c] *Appian* tells us, that when *Metellus* and *Pompey* returned into *Spain*, after paſſing a winter in the *Pyrenees*, and when their armies approached that of *Sertorius*, many of his *Roman* ſoldiers deſerted to him, which put him into ſuch wrath, that he cruelly treated others who were innocent, and that this produced a general diſcontent among his *Romans:* but what moſt of all alienated their minds from him was, that he placed all his confidence in the *Spaniards*, forming of them the guard of his perſon: and that the *Spaniards*, proud of the preference, contemptuouſly reproached the *Romans* with want of fidelity. The hiſtorian adds, that *Sertorius* would have been entirely abandoned by them, but for *the need they knew they had of ſo good a captain.*

M. *Crevier* has inſerted theſe facts into his text; though *Plutarch* gives not the leaſt hint of them; and they are neither probable nor very conſiſtent with the *removal* of that *fear of the enemy*, which, *Plutarch* tells us, had kept them ſubmiſſive, while under its influence; nor with other particulars of *Plutarch*'s relation, as the reader may obſerve.

[d] May it not be reaſonably queſtioned, whether *Plutarch* had any better authority for this ſtory, concerning the children, than ſome Ariſtocratic party-writer? Would the *Spaniards* ſo ſoon have forgot theſe murders? *Vid. infr.* p. 194.

He adds, that, on account of this cruel proceeding of *Sertorius*, in the latter part of his life, ſome believed his former mildneſs and clemency to have been mere diſguiſe and art, the dictate of reflection, and what the neceſſity of his affairs prompted him to. The hiſtorian-moraliſt declares himſelf of a different opinion: for though he holds that real

Among thoſe whom *Perperna* drew into his conſpiracy, was *Manius*, an officer in the army, who, at that time, loved a certain youth; to whom, in order to engage his affections, he diſcovered the ſecret; boaſting, that in a few days he ſhould be a perſon of great power and authority: but the youth having more inclination for *Aufidius*, diſcloſed all to him, who was likewiſe one in the conſpiracy, but knew not that *Manius* was engaged therein. Upon the youth's naming *Perperna*, *Graecinus*, and others, whom *Aufidius* knew to be conſpirators, he was much ſurpriſed and terrified. He made ſlight of the matter to the youth, and bid him not regard what *Manius*, a vain boaſting fellow, had ſaid; and then going immediately to *Perperna*, gave him notice of the danger they were in of a diſcovery, urging him to the execution of their deſign without delay. To this all the conſpirators having agreed, they provided a meſſenger, who brought to *Sertorius* counterfeit letters, importing notice of a victory gained by one of his lieutenants with great ſlaughter of the enemy. *Sertorius*, highly pleaſed with the news, performed a ſacrifice of thankſgiving to the Gods; at the cloſe of which, *Perperna* invited him, and thoſe who aſſiſted at the ſacrifice (who were alſo of the conſpiracy) to an entertainment; and, being very importunate, prevailed with him to come. At all ſuppers and entertainments where *Sertorius* was preſent, great decency uſed to be obſerved: for he would not endure to hear or ſee any thing contrary to the moſt perfect modeſty. But at this entertainment the conſpirators, pretending to be drunk, began to hold the moſt diſſolute diſcourſes, proceeding to actions of obſcenity, with deſign to make *Sertorius* angry. He, whether becauſe he had a natural abhorrence of ſuch licentious deportment, or becauſe he perceived, by certain ſigns they made to each other, and their unwonted failure of reſpect for him, ſomething of their deſign, changed his poſture, turning upon his bed, as if to avoid ſeeing any thing more of what paſſed. *Perperna* ſeized that moment for the execution of his purpoſe. He took a cup full of wine, and, in drinking, let the cup fall. This was the ſignal agreed upon; *Antonius*, inſtantly drew his ſword, and, being on the ſame bed with *Sertorius*, gave him the firſt wound; then throwing himſelf upon

Y. R. 679. Bef. Chr. 73. 378 Cent. Plut. in Sert.

real ſolid virtue, confirmed by reaſon and habit, will ever be uniform, whatever adverſity may happen; yet he thinks, that a man of the gentleſt and moſt virtuous diſpoſition may be ſo provoked by inſolent and injurious treatment, and eſpecially by ingratitude, as to become wicked and cruel towards thoſe, who have injured and betrayed him; and this he ſuppoſes to have been the caſe with *Sertorius*.

The ſame Moraliſt leaves it problematical, whether *Sylla* (the moſt cruel of all monſters) was not once a good-natured man, and afterwards ſpoilt by proſperity and elevation.

But as for *Marius*, he was, it ſeems, without queſtion, always wicked, and always cruel, cruel by nature; his riſing to power made no change in him in that reſpect. [*Plut. in Syll.*] And this is ſufficiently manifeſt (though there be no other evidence of it, nor ſhadow of evidence) from his deſpiſing the *Greek* language and literature. *Vid. ſupr.* p. 40.

Y.R. 679. Bef. Chr. 73. 378 Conſ.

his ſtomach, ſeized his hands, and while he thus deprived him of all power to make reſiſtance, the other conſpirators with many ſtabs diſpatched him

App. Plut.

Perperna, ſo ſoon as he had perpetrated his crime, was for reaping the fruit of it, by taking poſſeſſion of the command, but found ſome difficulties in the way. The death of *Sertorius*, ſo treacherouſly and cruelly murdered, had put an end to all hatred conceived againſt him by the multitude; compaſſion ſucceeded, they forgot the cauſes he had given them of complaint, and remembered only his virtues: the *Spaniards*, eſpecially, regretted the loſs of him, and looked upon the aſſaſſins with horror: many ſtates revolted on the firſt news of his death, and made their ſubmiſſion either to *Pompey* or to *Metellus*. Nevertheleſs, *Perperna*, by the means of money, promiſes, threats, and even puniſhments, aptly employed, managed ſo artfully, as not only to hinder the army from diſbanding itſelf, but engage the greater part of it to accept him for their General: with what ſucceſs we ſhall ſee hereafter.

CHAP. IV.

WAR *of* SPARTACUS *the Gladiator.*

Y.R. 680. Bef. Chr. 72. 379 Conſ.

IT was during the next year (680) *M. Terentius Varro Lucullus* and *C. Caſſius* being Conſuls, that the war of *Spartacus* broke out in *Italy*.

Plut. in Craſſ. Plut. in Craſſ. App. in Civ. l. i. p. 423. Flor. l. iii. c. 20. Oroſ. v. 24.

In the city of *Capua*, one *Lentulus* cauſed a conſiderable number of ſlaves, moſt of them by birth *Gauls* or *Thracians*, to be trained to the ſcience of gladiators, not on account of any crimes by them committed, but for his own profit. Of theſe wretches 200 entered into a plot to run away; but their deſign having been diſcovered, only ſeventy-eight of them could put it in execution, and theſe fled with no other arms than kitchen-knives and ſpits. Nothing in appearance could be more contemptible, or leſs likely to make the capital of the univerſe tremble: but in a government, where great numbers are diſcontented with their condition, the leaſt commotions are to be feared: and it happened, that thoſe fugitive ſlaves had a man at their head who was alone worth an army; a man of ability and courage, ſkilful to employ ſtratagem, or force, intrepid in dangers, fruitful of expedients in adverſity, prudent and moderate in proſperity. In a word, a Hero reduced to the condition of a ſlave. Such was *Spartacus*. He had too great a ſpirit to reconcile himſelf to ſo infamous a profeſſion, as that of fighting for the amuſement of ſpectators; and he perſuaded the

[a] It would ſeem, that this murder was committed in the year 680; for *Sertorius* was in the eighth year of his command, having been called in by the *Luſitanians*, in the ſecond Conſulſhip of *Sylla*.

companions

companions of his fortune to hazard their lives rather in attempting to recover their liberty. However, he was not the only leader of the band: *Crixus* and *Oenomaus* were aſſociated with him in the command: And the difficulties occaſioned by this diviſion of authority, was not among the leaſt of thoſe which *Spartacus* experienced in the execution of his enterprize. Y.R. 680. Bef. Chr. 72. 379 Conſ.

They had ſcarcely quitted *Capua*, when they met and ſeized a carriage loaded with the arms of gladiators, arms not fit for war, but better than thoſe with which they had furniſhed themſelves; and theſe they ſoon after exchanged for the proper arms of ſoldiers; for a body of the *Capuans* coming out in purſuit of them, *Spartacus* defeated theſe purſuers, killed a great number of them, and armed his little band with their ſpoils.

This firſt ſucceſs augmented their number, but not ſufficiently to embolden them to keep the field. *Claudius Pulcher*, who was ſent from *Rome* againſt them, found them poſted upon mount *Veſuvius*. He encamped at the foot of that mountain, and having poſſeſſed himſelf of the only practicable way leading to the ſummit (all the reſt being ſteep rock and precipice) he ſuppoſed that he had ſo effectually ſhut up the rebels, as to leave them no poſſibility of eſcaping. Nevertheleſs, the ſlaves, by means of ladders made of vine-branches, of which they found abundance upon the ſpot, got down the rock: one only remained above till he had thrown down to his comrades their arms; and then he likewiſe deſcended, and re-joined them. And now *Spartacus*, not contented with eſcaping from the enemy, attacked them, when they leaſt expected it, defeating them, and took their camp.

This ſecond victory made the ſlaves of all the neighbouring country flock to him, inſomuch that his followers ſoon encreaſed to 10,000; and becauſe he wanted arms for ſo great a number, he forged, as well as he could, all the iron he could get, into ſwords and other offenſive weapons, and made ſhields of baſket-work, covered with ſkins of beaſts newly killed. Thus armed, they ravaged all *Campania*, and, in ſome conſiderable cities, which they took and plundered, committed a thouſand cruelties and outrages upon ſuch as fell into their hands, though *Spartacus* did his utmoſt, by remonſtrances and intreaties, to reſtrain his followers from theſe exceſſes. Grown inſolent by ſucceſs, they indulged themſelves in the pleaſure of gratifying their revenge by all poſſible indignities towards thoſe they had formerly feared.

From *Rome*, it being now perceived that the affair was ſerious, they ſent the Prætor, *P. Varinius*, againſt the rebels. *Spartacus* very ſoon defeated *Furius*, one of the Prætor's Lieutenants, who commanded a detachment of 2000 men; and, ſome time after, *Coſſinius*, whom *Plutarch* calls the counſellor and collegue of *Varinius*, ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriſed in *Lucania*: The enemy were very near taking him in the bath, his troops were defeated, his camp forced, and he himſelf killed. After theſe ſucceſſes, *Spartacus* vanquiſhed the Prætor in ſeveral actions, and at length took his

Y.R. 680. Faſces, which from henceforward he cauſed to be borne before his own Perſon.

Plut. in Craſſ. Nevertheleſs, this glare of proſperity did not ſo dazzle his eyes, as to hinder him from ſeeing, that it was impoſſible for him to triumph finally over the *Roman Power*, and that, ſooner or later, he muſt unavoidably ſink under it. He reſolved therefore to march his forces towards the *Alps*, and paſs thoſe mountains as ſoon as he could, to the end that the *Gallic* and *Thracian* ſoldiers, who made the far greater part of his army, might retire to their reſpective homes, there to enjoy in peace a liberty that had coſt them ſo much labour, and ſo many perils to recover. Wiſe as this counſel was, the ſlaves, becauſe hitherto conſtantly victorious, rejected it: They ſaw themſelves 40,000 ſtrong, and being full of a frantic confidence, and allured with the hope of becoming rich, by plundering *Italy*, had no inclination to look forward to more diſtant conſequences.

Y.R. 681. Bef. Chr. 71. 380 Conſ. When the conſular Faſces were transferred to *L. Gellius Poplicola* and *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Claudianus*, the toops of *Spartacus* had increaſed to 70,000 men. Three armies were ſent againſt them, two commanded by the two Conſuls, and a third under the Prætor *Q. Arrius*. The diſſenſion and diviſion, which aroſe among the enemy, gave thoſe armies an advantage. *Spartacus* could not keep the *Gauls* of his army in obedience; they ſeparated from him, and, under the command of their countryman *Crixus*, threw themſelves into *Apulia*, and pillaged the country; but the Conſul *Gellius*, and the Prætor *Arrius*, fell upon them near mount *Garganus* *, and of 30,000 men, of which their body conſiſted, killed 20,000, *Crixus* himſelf falling in the action.

* Mount St. Angelo.

Spartacus, not diſcouraged nor diſconcerted by this diſaſter, directed his march through the *Appennines*, ſtill purſuing his deſign of gaining the *Alps*, and quitting *Italy*. To oppoſe his progreſs, the Conſul *Lentulus* advanced; a General of whom *Salluſt* doubts, whether his vanity or his folly were the greater. *Spartacus* put his army to the rout, and then, turning back, met *Gellius*, the other Conſul, who was coming from *Apulia* to incloſe him between himſelf and his collegue; and though *Gellius* was joined by the Prætor *Arrius*, *Spartacus* defeated them both in a pitched battle.

Salluſt. Hiſt. l. iv.

It was a cuſtom at *Rome* to honour the funerals of illuſtrious perſons with combats of gladiators. *Spartacus*, on occaſion of this victory, cauſed the like honours to be paid to the manes of his late companion, *Crixus*. Having picked out 300 of the ſtouteſt men among his priſoners, he compelled them to fight round the funeral pile which he had erected; thus retaliating upon the *Romans* the inſult, which he and his companions had ſuffered from them. The reſt of the priſoners, and ſuch of the carriage-horſes as were unfit for ſervice, he cauſed to be killed. And now ſeeing the number of his ſoldiers increaſed, by reaſon of theſe ſucceſſes, to 120,000, he entertained the bold deſign of marching to *Rome*: however, as the two Conſuls, with all the forces they could aſſemble, poſted themſelves in *Picenum* †, in his way, he

App. p. 434.

† Marca di Ancona.

he dropped that project; but turning againſt the Proconſul *C. Caſſius* and the Prætor *Cn. Manlius*, defeated them, and put them to flight. Y.R. 681.

The Senate were greatly diſſatisfied with all their Generals of this year, who had ſuffered luxury to reign in their camps; ſo that diſcipline had loſt its vigour [a]. New Conſuls were choſen, *Cn. Aufidius Oreſtes*, and *P. Cornelius Lentulus* [b] *Sura*. But the chief dependance of the Republic was upon *Craſſus*, then Prætor; and who, in *Sylla*'s war, had given proof, both of his courage, and of his ability. He received orders to march againſt *Spartacus*, and his reputation induced many perſons of the firſt rank to accompany him in this war. *Craſſus*, who knew that no ſucceſs was to be expected, unleſs ſtrict diſcipline were obſerved by the troops, quickly ſhewed that he reſolved to re-eſtabliſh it. He had detached *Mummius* with two legions to obſerve the motions of the enemy, but with orders not to hazard a battle, or even a ſkirmiſh. *Mummius*, nevertheleſs, imagining he had found a favourable opportunity of gaining ſome advantage, came to an engagement with the enemy. The *Roman* ſoldiers fled in a cowardly manner, and many of them returned to the camp without their arms, which they had thrown away to run the faſter. Of theſe run-aways, *Craſſus* decimated 500 of the moſt faulty. The fifty criminals were executed ignominiouſly in the ſight of the whole army; and nothing of the like nature having been practiſed, during a great length of time, this example made the deeper impreſſion. Beſide this ſeverity, *Craſſus* obliged thoſe who had thrown away their arms to find ſureties for the new arms he furniſhed them with; by which proceeding, the *Roman* ſoldiers being brought to fear the ſeverity of their General more than the ſwords of their enemies, they ſoon retrieved their honour. Of a body of 10,000 ſlaves, *Craſſus* cut in pieces two thirds, and ſoon after gained an advantage over *Spartacus* himſelf, whom he drove into *Lucania*. Y.R 682. Bef. Chr. 70. 381 Conſ. Plut. in Craſſ.

Spartacus continued retiring towards *Rhegium*, having formed the deſign of paſſing into *Sicily*, in which iſland, as it had already been the theatre of two wars with ſlaves, he hoped to rekindle a fire that was hardly yet extinguiſhed: and, at firſt, fortune ſeemed to favour his hopes; for there happened to be in the Streight ſome ſhips belonging to pirates, with whom he treated for tranſporting 2000 of his men into *Sicily*; but the pirates, having received his money, ſteered a different courſe. And when, after this, he made an attempt to croſs the Streight upon floats and rafts, the rapid current of the ſea, which preſently deſtroyed thoſe weak tranſports, convinced him of the impoſſibility of ſucceeding that way. *Craſſus*, in the mean time, having followed him in his march, he found himſelf ſhut up within the peninſula of *Bruttium*. The iſthmus between Flor. iii. 20.

[a] Military rewards were laviſhed (ſays *Plutarch*) without waiting till they were deſerved. *Cato* refuſed, as not being his due, thoſe that were offered him by the Conſul *Gellius*, under whom he ſerved at this time. *Plut. in Cat.*

[b] This was the *Lentulus* concerned afterwards in *Catiline*'s conſpiracy.

the

Y.R. 682. Bef. Chr. 70. 381 Conſ.

the two ſeas is about thirty miles over: acroſs this iſthmus, *Craſſus* cauſed a trench to be cut fifteen feet in depth, and as many in breadth, and fortified it with a ſtrong and high wall. While this work was carried on, *Spartacus* made no attempt to diſturb the workmen: His thoughts were wholly intent on arming his followers: He was near the ſea on three ſides, and invited merchants to bring to his camp, not gold and ſilver, but iron. Of this he amaſſed a great quantity, and, having cauſed arms to be forged, ſupplied all his troops abundantly. And now his great affair was to force the barrier, which the *Romans* had formed to ſhut him up. His firſt attempts were not ſucceſsful. To make his troops reſolute through deſpair, he cauſed a priſoner to be crucified at the head of his camp, that they might ſee with their own eyes the puniſhment which they muſt undergo, if, failing of victory, they ſhould fall into the hands of the Prætor. At length, in a tempeſtuous night, when there fell abundance of ſnow, he found means to fill up a part of the trench with earth and faſcines, and paſſed his whole army over it.

Craſſus, who had expected to conquer without ſtriking a blow, was in ſuch a conſternation at the eſcape of his prey, that, in the firſt emotion of his fear, he wrote to the Senate, that it was neceſſary to call to his aid both *Varro Lucullus*, then returning from the war of *Thrace*, and *Pompey*, who, having entirely re-eſtabliſhed the tranquillity of *Spain*, was on his way home. However, he ſoon repented his invitation of thoſe Generals to join him: For, having learnt that the *Gallic* ſlaves, not inſtructed by the misfortune and death of *Crixus*, had again ſeparated themſelves from *Spartacus*, he fell upon them, put them into diſorder, and would have intirely cut them off, if *Spartacus* had not come with expedition to their ſuccour.

Frontin. ii. 5. 34.

The *Gauls* ſtill incamped ſeparate from *Spartacus*, under the command of two Generals of their own nation, *Gannicius* and *Caſtus*. *Craſſus* found means to deceive *Spartacus*, ſo as to make him think, that the greater part of the *Roman* forces were fronting him, while they were really marching againſt the other commander. By this ſtratagem, he gained a ſignal victory, which almoſt effaced the ſhame of the preceding defeats ſuſtained by the *Romans*. He recovered five *Roman* eagles, twenty-ſix enſigns, and five Faſces with their axes. Thirty-five thouſand of the enemy, according to the Epitome of *Livy*, remained upon the ſpot. *Plutarch* makes the number of the killed amount to only twelve thouſand three hundred. And he obſerves, that thoſe ſlaves fought with ſo much reſolution, that, of ſo great a number, only two received their wounds behind.

Lib. xcvii. Plut. in Craſſ.

Spartacus, after ſo conſiderable a loſs, found it neceſſary to retire farther from the Prætor; and he marched towards *Apulia*. *Craſſus* detached one of his Lieutenants, and his Quæſtor, to purſue him. Theſe officers, deſpiſing an enemy that fled, followed him ſo cloſe and ſo incautiouſly,

Plut. ibid.

tiouſly, that they gave him a favourable opportunity of turning upon them, and fighting them with advantage. The *Romans* fled in great diſorder, and the Quæſtor, being wounded, did not eſcape without much difficulty. Y.R 682. Bef. Chr. 70. 381 Conſ.

This ſucceſs occaſioned the ruin of *Spartacus*; his ſoldiers becoming ſo preſumptuous thereupon, that they would not purſue the route he had directed them to take, but would have him turn back in queſt of *Craſſus*. There was another reaſon which determined *Spartacus* ſo to do: He had received advice that *Varro Lucullus* was arrived at *Brunduſium*, and this made him apprehend being incloſed between two armies. *Craſſus* no leſs deſired a deciſive battle, becauſe *Pompey* approached; and the friends of this General, who was very popular, ſaid publicly at *Rome*, that it was neceſſary to ſend him againſt *Spartacus*; for that he alone was born to put an end to the wars that were ſhameful to the *Roman* name. *Craſſus*, therefore, being no leſs deſirous of fighting than *Spartacus*, they ſoon came to a general action.

On this occaſion *Spartacus*, being determined either to conquer or die, killed his horſe at the head of his army, ſaying to his ſoldiers, that *if he proved victorious, he ſhould have horſes enough; if vanquiſhed, he ſhould have no want of them.* Fighting like a man in deſpair, he broke through the thickeſt battalions, killed two centurions with his own hand, in endeavouring to come at the perſon of *Craſſus*: His efforts were vain, and he fell dead, covered with a multitude of wounds. Upon his fall, his ſoldiers all fled, and the conquerors gave no quarter; 40,000 ſlaves remained on the field of battle.

Nevertheleſs, a conſiderable number eſcaped the ſlaughter, and formed themſelves into different bands. One of theſe, conſiſting of about 5000, who were making their way to the *Alps*, fell into the hands of *Pompey*. Plut. in Craſſ. & Pomp.

He happened, at this time, to be on his return from *Spain*; where he had, without much difficulty, put an end to the war. For though *Perperna* had prevailed with the army (as was before mentioned) to ſubmit to his command, yet; not having the military talents of *Sertorius*, it was but ſport to *Pompey* to ſubdue him. Stupidly running into a ſnare which *Pompey* had laid for him, he was entirely defeated, his army diſperſed, his principal officers killed on the ſpot, and he himſelf taken priſoner.

Perperna, to ſave his life, ſignified to *Pompey*, that in *Sertorius*'s papers he had found proof of ſecret correſpondence held with him by many perſons at *Rome*, even ſome Conſulars and other principal Senators; that he had in his hand their original letters, by which they invited *Sertorius* to bring his army into *Italy*. *Pompey* is much praiſed for his prudence and generoſity on this occaſion. He knew that the beſt way of quieting the diſcontents of the city, was to free the *Marians* from thoſe fears, which a conſciouſneſs of guilt would ſuggeſt, rather than puſh them to the neceſſity of ſeeking their ſecurity in a change of affairs, Plut. in Sertor.

and

Y. R. 682. Bef. Chr. 70. 381 Conſ.

and the overthrow of the State. He cauſed therefore all *Sertorius*'s papers to be brought to him; and he burnt them without reading them himſelf, or ſuffering any other perſon to read them. And, leſt *Perperna* ſhould divulge ſomething of what he knew, and mention names, he would not once ſee him, but cauſed him to be inſtantly put to death. Of the other perſons concerned in the murder of *Sertorius*, ſeveral were taken by *Pompey*'s ſoldiers, and killed by his order: ſome fled into *Africa*, where the *Moors* ſhot them to death with arrows. One only eſcaped; a wretch, who, hated by all that knew him, ſpent the remainder of his life in beggary.

After the defeat and death of *Perperna*, the remainder of the party had no reſource, but in the victor's clemency. The towns of *Spain* eagerly made their ſubmiſſion; two only ventured to ſtand out, and both theſe were taken and deſtroyed. Thus ended the war in the Conſulſhip of *Cn. Auſidius Oreſtes* and *P. Corn. Lentulus Sura* (year of *Rome* 682,) after it had laſted ten years: and thus expired the laſt remains of *Marius*'s faction.

Plin. vii 26.

Pompey erected, in the *Pyrenees*, many monuments to perpetuate the memory of his exploits. On theſe monuments were inſcriptions, importing, that, in the country between the *Alps* and the extremities of *Further Spain*, he had ſubjected eight hundred and ſeventy-ſix cities.

In his return home he, accidentally, fell in with that band of fugitive ſlaves before mentioned, a remnant of the army of *Spartacus*. He put put them all to the ſword; and, on this foundation, and on this alone, was for aſcribing to himſelf the glory of having terminated that war. He wrote to the Senate, that *Craſſus* had indeed put the ſlaves to flight, but that he had plucked up the war by the roots. *Cicero*, too, from a particular diſlike of *Craſſus*, affected, in his public ſpeeches, to give *Pompey* the honour of finiſhing that war, declaring, that the very fame of his coming had broke the force of it, and his preſence extinguiſhed it. Hiſtory, however, has done *Craſſus* juſtice, and has tranſmitted his name to us with this praiſe, that by his vigilance, ability, and courage, he, in the ſpace of ſix months, happily terminated a war, which had alarmed the *Romans*, not much leſs than even that of *Hannibal*. Six thouſand of the runaways, who fell alive into the hands of the *Romans*, were crucified along the road from *Capua* to *Rome*.

Cic. in Verr. v. 5. & pro Leg. Manil. 30. pro Sext. 31.

Oroſ. l. v. 24. Appian.

As to quelling the revolt in *Spain*, no body at *Rome* durſt venture, either in earneſt or in jeſt, to aſcribe the leaſt portion of the merit to any other than *Pompey*; ſo great a favourite he was of the multitude. And for this atchievement he was decreed a *ſecond* TRIUMPH, though ſtill a private citizen, and of the equeſtrian rank.

Plin. xv. 29. Cic. in Piſ. 24.

Craſſus, on account of the mean condition of the enemies he had vanquiſhed, obtained only the *leſſer triumph* or *ovation*. Permiſſion, however, was given him by the Senate, at his requeſt, to wear, in the triumphal proceſſion,

proceſſion, inſtead of the crown of Myrtle, the crown of Laurel, which had hitherto been appropriated to the *greater triumph*[a]. Y.R. 682.

CHAP. V.

CRASSUS *and* POMPEY *are choſen Conſuls for the Year* 683. POMPEY *makes his court to the* PEOPLE, *by repealing ſome of* Sylla's *Laws.*

THE time for the great elections drew nigh: both the victorious Generals aſpired to the Conſulſhip, and neither of them had diſbanded his army. Many perſons at *Rome* were apprehenſive leſt *Pompey*, after the example of *Sylla*, ſhould make himſelf maſter of the Commonwealth: and *Craſſus* declared, that he would not diſband his troops, unleſs thoſe of *Pompey* were likewiſe diſmiſſed. The apprehenſions, which theſe things occaſioned, *Pompey* removed at once, by promiſing to diſmiſs his ſoldiers ſo ſoon as his Triumph ſhould be over. Plut. in Pomp. & in Craſſ.

As to the *Conſulſhip*, they were ſome difficulties to be ſurmounted with regard to *Pompey*. He was born in the 647th year of *Rome*, and therefore was not at this time full *thirty-ſix* years old, and, to be elected Conſul, *forty-three* was the legal age. It would be ſtrange to ſee a man *placed in the higheſt Magiſtracy, before he was capable by Law of pretending even to the loweſt*[b]! But ſo great and ſo univerſal was the admiration of him

[a] This year [682] abounded with triumphs at *Rome*. For, beſides thoſe of *Craſſus* and *Pompey*, and *Metellus* (for he too had the like honour,) *M. Terentius Varro Lucullus* had a triumph for his conqueſt of *Thrace*. In the year 679, he had ſucceeded his elder brother, *L. Lucullus*, in the Conſulſhip; and after the expiration of his Magiſtracy had *Macedonia* for his province. [*Plut. in Lucull.*] According to *Florus* [iii. 4.] he had puſhed on his conqueſts as far as the *Tanais*, and the *Palus Mæotis*: he ſubdued likewiſe the whole coaſt of the *Euxine* ſea, from the mouths of the *Danube* to the *Boſphorus* of *Thrace*, and from *Apollonia*, a city upon that coaſt, brought away a coloſſus of *Apollo*, thirty cubits high, which he placed in the Capitol. He ſpent only two campaigns in theſe expeditions. *Cicero* gives the epithet of TRIUMPHAL to *Macedonia*, becauſe it furniſhed ſo many occaſions of *triumphing* to the *Roman* Generals. *Provincia ex omnibus una maximè triumphalis.* Cic. in Piſ. 44. *Cornelius Dolabella* (Conſul in the year 672) had obtained a triumph for his ſucceſſes in that country. And *Scribonius Curio* (Conſul in the year 677) being ſent thither the next year after his Conſulſhip, had ſubdued the *Dardanians* to the North, and had likewiſe conquered *Mœſia*, and penetrated as far as *Dacia*.

[b] *Quid tam ſingulare, quam ut legibus ſolutus ex S. conſulto conſul ante fieret, quam ullum alium magiſtratum per leges capere licuiſſet.* Cic. pro lege Manil. xxi. The *Ædileſhip* was the *firſt* office that was properly called a Magiſtracy, and what could not regularly be obtained till after an interval of *five years* from the *Quæſtorſhip*; and the *Quæſtorian* age (in the latter times of the Republic) was the ſame with the *Senatorian*, *thirty years* complete: For *Cicero*, who declares in ſome of his ſpeeches, that he had acquired all the honours of the City, without repulſe in any, and each in its proper year, or as ſoon as he could pretend to it, yet did not obtain the *Quæſtorſhip* till he

Y. R. 682. him, that the Senate diſpenſed with the Laws in his favour; and *Craſſus* (who needed no ſuch diſpenſation) found it not prudent to ſtand candidate without aſking his conſent. *Pompey*, highly flattered by an application of that ſort from ſo conſiderable a man, and having long wiſhed for an occaſion to do him a friendly office, went ſo far as to declare to an Aſſembly of the People, "That he ſhould be no leſs obliged to them for giving him "*Craſſus* to be his collegue, than for their beſtowing the Conſulſhip upon "himſelf." Both were unanimouſly elected: after which, both *triumphed* for their victories in the wars they had reſpectively conducted; and *Pompey*, the very next day after his triumph, took poſſeſſion of the Conſulſhip. As if he had been born to command, he made his firſt entry into the Senate in the proper poſt to preſide in it.

Plut. in Pomp. & in Craſſ.

Vell. Pat. l. II. c. 30.

Y. R. 683. Bef. Chr. 69. 382 Conſ. *M. Licinius Craſſus*[c], *Cn. Pompeius Magnus*[d], } Conſuls.

The miſunderſtanding between *Craſſus* and *Pompey* revived very ſoon after their taking poſſeſſion of the Conſular Faſces, and they did nothing memorable in their Magiſtracy, beſide making their court to the People.

Plut. in Craſſ. *Craſſus*, having conſecrated the *tenth* of his eſtate to *Hercules*, gave a feaſt to the whole City, and to each Citizen corn for three months.

he had paſſed through his thirtieth year. See *Middl.* Treat. on the *Roman* Senate, p. 93. 94.

Plut. in Craſſ. [c] "*Craſſus*'s father and elder brother loſt "their lives in the maſſacres of *Marius* and "*Cinna*; but he himſelf eſcaped into *Spain*," "where he had contracted a numerous ac- "quaintance, while his father was Prætor of "that country; and he lay there concealed "till *Sylla*'s return to *Italy*, whither he pre- "ſently reſorted to him, in hopes to revenge "the ruin of his fortune and family on the "oppoſite faction. As he was attached to "*Sylla*'s cauſe both by intereſt and inclination, "ſo he was much conſidered in it; and being "extremely greedy and rapacious, made uſe "of all his credit to enrich himſelf by the "plunder of the enemy, and *the purchaſe of* "*confiſcated eſtates*; which *Cicero* calls his "*harveſt*. By theſe methods he raiſed an "immenſe wealth, computed at many mil- "lions, gathered from the ſpoils and calami- "ties of his country. He uſed to ſay, *that*

Cic. Parad. pr. 2. ab. 1. "*no man could be reckoned rich, who was not* "*able to maintain an army out of his own rents:* "and, if the accounts of antiquity be true, "the number of his ſlaves was ſcarce inferior "to that of a full army; which, inſtead of "being a burden, made one part of his reve- "nue; being all trained to ſome uſeful art or "profeſſion, which enabled them not only to "ſupport themſelves, but to bring a ſhare of "profit to their maſter." Among the other "trades in his family, he is ſaid to have had "above five hundred maſons and architects "conſtantly employed in building or repairing "the houſes of the City. He had contracted Plut. in "an early envy to *Pompey*, for his ſuperior Craſſ. "credit both with *Sylla* and the People; "which was ſtill aggravated by *Pompey*'s late "attempt to rob him of the honour of ending "the Servile War: But finding himſelf wholly "unequal to his rival in military fame, he "applied himſelf to the arts of peace and "eloquence; in which he obtained the cha- "racter of a good ſpeaker; and by his eaſy "and familiar addreſs, and a readineſs to "aſſiſt all who wanted either his protection, "or his money, acquired a great authority in "all the public affairs." *Middleton*'s Life of *Cicero*, vol. I. p. 73.

[d] As *Pompey* had never been a *Senator* before he was *Conſul*, and was therefore wholly unacquainted with the rules of the Houſe, the learned *Varro* furniſhed him, at his requeſt, with a manual of inſtruction in relation thereto. *A. Gell.* xiv.

Pompey

Pompey took various meaſures to eſtabliſh himſelf in the affection of the multitude. By ancient inſtitution, the *Roman* Knights, when they had Y. R. 683. Plut in Pomp.

Plut. in Pomp.

Vid. ſupr. p. 133. App. de Bell. Civ. Iul. Obſeq. 54.

Plut. in Pomp.

From the time of *Pompey*'s firſt coming into public life, the People of *Rome* (ſays *Plutarch*) ſeem to have entertained a ſingular affection for him: which is the more extraordinary, as he was the ſon of a moſt deteſtable and moſt deteſted father, *Cn. Pompeius Strabo* (Conſul in the year 664,) a man infamous for rapaciouſneſs, for murder, and for treachery to both the contending factions. Never did the *Romans* expreſs ſo implacable a hatred to any of their Generals, as to this man; who being ſtruck dead by lightening (the year of *Rome* 666) his body was not ſuffered to be carried with the uſual ſolemnity to funeral: The populace tore it from off the bier, dragged it by a hook along the ſtreets, and inſulted it with all manner of outrages.

The ſon, on the contrary, had rendered himſelf ſo dear to the ſoldiery, that, at nineteen years of age, he, by his ſole influence, prevailed with the army, in which he then ſerved under his father (the very year in which his father was ſtruck dead,) not to execute the reſolution they had taken of deſerting their General; whom he had juſt before, in the ſame hour, preſerved from being treacherouſly aſſaſſinated in his tent.

The next year an attack was made upon his fortune, and he himſelf perſonally accuſed: the charge imported, that, after the taking of *Aſculum*, his father *Pompeius Strabo* had appropriated the ſpoil to his own uſe, inſtead of accounting for the produce of it to the treaſury; and that the ſon had been a ſharer in this robbery. He was called upon therefore to make ſatisfaction to the Public out of the effects to which he had ſucceeded. In his defence he ſet forth, that he had already made ſatisfaction to the Public, for his father's peculation; and that he had likewiſe given information to the Prætor of certain robberies committed by his father's ſecretary, who had thereupon been tried and condemned. As to his own ſhare in the accuſation, it appeared, that he had reſerved nothing out of the ſpoils of *Aſculum*, but ſome curious books, and ſome hunting-nets; and theſe being of little value, the proſecution was judged to be malicious. The moſt eminent orators of *Rome*, *Philippus*, *Carbo* (who was Conſul the next year,) and *Hortenſius*, defended *Pompey* in this cauſe. He himſelf ſpoke ſeveral times, and in ſuch a manner, as to acquire great reputation. The Prætor *Antiſtius*, who preſided in the court, was ſo taken with his behaviour, that he reſolved to make him an offer of his daughter, *Antiſtia*, in marriage, and even, during the proſecution, they concluded the contract. [This bargain between the judge and the defendant, pending the cauſe, may, perhaps, be thought not to redound much to the honour of either.] *Pompey* was acquitted; the marriage preſently followed: yet, about four years after, he divorced this lady, at the command, or perſuaſion of *Sylla*, who, from political views, and with the approbation of his wife *Metella*, engaged him to marry *Æmilia*, the daughter of *Metella*, by her former huſband (*Æmilius Scaurus*) ſhe being the wife of *Acilius Glabrio*, by whom ſhe was then actually with child. *Plutarch* obſerves, that *Pompey*'s divorcing *Antiſtia*, was the more cruel, as upon *his* account (he being deemed a favourer of *Sylla*'s cauſe) her father *Antiſtius* had been murdered in the Senate-houſe [by order of the younger *Marius*.] Her mother *Calphurnia* was ſo affected with theſe tragic events, that ſhe put an end to her own life. *Æmilia* too ſoon after died in child-bed.

What chiefly gained to *Pompey*, in early life, the public favour, was his habitual temperance, his martial diſpoſition, his genius for war, and his ſtrict diſcipline in military ſervice; add to this, that he was generous, and, though naturally grave, affable, and agreeable in ſpeech, and had ſuch an appearance of candour in his air and manner, as engaged confidence.

We have already ſeen, That, at twenty-three years of age, he, by his own credit and intereſt, raiſed three Legions, with which he joined *Sylla*, againſt the faction of *Marius* and *Cinna*; Vid. ſupr. p. 154

That the next year (671) *Sylla* ſent him into *Sicily* againſt *Perperna* and *Carbo*;

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had completed their time of ſervice, which was ten years, preſented themſelves before the CENSORS, to whom they gave an account of the campaigns they had made, and under what Generals. The CENSORS[f] *L. Gellius* and *Cn. Lentulus*, ſitting in their curule chairs, at the gate of the temple of *Caſtor*, making the review, *Pompey* appeared. He entered the Forum in all the ſtate belonging to his conſular dignity, but he himſelf leading his horſe by the bridle. When he came in ſight of the CENSORS, he made the Lictors, who were walking before him, ſtand aſide, while he led his horſe up to the Tribunal of thoſe Magiſtrates. The People, ſtruck with ſo ſingular a ſpectacle, remained in ſilence and admiration. The elder of the Cenſors put this queſtion to him, Pompey, *have you completed all the years of ſervice which you owed the Commonwealth?* He anſwered, (ſpeaking with a loud voice) *Yes, I have completed them all; and in all, have been myſelf the General.* At theſe words the whole Forum reſounded with ſhouts of applauſe; the CENSORS roſe up, and conducted *Pompey* back to his houſe: well knowing they ſhould thereby pleaſe the multitude, who, tranſported with delight, continued clapping their hands all the way.

Another thing by which *Pompey* greatly endeared himſelf to the People, was the change he made with regard to the *Judicature*; which *Sylla* had transferred wholly to the SENATORS. Corruption in the courts of juſtice had riſen to a moſt prodigious height. The Judges ſold their votes, without hiding their ſhame; and it was grown (ſays *Cicero*) to be an eſtabliſhed maxim, that *a wealthy man, how criminal ſoever, could not be condemned.* On occaſion of *Cicero*'s proſecution of *Verres*, a celebrated modern, partial enough to the Ariſtocratical faction, writes thus:

Cic. in Verr. Act. i. 1. & 15. Aſcon. in Divin.

That from *Sicily* he paſſed into *Africa* to conduct the war againſt *Domitius* and *Hiarbas*; and that, for having vanquiſhed them, he extorted, at his return to *Rome*, the grant of a triumph, contrary to the inclination of the Dictator, and contrary to cuſtom, the victor being only a *Roman* Knight: That he afterwards vanquiſhed *Lepidus*, and totally cruſhed his faction: That he was afterwards ſent into *Spain* againſt *Sertorius*, but had little ſucceſs there, during the life of that able General: That, after the murder of *Sertorius*, he brought the war to a happy iſſue, without much difficulty; and that in his return home (year of *Rome* 682) he met with, and put to the ſword, a body of fugitives ſlaves, part of the army which *Craſſus* had routed. His election ſoon after to the Conſulſhip has juſt been related.

[f] There had been no CENSORS in the State for fifteen years paſt, when *Lentulus* and *Gellius* were honoured this year with that high office. They expelled out of the Senate ſixty-four members; among whom were *C. Antonius* (ſecond ſon of *M. Antonius* the orator) and *P. Lentulus Sura*, who had been Conſul the year before; and whom we ſhall find hereafter engaged in *Catiline*'s conſpiracy. *Q. Curius* another of the conſpirators, was likewiſe one of the ſixty-four. Liv. Epit. l. xcviii.

At the cloſing of the Luſtrum, the number of the Citizens (which had been greatly augmented by admitting the allies to the freedom of *Rome*) amounted to 950,000, according to *Freinſheimus*, who, in this particular, forſakes his text, or principal author, the Epitome of *Livy*, where we read 450,000.

" The public adminiſtration was at this time, in every branch of it, Y. R. 683.
" moſt infamouſly corrupt: the great, exhauſted by their luxury and Midd. Life
" vices, made no other uſe of their governments, than to enrich them- of Cic. vol.
" ſelves by the ſpoils of the foreign provinces: their buſineſs was to 1. P. 79.
" extort money abroad, that they might purchaſe offices at home, and
" to plunder the Allies, in order to corrupt the Citizens. The oppreſſed,
" in the mean while, found it in vain to ſeek relief at *Rome*, where there
" was none who cared either to impeach, or to condemn a *noble criminal*;
" the deciſion of all trials being in the hands of men of the ſame condition,
" who were uſually involved in the ſame crimes, and openly proſtituted
" their judgment on theſe occaſions for favour, or a bribe. This had
" raiſed a general diſcontent through the empire, with a particular diſguſt
" to that change made by *Sylla* of *tranſferring the right of Judicature*
" *from the Equeſtrian*[g] *to the Senatorian order*, which the People were
" now impatient to get reverſed: the proſecution therefore of *Verres* was
" both ſeaſonable and popular, as it was likely to give ſome check to *the*
" *oppreſſions of the* NOBILITY, as well as comfort and relief to the di-
" ſtreſſed ſubjects.—*Cicero*, in his ſpeech, after opening the reaſons why, p. 82.
" contrary to his former practice, and the rule which he had laid down
" to himſelf *of dedicating his labours to the defence of the diſtreſſed*, he
" now appeared as *an Accuſer*, adds, *the provinces are utterly undone*; *the*
" *allies and tributaries ſo miſerable oppreſſed, that they have loſt even the*
" *hopes of redreſs, and ſeek only ſome comfort in their ruin: Thoſe who*
" *would have the trials remain in the hands of the Senate, complain, that*
" *there are no men of reputation to undertake impeachments, no ſeverity in*
" *the Judges: The People of* Rome, *in the mean while, though labouring*
" *under many other grievances, yet deſire nothing ſo ardently, as the ancient*
" *diſcipline, and gravity of trials, For the* want *of trials, the Tribuni-*
" *cian power is called for again*; *for the* abuſe *of trials, a new order of*
" *Judges is demanded*; *for* the ſcandalous behaviour of Judges, *the autho-*
" *rity of the* CENSORS, *hated before as too rigid, is now deſired, and grown*
" *popular. In this licenſe of profligate criminals, in the daily complaints of*
" *the* Roman *People, the infamy of trials*[h], the diſgrace of the whole Sena-
" torian

[g] This is a miſtake. *Sylla* transferred to the Senators the right of judicature, not from the Equeſtrian order, but from the perſons elected by the tribes out of the three orders. See above p. 115.

[h] M. *Crevier* has ſelected, from a great number, two or three ſtriking inſtances of the infamy here ſpoken of: and I chooſe to borrow them from him, not only to avoid trouble, but becauſe he is ſo warm a partizan of the *Ariſtocracy*, as to ſay, ſpeaking of *Lucullus* (tom. xi. p. 13.) *His fidelity to* Sylla *and the* ARISTOCRATICAL PARTY *proves him to have been a ſolid man, a man of ſound underſtanding and noble ſentiments.* [Sa fidelité pour Sylla et pour le parti de l'Ariſtocratie prouve un Caractere ſolide et élevé.]

P. Lentulus Sura had been Prætor in *Spain*, and was accuſed at his return home of Maladminiſtration. He bribed the Judges (according to the common practice at that time) and was acquitted; but finding that of thirty-
" two

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" torian order, *as I thought it the only remedy to theſe miſchiefs, for men of*
" *abilities and integrity to undertake the cauſe of the Republic, and the Laws,*
" *ſo I was induced the more readily, out of regard to our common ſafety, to*
" *come*

two voices, he had ſeventeen in his favour, he complained heavily of bad management, and the unneceſſary expence he had been put to by his agent's purchaſing one voice more than was neceſſary. *Q. Calidius* having been condemned [doubtleſs becauſe not ſo rich as his accuſer] of miſconduct when Prætor in *Spain*, reproached his judges, not for having given ſentence againſt him, but for having done it at too low a price. *You ought to have been better paid for ruining a man, who has been honoured with the office of Prætor. You have ſold me for a morſel of bread.*

Oppianicus, a *Roman* Knight, (before mentioned as a murderer, in ſpeaking of *Sylla*'s Proſcriptions) [Vid. ſupr. p. 161.] was now proſecuted by his ſon-in-law, *Cluentius*, for an attempt to poiſon him. The two accomplices of the accuſed had been tried and convicted, which made his caſe almoſt deſperate. In this extreme peril he applied himſelf to *Stalenus*, one of his judges. This man undertook to buy, for about 3200 l. ſixteen voices, the number neceſſary and ſufficient to acquit him, the bench conſiſting of thirty-two judges. *Stalenus*, having received the money, wiſely conſidered, that it would be better for himſelf to retain the whole for his own uſe; and that certainly no one would call upon him to refund it, in caſe *Oppianicus* were condemned. The prudent part therefore would be to get him condemned. In order to this, he promiſed, on the part of the accuſed, to ſome of the judges about 200 l. each, to acquit him; and then, a few days before the trial, told thoſe judges, that *Oppianicus* had broke his word, and had not lodged the money with him. The conſequences was, that one part of the judges condemned *Oppianicus*, becauſe he was manifeſtly guilty; the other part, becauſe they thought he had deceived them. *Cicero* tells us, that *Stalenus* had likewiſe received money from the accuſer.

But the inſtance of *Verres*, who had been three years Prætor of *Sicily*, is, of all, the moſt aſtoniſhing proof of the corruption which prevailed among the Great. His trial was in this year, 683, (*Craſſus* and *Pompey* being Conſuls) which was the year before the Conſulſhip of *Hortenſius*. The crimes of *Verres*, both for weight and number, are almoſt incredible. " All the cities of *Sicily* concurred " in the impeachment, excepting *Syracuſe* " and *Meſſana*; for theſe two being the moſt " conſiderable of the province, *Verres* had ta- " ken care to keep up a fair correſpondence " with them. *Syracuſe* was the place of his " reſidence, and *Meſſana* the repoſitory of his " plunder, whence he exported it all to *Italy*: " and though he would treat even theſe on " certain occaſions very arbitrarily, yet, in " ſome flagrant inſtances of his rapine, that " he might eaſe himſelf of a part of the envy, " he uſed to oblige them with a ſhare of the " ſpoil: ſo that partly by fear, and partly by " favour, he held them generally at his devo- " tion; and, at the expiration of his govern- " ment, procured ample teſtimonials from " them both, in praiſe of his adminiſtration: " All the other towns were zealous and active " in the proſecution, and by a common peti- " tion to *Cicero* implored him to undertake the management of it; to which he conſented, out of regard to the relation which he had borne to them as Quæſtor, and his promiſe made at parting, of his protection in all their affairs. *Verres*, on the other hand, was ſupported by the moſt powerful families of *Rome*, the *Scipios* and the *Metelli*, and defended by *Hortenſius*, who was the reigning orator at the bar, and uſually ſtiled *the king of the Forum.*

Midd. Life of Cic vol. I. p. 80.

In Verr. 2. 18. & 3. 8. 11.

Aſcon. Argum. in Divinat.

" *Cicero* had no ſooner agreed to undertake " the cauſe, than an unexpected rival ſtarted " up, one *Q. Cæcilius*, a *Silician* by birth, " who had been Quæſtor to *Verres*, and by a " pretence of perſonal injuries received from " him, and a particular knowledge of his " crimes, claimed a preference to *Cicero* in " the taſk of accuſing him, or, at leaſt, to bear " a joint ſhare in it. But this pretended ene- " my was in reality a ſecret friend, employed " by *Verres* himſelf to get the cauſe into his " hands in order to betray it. His preten- " ſions, however, were to be previouſly de- " cided by a kind of proceſs called *Divination*,

" on

" *come to the relief of that part of the adminiſtration, which ſeemed the moſt* Y.R. 683.
" *to ſtand in need of it.*"

Hortenſius

" on account of its being wholly conjectural;
" in which the judges, without the help of
" witneſſes, were to *divide*, as it were,
" what was fit to be done; but in the firſt
" hearing *Cicero* eaſily ſhook off this weak
" antagoniſt, rallying his character and pre-
" tenſions with a great deal of wit and hu-
" mour."

But as to *Verres*'s advocate *Hortenſius*, who had received preſents from *Verres* (a thing conſidered at that time as below the dignity of an orator) *Cicero* reproached him in very ſharp terms. " *Craſſus and Antonius would not* Cic. in Verr. 2.
" *have undertaken the defence of ſuch a man as*
" Verres, *a man loſt to all ſenſe of ſhame: they*
" would have feared leſt, for ſo doing, they
" ſhould be thought as ſhameleſs as he. They
" did not care *to bring themſelves into the di-*
" *lemma of being neceſſitated to appear* without
" delicacy in the article of probity, *by defend-*
" *ing a cauſe notoriouſly wicked*; *or* without
" gratitude, *by deſerting a perſon whoſe libera-*
" *lity they had experienced.*"

Quintilian mentions a ſmart ſaying of *Cicero* on this occaſion. As he had attacked his adverſary in an indirect ironical manner, *Hortenſius*, pretending not to underſtand him, ſaid, *He was not good at expounding riddles*; Quintil. vi. 3.
That's ſtrange (replied *Cicero*) *as you have the Sphinx at home*; (an ivory Sphinx, which *Verres* had given him.)

Verres, before he left his province, had openly ſaid, that thoſe ought to fear, who had robbed for themſelves only; but as for him, he had taken enough to ſatisfy the greedineſs of many; that he had a powerful friend (meaning *Hortenſius*) under whoſe protection he could pillage the people with impunity; that he had been three years Prætor, and ſhould be very well content with retaining one year's gains for himſelf; that he intended another for his advocates and defenders; and reſerved the third, which was the richeſt, for the judges.

Nevertheleſs, he was deceived in his expectations. " The previous point being Midd. Life of Cic. p. 83, 85.
" ſettled in favour of *Cicero*, 110 days were
" granted to him by Law, for preparing the
" evidence; in which he was obliged to
" make a voyage to *Sicily*. On his return to
" *Rome*, he found, what he ſuſpected, a ſtrong In Verr.
" cabal formed to prolong the affair by all Act. i. 9.
" the arts of delay, which intereſt or money
" could procure, with deſign to throw it off, Quintil. vi.
" at leaſt till next year, when *Hortenſius* and 5.
" *Metellus* were to be Conſuls, and *Metellus*'s
" brother a Prætor, by whoſe united autho-
" rity the proſecution might eaſily be baffled:
" and they had already carried the matter ſo
" far, that there was not time enough left
" within the current year to go through the
" cauſe in the ordinary forms. This put *Ci-*
" *cero* upon a new project of ſhortening the
" method of proceeding, ſo as to bring it to
" an iſſue, at any rate, before the preſent
" Prætor *M. Glabrio*, and his aſſeſſors, who
" were like to be equal judges. Inſtead
" therefore of ſpending any time in ſpeaking,
" or employing his eloquence, as uſual, in
" enforcing and aggravating the ſeveral ar-
" ticles of the charge, he reſolved to do no-
" thing more than to produce his witneſſes,
" and offer them to be interrogated: where
" the novelty of the thing, and the notoriety
" of the guilt, which appeared at once from
" the very recital of the depoſitions, ſo con-
" founded *Hortenſius*, that he had nothing to Argum.
" ſay for his client; who, deſpairing of all Aſc. in
" defence, ſubmitted, without expecting the Act. 1.
" ſentence, to a voluntary exile.

" From this account it appears, that of the
" ſeven excellent orations, which now remain
" on the ſubject of this trial, the two firſt only
" were ſpoken; the one called *The Divina-*
" *tion*, the other *The firſt Action*, which is
" nothing more than a general preface to the
" whole cauſe; the other five were publiſhed
" afterwards, as they were prepared and in-
" tended to be ſpoken, if *Verres* had made a
" regular defence; for as this was the only
" cauſe, in which *Cicero* had yet been en-
" gaged, as an accuſer, ſo he was willing to
" leave theſe orations, as a ſpecimen of his
" abilities in that way; and the pattern of a juſt
" and diligent impeachment of a great and
" corrupt Magiſtrate.

" The

A. R. 683. *Hortenſius* [that diſtinguiſhed, illuſtrious patriot, ever ſteady to the intereſt of the Republic] had a great hand in this miſchief of corrupting the

" The accuſation was divided into four " heads: 1. *Of corruption in judging cauſes.* " 2. *Of extortion in collecting the revenues and* " *tithes of the Republic.* 3. *Of plundering the* " *ſubjects of their ſtatues, and wrought plate* " (which was his peculiar taſte.) 4. *Of il-* " *legal and tyrannical punyſhments.*"

Of all the facts that Dr. *Middleton* has collected from *Cicero*'s orations againſt *Verres*, I ſhall inſert here the moſt curious only; that is, the moſt aſtoniſhingly wicked: they are under the laſt head of accuſation.

Middl. Life of Cic. p. 102. " When any veſſel, richly laden, happened " to arrive in the ports of *Sicily*, it was gene- " rally ſeized by his ſpies and informers, on " pretence of its coming from *Spain*, and being " filled with *Sertorius*'s ſoldiers: and when Cic. in Verr. l. v. 56. " the commanders exhibited their bills of " lading, with a ſample of their goods, to " prove themſelves to be fair traders, who " came from different quarters of the world, " ſome producing *Tyrian purple*, others *Ara-* " *bian ſpices*, ſome *jewels and precious ſtones*, " others *Greek wines and Aſiatic ſlaves*; the " very proof, by which they hoped to ſave " themſelves, was their certain ruin: *Verres* " declared the goods *to have been acquired* " *by piracy*, and ſeizing the ſhips with their " cargoes to his own uſe, committed the whole " crew to priſon, though the greateſt part of " them perhaps were *Roman Citizens*. There " was a famous dungeon at *Syracuſe*, called " the *Latomiæ*, of a vaſt and horrible depth, " dug out of a ſolid rock, which, having ori- Ibid. 27. " ginally been a quarry of ſtone, was converted " to a priſon by *Dionyſius* the Tyrant. Here " *Verres* kept great numbers of *Roman Citizens* Ibid. 55. " in chains, whom he had firſt injured to a de- " gree, that made it neceſſary to deſtroy them; " whence few or none ever ſaw the light " again, but were commonly ſtrangled by his " orders.

" One *Gavius*, however, a *Roman* Citizen " of the town of *Coſa*, happened to eſcape Ibid. 61. " from this dreadful place, and run away to " *Meſſana*; where fancying himſelf out of " danger, and being ready to embark for " *Italy*, he began to talk of the injuries which " he had received, and of going ſtraight to " *Rome*, where *Verres* ſhould be ſure to hear " of him. But he might as well have ſaid " the words in the Prætor's palace, as at " *Meſſana*; for he was preſently ſeized and Ibid. " ſecured till *Verres*'s arrival, who, coming " thither ſoon after, condemned him as a ſpy " of the Fugitives, firſt to be ſcourged in the " market-place, and then nailed to a croſs, " erected for that purpoſe, on a conſpicuous " part of the ſhore, and looking towards *Italy*, " that the poor wretch might have the addi- " tional miſery of ſuffering that cruel death " in ſight, as it were, of his home.

" The coaſts of *Sicily* being much infeſted " by pirates, it was the cuſtom of all *Prætors* " to fit out a fleet every year for the protection " of its trade and navigation. This fleet was " provided by a contribution of the maritime " towns, each of which uſually furniſhed a " ſhip, with a certain number of men, and " proviſions: But *Verres*, for a valuable con- " ſideration, ſometimes remitted the ſhip, and " always diſcharged as many of the men as " were able to pay for it. A fleet, however, " was equipped of *ſeven ſhips*; but for ſhew " rather than ſervice, without their compli- " ment either of men or ſtores, and wholly " unfit to act againſt an enemy; and the com- " mand of it was given by him, not to his " *Queſtor*, or one of his Lieutenants, as it was " uſual, but to *Clemenes*, a *Syracuſian*, whoſe " wife was his miſtreſs, that he might enjoy Cic. in " her company the more freely at home, while Verr. 5. " the huſband was employed abroad. For, 31. " inſtead of ſpending the ſummer as other " governors uſed to do, in a progreſs through " his province, he quitted the palace of *Syra-* " *cuſe*, and retired to a little iſland adjoining " to the City, to lodge in tents, or rich pavi- " lions, pitched cloſe by the fountain of *Are-* " *thuſa*; where, forbidding the approach of " men, or buſineſs, to diſturb him, he paſſed " two of the hot months in the company of " his favourite women, and all the delicacy of " pleaſure that art and luxury could invent.

" The fleet in the mean time ſailed out of " *Syracuſe* in great pomp, and ſaluted *Verres* " and his company, as it paſſed; when the " *Roman Prætor*, (ſays *Cicero*) who had not " been

the courts of juſtice. He governed with ſo kingly a ſway in all trials, that Y.R. 683.

Cic. in Verr. 3. 33. " been ſeen before for many days, ſhewed " himſelf at laſt to the ſailors, ſtanding on the " ſhore in ſlippers, with a purple cloak and " veſt flowing down to his heels, and leaning " on the ſhoulder of a girl, to view this for- " midable ſquadron; which, inſtead of " ſcouring the ſeas, ſailed no farther, after " ſeveral days, than into the port of *Pachynus*. Here, as they lay peaceably at an- " chor, they were ſurprized with an account " of a number of *pirate frigates*, lying in " another harbour very near to them; upon " which *the admiral Cleomenes* cut his cables in " a great fright, and with all the ſail that he " could make, fled away towards *Pelorus*, " and eſcaped to land: the reſt of the ſhips " followed him as faſt as they could; but " two of them which ſailed the ſloweſt, were " taken by the pirates, and one of the cap- " tains killed: the other captains quitted " their ſhips, as *Cleomenes* had done, and got " ſafe to land. The pirates, finding the " ſhips deſerted, ſet fire to them all that " evening, and, the next day, ſailed boldly " into the port of *Syracuſe*, which reached " into the very heart of the town; where " after they had ſatisfied their curioſity, and " filled the city with a general terror, they " ſailed out again at leiſure, and in good Ibid. 35. " order, in a kind of triumph over *Verres* 36. " and the authority of *Rome*.

" The news of a *Roman fleet* burnt, and *Sy- " racuſe* inſulted by pirates, made a great noiſe " through all *Sicily*. The captains, in excuſe " of themſelves, were forced to tell the truth; " that their ſhips were ſcandalouſly unpro- " vided both with men and ſtores, and in no " condition to face an enemy; each of them " relating how many of their ſailors had " been diſcharged by *Verres*'s particular or- " ders, on whom the whole blame was juſtly " laid. When this came to his ears, he ſent " for the captains, and after threatening them " very ſeverely for talking in that manner, " forced them to declare, and to teſtify it alſo " in writing, that every one of their ſhips had " its full compliment of all things neceſſary: " but finding, after all, that there was no way " of ſtifling the clamour, and that it would " neceſſarily reach to *Rome*, he reſolved, for " the extenuation of his own crime, to ſacri- Cic. in " fice the poor captains, and put them all to Verr. 5. " death, except *the admiral Cleomenes*, the moſt 39, 40, &c. " criminal of them all; and, at his requeſt, " the commander alſo of his ſhip. In conſe- " quence of this reſolution, the four remain- " ing captains, after fourteen days from the " action, when they ſuſpected no danger, " were arreſted and clapt into irons. They " were all young men of the principal fami- " lies of *Sicily*, ſome of them the only ſons " of aged parents, who came preſently, in " great conſternation, to *Syracuſe*, to ſolicit " the Prætor for their pardon. But *Verres* " was inexorable; and, having thrown them " into his dungeon, where nobody was ſuf- " fered to ſpeak with them, condemned them " to loſe their heads." The fathers and mo- Cic. in thers of theſe innocent unfortunate young Verr. v. men, paſſed whole days and nights at the door of the priſon, begging only to be allowed to embrace their children, and receive their dying breath. At the gate ſtood the gaoler, the Prætor's Lictor, raiſing taxes upon diſtreſs and miſery. *You muſt give me ſo much for leave to go in; and ſo much for permiſſion to carry in victuals.—But, how much will you give me to kill your ſon at one ſtroke, and not hack him ſo as to make him die a painful death?* The price, exacted for this favour, being paid,—*Well, but there is another article to be ſettled.—Your ſon's carcaſe muſt be thrown to the wild beaſts, unleſs you purchaſe leave to bury it.* This laſt bargain concluded, the priſoners were brought forth and publicly executed; to the great ſatisfaction of *Verres*, who thereby got rid of ſo many witneſſes of his miſ- conduct.

" It happened, however, before this loſs of Midd. p. " the fleet, that a ſingle pirate-ſhip was taken 107. " by *Verres*'s lieutenants, and brought into " *Syracuſe*; which proved to be a very rich " prize, and had on board a great number of " handſome young fellows. There was a " band of muſicians among them, whom " *Verres* ſent away to *Rome* a preſent to a Cic. in " friend; and the reſt, who had either youth, Verr. v. " or beauty, or ſkill in any art, were diſtri- 45, &c. " buted to his clerks and dependents, to be " kept for his uſe; but the few, who were " old

Y. R. 683. Bef. Chr. 69. 382 Conſ.

that the ſentences given were generally ſuch as he pleaſed. For, in defending his client, he did not confine himſelf to exerting the power of his wit and eloquence: Solicitations, careſſes, menaces, money, every means of gaining his point, he diligently employed. The method of paſſing ſentence was by balloting. To each of the Judges were given three waxed tablets [little pieces of wood;] on one of which was the letter A. for *abſolvo*; on another the letter C. for *condemno*; and on the third N. L. for *non liquet*, [the thing is not clear, the cauſe muſt be reheard.] Each Judge, after hearing the cauſe, was to put one of theſe tablets into a box, or urn [called *Sitella.*] *Hortenſius* not only engaged ſome one among the Judges to be a ſpy upon the reſt; but, when he had an affair much at heart, contrived to furniſh the Judges with tablets of different colours, that ſo when theſe were taken out of the box, he might ſee with his own eyes, whether the Judges, by him bribed, had kept faith with him or not.

Pompey, in a ſpeech which he made to the People before his Conſulſhip, had promiſed to put a ſtop to this ſcandalous and miſchievous corruption. It may therefore reaſonably be conjectured, that *Aurelius Cotta*, now Prætor, who paſſed a law for that purpoſe, acted in concert with him. The law imported, that the Judges ſhould no longer be choſen out of the Senate alone, but out of the three orders of the Commonwealth; that is to ſay, the SENATORS, the KNIGHTS, and the TRIBUNES or Commiſſioners of the Treaſury; which laſt were of the order of the People: [their buſineſs was to remit the public money to the Quæſtors for

" old and deformed, were committed to the " dungeon, and reſerved for puniſhment. " The captain of theſe pirates had long been " a terror to the *Sicilians*, ſo that they were " all eager to ſee his perſon, and to feed their " eyes with his execution: but, being rich, " he found means to redeem his head, and " was carefully kept out of ſight, and conveyed to ſome private cuſtody, till *Verres* " could make the beſt market of him. The " people, in the mean time, grew impatient " and clamorous for the death of the pirates, " whom all Prætors uſed to execute as ſoon as " taken; and, knowing the number of them " to be great, could not be ſatisfied with the Cic. in Verr. v. 28. " few old and decrepid, whom *Verres* willingly ſacrificed to their reſentment. He " took this opportunity, therefore, to clear " the dungeon of thoſe *Roman Citizens*, whom " he had reſerved for ſuch an occaſion, and " now brought out to execution, as a part of " *the piratical crew*: but, to prevent the imprecations and cries which Citizens uſed to " make of their being *Free Romans*, and to " hinder their being known alſo to any other " Citizens there preſent, he produced them " all with their heads and faces ſo muffled up, " that they could neither be heard nor ſeen; " and in that cruel manner, deſtroyed great Ibid 60. " numbers of innocent men! But to finiſh, " at laſt, the whole ſtory of *Verres*: after he " had lived many years in a miſerable exile, " forgotten and deſerted by all his friends, Senec. l. vi. " he is ſaid to have been relieved by the ge- Suaſor. vi. " neroſity of *Cicero*; yet was proſcribed and Plin. Hiſt. " murdered, after all, by *Marc Antony*, for the N. lib. " ſake of his fine ſtatues and *Corinthian* veſ- xxxiv. ii. " ſels, which he refuſed to part with: Hap- Lactan. ii. " py only (as *Lactantius* ſays,) before his 4. " death, to have ſeen the moſt deplorable end " of his old enemy and accuſer, *Cicero*."

the

the payment of the troops.] This law was obſerved, till the Dictatorſhip of *Cæſar*. Y. R. 693. Bef. Chr. 49.

But what, more than any thing, rooted *Pompey* in the affections of the people, was his ſacrificing to them, in one important point, the intereſts of the *Ariſtocracy*. The attempt of *Sicinius*, in the year 677, to reſtore to the Tribunes their antient privileges; and the deſtruction, he thereby drew upon himſelf, have been already mentioned. Notwithſtanding his unfortunate end, the cauſe he had eſpouſed was ſtill ſupported: for, the year following, the Conſul *Cotta* found himſelf obliged to conſent that the clauſe which, in *Sylla*'s *law concerning the Tribuneſhip*, excluded the Tribunes from the ſuperior offices, ſhould be repealed. And ſeveral Tribunes afterwards ſucceſſively purſued the deſign of a total re-eſtabliſhment of the Tribunician power. Nevertheleſs, ſix years had paſſed, and the thing was not effected. *Pompey*, whoſe ambition carried him to aim at a perpetuity of command, a deſign which he could no other way compaſs but by the favour of the People, took the preſent opportunity of gaining them entirely to his intereſt; and by exerting his conſular power, brought about that change[b], which the multitude ſo paſſionately deſired, and to which *Craſſus* made no oppoſition. 382 Conſ. Cic. pro Corn. 1. & ibi. Aſcon.

The two Conſuls, however, had diſagreed very much during their whole adminiſtration. Pompey, notwithſtanding his promiſe *, had kept his troops on foot near the city; and *Craſſus* had not diſbanded his army, ſo that Rome apprehended a new civil war like that of *Marius* and *Sylla*. Towards the cloſe of *December*, when the people, being aſſembled, had ineffectually entreated the Conſuls to put an end to their differences, a *Roman* Knight, named *C. Aurelius*, who had never intermeddled with public affairs, preſented himſelf before them, and told them, "That in "a dream he had ſeen *Jupiter*, who commanded him to declare to the "People in his name, that they ſhould not ſuffer the Conſuls to quit their office, till they were become friends." The multitude, much affected with this dream, preſſed the Conſuls moſt earneſtly to a reconciliation. *Pompey* nevertheleſs, ſtirred not from his curule chair; but *Craſſus* roſe up, and, approaching his collegue, ſaid: "*Romans*, I think "it not below me to make the firſt advances towards a man whom "you honoured with the ſurname of the THE GREAT, when he was yet "very young; and with two triumphs before he was a Senator." At the ſame time, he held out his hand to *Pompey*, who could not reject ſo obliging an invitation. Thus was the reconciliation made between them: * Vid. ſup. p. 201. Plut. in Craſſ. & Pomp. App. de Bell. Civ. p. 427.

[b] *Cicero*, in juſtification of *Pompey*, affirms, that it was not poſſible to avoid this repeal of *Sylla*'s law, the *People* were ſo eagerly bent upon it: And that it was better *Pompey* ſhould have the merit of it with the *People*, than that ſome pernicious citizen ſhould thereby make himſelf popular. *De Leg.* iii. 26.

Y.R. 683. but the people would not depart till the Conſuls had cauſed edicts to be poſted up for diſbanding their armies.

Vell Pat. l. ii. c. 31. *Pompey*, who had begun to apprehend leſt ſuch a perpetuity of power, as he wiſhed, ſhould draw envy to a dangerous degree upon him, took an oath, that, on quitting the Conſulſhip (which was to expire the laſt of *December*,) he would not accept of any government: he kept his word; and his example was followed by his collegue.

This year VIRGIL was born.

CHAP. VI.

The Capitol conſecrated. War declared againſt the CRETANS. *The* GABINIAN *Law in favour of* POMPEY (*Year of* Rome 686.) *The war with the Pirates.* *The* MANILIAN *Law in favour of* POMPEY, (*Year of* Rome 687.)

Y.R. 684. Bef Chr. 68 383 Conſ. IN the following Conſulſhip of *Q. Hortenſius* and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* (afterwards ſurnamed *Creticus*) the rebuilding of the Capitol was finiſhed, fourteen years after its being burnt. *Catulus*, who had ſuperintended the rebuilding of it, had the honour of performing the conſecration[b].

The ſame year the war againſt the *Cretans*, whom the Prætor *Marcus Antonius* had attacked (as will be hereafter related,) without commiſſion ſo to do, was undertaken by public authority; and *Metellus* had the conduct of it, by the voluntary ceſſion of his collegue: who, having been accuſtomed to a kind of dominion in juridical affairs[c], choſe to reſide in

Val. Max. l. ii. c. 4. In the games which *Catulus* exhibited on this occaſion, he covered with fine linen of various colours the theatres, which till then were open to the heaven. *Plin.* l. xix. c. 1.

[b] *Hortenſius* had been a volunteer in the firſt year of the *Italic* war, commanded a regiment in the ſecond; but when that war was over, ſtuck cloſe to the bar. He had begun very early to make a figure there, being but nineteen when he pleaded his firſt cauſe, to the admiration of all preſent. *Like a ſtatue of* Phidias (ſays *Cicero*,) the inſtant *he was ſeen, the ſame inſtant he was admired.* He charmed the eye no leſs by his *action*, than the ear by his voice, and the muſic of his periods. "He reigned abſolute in the "Forum when *Cicero* firſt entered it, and "as his ſuperior fame was the chief ſpur of "*Cicero*'s induſtry, ſo the ſhining ſpecimen "which *Cicero* ſoon gave of himſelf, made "*Hortenſius* likewiſe the brighter for it, by "obliging him to exert all the force of his "genius to maintain his ground againſt his "young rival. They paſſed a great part of "their lives in a kind of equal conteſt and "emulation: But *Hortenſius*, by the ſuperiotity "of his years, having firſt paſſed through the "uſual gradation of public honours, and ſa- "tisfied his ambition by obtaining the high- "eſt, *began to relax ſomewhat of his old con-* "*tention, and give way to the charms of eaſe, and* "*luxury*, to which his nature ſtrongly inclined "him, till he was forced, at laſt, by the ge- "neral voice of the city, to yield the poſt of "honour

Cic. in Brut. 228.

Brut. p. 443.

Midd. Life of Cic. p. 32. vol. II.

in the City, though the *Cretan* war had fallen to him by lot, and he had been at firſt ambitious of that province. This war will be ſpoken of more at large, when we come to *Pompey*'s expedition againſt the Pirates. Y. R. 684. Diod. Appian & Dio. apud Fulv. Urſin.

" honour to *Cicero*.—*Hortenſius* publiſhed ſe-
" veral orations, which were extant long af-
" ter his death.——They are ſaid to have
" owed great part of their credit to his ACTION, which yet was thought *to have more*
Brut 425 Orator p. 261. Quintil. xi. 3. " *of art than was neceſſary to an orator*, ſo
" that his compoſitions *were not admired ſo*
" *much by the reader, as they had been by the*
" *hearer*; while *Cicero*'s more valued pro-
" ductions made all others, of that kind, leſs
" ſought for, and, conſequently, the leſs care-
" fully preſerved. *Hortenſius*, however, was
" generally allowed by the ancients, and by
" *Cicero* himſelf, to have poſſeſſed every ac-
" compliſhment, which could adorn an ora-
Cic. in Brut. 425. " tor; *elegance of ſtile*; *art of compoſition*;
" *fertility of invention*; *ſweetneſs of elocution*;
" *gracefulneſs of action*. These two rivals
" lived, however, always with great civility
" and reſpect towards each other, and were
" uſually in the ſame way of thinking, and
" acting, in the affairs of the Republic; till
" *Cicero*, in the caſe of his exile, diſcovered
" the plain marks." [marks viſible to himſelf only, as ſome think " of a lurking envy and
" infidelity in *Hortenſius*: yet his reſentment
" carried him no farther, than to ſome free
" complaints of it to their common friend
" *Atticus*, who made it his buſineſs to miti-
" gate this diſguſt, and hinder it from pro-
" ceeding to an open breach; ſo that *Cicero*,
" who was naturally placable, lived again
" with him, after his return, on the ſame eaſy
" terms as before, and lamented his death
Brut. init. " [which was in 703] with great tenderneſs,
" not only as the *private loſs* of a FRIEND,
" but a *public misfortune* to his COUNTRY, in
" being deprived of the ſervice and authority
" of ſo experienced a ſtateſman at ſo critical
" a conjuncture."

It would be hard to forbear being a little more particular, in this place, concerning the *worthineſs* of the perſon with whom *Cicero* lived in ſuch conſtant friendſhip, and concerning *the grievous weight of that misfortune* which the PUBLIC ſuſtained by loſing ſo eminent a *patriot*, as *Hortenſius*.

How able and aſſiduous a practitioner this *patriot* was, in corrupting the courts of Juſtice, has been already taken notice of. This was before his Conſulſhip. After his ambition had been ſatisfied by the attainment of that higheſt honour; he who had ever been a fop *, and inclined to luxury, became wholly a voluptuary and a trifler. * Macrob. ii. 9. Tome xi. p. 204.

I ſhall tranſcribe ſome part of what M. *Crevier* has given us on this head.

" If (as *Seneca* thinks) it be true, that there
" is *an infallible and neceſſary relation between*
" *the manners and eloquence of a ſpeaker* [talis
" hominibus oratio qualis vita, *Ep.* 114.] what
" we know of the luxury and finical delicacy
" of *Hortenſius*, and his fondneſs for trifles, will
" give us an idea of his ſpeeches very conform-
" able to the judgment paſſed on them by
" *Quintilian*; who thought them extremely
" below the reputation he had acquired as an
" orator.

" He was ſo nice with regard to his perſon,
" that he dreſſed himſelf before a looking-
" glaſs, adjuſting the plaits of his gown after
" the moſt graceful faſhion, and then, to keep
" them in that ſtate, moſt ſkilfully binding
" them with his girdle, the knot of which he
" contrived to hide in one of the lappets of his
" gown, which ſeemed to fall negligently.

" Fooliſhly fond of his trees, he *watered*
" (if one may here uſe that word) his Plane-
" trees with *wine*. And, it is reported, that,
" being to plead in a cauſe where *Cicero* was
" likewiſe engaged, he begged his conſent to
" changing the hour; becauſe he was under
" a neceſſity of going, without delay, to his
" *Tuſculan* villa, to irrigate with wine a Plane-
" tree, which he had there planted.

" His paſſion for the fiſh in his ponds was
" no leſs extravagant. *Cicero* has jeſted upon
" this folly, more than once, in his letters
" to *Atticus*. And *Varro* enters into particu-
" lars: He tells us that *Hortenſius*, with re-
" gard to his fiſh, was like miſers with regard
" to their money: he durſt not uſe them.
" And he not only forbore eating them, but
" fed them with his own hands; and, when
" they were ſick, took as much care of them
" as of his ſlaves [probably more.] He
" warmed their water, leſt they ſhould ſuffer
" from the coldneſs of it; and, it is added,
" that (like the orator *Craſſus*) he wept for
" the death of a lamprey."

The

Y. R. 685. Bef. Chr. 67. 384 Conſ.

The next year *L. Cæcilius Metellus* (brother of *Quintus*, one of the laſt years Conſuls) and *L. Marcius Rex*, took poſſeſſion of the Conſular faſces: But *Metellus* died in the beginning of January. Another whoſe name is not tranſmitted to us, was choſen in his place; but he likewiſe dying ſoon after, and before he could enter upon his office, *Marcius* governed, ſole Conſul, the remainder of the year, the *Romans* not thinking it proper to proceed to a new election: He did nothing memorable during his Conſulſhip: After the expiration of it, he went into *Cilicia*, the government of which had fallen to him.

Y. R. 686. Bef. Chr. 66. 385 Conſ.

The following year, when *M. Acilius Glabrio* and *C. Calpurnius Piſo* were Conſuls, was memorable for the *Gabinian* law, which gave to *Pompey* the command of the war againſt the pirates.

Plut. in Pomp. Strab. l. xiv.

The pirates were, originally, of *Cilicia*; they owed their beginning to the civil diſcords in the kingdom of *Syria* between the branches of the family of the *Seleucidæ*. The *Cilicians*, favoured by thoſe wars, and the conſequent diminutions of the royal authority, carried off a prodigious number of ſlaves from *Syria*. It was a very advantageous branch of commerce; becauſe the *Romans*, grown rich ſince the taking of *Carthage* and *Corinth*, bought ſlaves without number. The mart for this trade was the iſland of *Delos*; and very often 10,000 ſlaves, brought thither at once, were ſold the ſame day. The kings of *Cyprus* and *Egypt*, ever at war with thoſe of *Syria*, favoured the pirates, becauſe they diſtreſſed that country. Of theſe robbers the *Romans* took little notice, being diverted by more important and more urgent cares from giving attention to them, and from attempting to ſuppreſs a power which at firſt appeared contemptible. The war of *Mithridates*, to whoſe ſervice the pirates attached themſelves, furniſhed them with opportunities of increaſing their ſtrength. Ever ſince the time when *Sylla* beſieged *Athens*, their cruiſing about had made navigation difficult and dangerous. They very much diſtreſſed *Lucullus*, and put him under a neceſſity of being upon his guard againſt a ſurprize from them, when, by *Sylla's* order, he was labouring to aſſemble a fleet from all the maritime countries ſubject to the *Romans*, or in alliance with them. The pirates, nevertheleſs, had not then begun to extend themſelves far: They confined their courſes to the ſea between *Crete* and *Cyrene*, and between the *Piræeus*, and the promontory of *Malea*, now *Cape Malio*. But within this ſpace, though not very large, they got ſuch rich prizes, that they themſelves gave it the name of the Golden Sea. And they confined themſelves to it the rather, becauſe they were not yet ſtrong enough to inſult *Sicily* and *Italy*: And *Mithridates*, with whom they acted in concert, was then maſter of *Aſia*, and would not have permitted them to infeſt its coaſts. But when that prince was conſtrained to abandon his conqueſts, and had no longer any intereſt in *Aſia*, he gave full ſcope to the pirates: and the civil wars at *Rome* not permitting *Sylla* to check their progreſs, their power increaſed prodigiouſly. Enriched by the plunder of

Oroſ. l. v. c. 23. Florus, l. iii. c. 6.

App. Mithrid. p.

the

the coaſts of *Aſia*, they were ſoon in a condition to fit out triremes and other large veſſels. A multitude of people, ruined by the war between *Mithridates* and the *Romans*, greatly increaſed the piratic crew; to whom they repaired, that among them they might find means of ſubſiſtence, which they were deprived of at land: And now the pirates began to form armies, and the captains of the ſhips became Generals. They made deſcents, ſurprized cities that were not fortified, and, by aſſault, or by ſieges in form, took others that were in a condition of defence: and, by theſe military exploits, they pretended to have ennobled their profeſſion. And this notion ſo far prevailed, that many perſons, conſiderable by birth and fortune, aſſociated with them, and were far from thinking they diſhonoured themſelves by ſo doing. Y. R. 686. Bef. Chr. 66. 385 Conſ.

At length they formed a kind of commonwealth, of which *Cilicia* was the center: a country difficult to approach, becauſe of the rocks and ſhoals that lined the coaſts. Hence, though an aſſemblage from almoſt all the nations of the eaſt, they were called *Cilicians*. They had magazines, or ſtaples, upon the coaſts where they cruized, for depoſiting their booty, and had even naval arſenals well ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for building and equipping ſhips. They likewiſe erected high towers, from whence they might perceive their prey at a vaſt diſtance; and, at length, they ſucceeded ſo well, as to engage in their intereſt great and powerful cities, *Phaſelis*, *Olympia*, and ſeveral others, which the commodiouſneſs of a trade, carried on at the ſole riſque and expence of the pirates, induced to become their confederates.

Muræna, whom *Sylla* had left in *Aſia*, made ſome efforts to ſtop the rapid progreſs of their power, but ineffectually: ſo that, in the year 675, *P. Servilius* (who had been Conſul the year before) was ſent from *Rome* with both land and ſea forces againſt them. Theſe robbers, nevertheleſs, had the boldneſs to venture a battle with the *Roman* fleet; and, though the Proconſul obtained the victory, it was not without the loſs of a great number of his men. After his victory, he purſued them into their retreats, took and demoliſhed ſeveral of their fortreſſes, and even thoſe two conſiderable cities, *Phaſelis* and *Olympia*, which had entered into an alliance with them. Making an incurſion into the country, he likewiſe forced the city of *Iſaura*, and ſubdued the nation of the *Iſauri*. The fruit, however, of all theſe conqueſts was little more than the honour to himſelf of a triumph, with the ſurname of *Iſauricus*. His triumph was, probably, in the Conſulſhip of *Lucullus* and *Cotta*, in the year of *Rome* 679; in which year the Prætor *Marcus Antonius* [b] was charged with the war againſt the pirates, and had a more extenſive commiſſion, than had ever before been given to a *Roman* General: for he had the ſuperintendence of all the ſea coaſts ſubject to the *Roman* empire. The maritime Cic in Verr. II. 4. &. ibi Aſcon.

[b] This Prætor was ſon of *Marcus Antonius*, the famous orator, and father of *Marc Antony*, the Triumvir.

Y.R. 686. countries, which he was commiſſioned to defend, were made ſenſible of
Bef. Chr. 66. his authority, no otherwiſe, than by the rapines he there committed:
385 Conſ. and, though his power extended over all the ſeas, he confined his operations to the attacking *Crete*, which had furniſhed ſome troops to the king
Flor. l. iii. c. 7. of *Pontus*, and a retreat to the pirates. *Florus* tells us, that, believing himſelf ſure of victory, he carried more chains than arms in his ſhips. The *Cretans*, who, notwithſtanding the reduction of ſo many kingdoms and ſtates under the *Roman* yoke, had hitherto preſerved their liberty, were not intimidated. They put to ſea, met him, defeated him and took many of his ſhips. To inſult the vanquiſhed, they tied the priſoners to the ſails and rigging of their veſſels, and in that manner returned triumphantly into their ports. *Antonius*, as meanly diſcouraged now, as he had been preſumptuouſly confident before, compleated his infamy by clapping up a peace with the *Cretans*. He felt his diſgrace; and, having already a bad habit of body, ſhame and grief quickly brought him to his end. He died (in 682) bearing the ſurname of *Creticus*, that had been given him in deriſion.

Vid. ſupr. p. 212. In the year 684, the war againſt the *Cretans* was undertaken by public authority, and the conduct of it given to the Conſul *Metellus* (collegue of *Hortenſius*,) as has been before mentioned. He acquitted himſelf of his
Flor. l. iii. c. 7. commiſſion with ſucceſs: He defeated *Laſthenes*, one of their principal Generals, reduced the ſtrongeſt cities of *Crete* (*Cydonia*, *Gnoſſus* and *Lyctus*) and obliged *Panares*, the author of the war, and even *Laſthenes*, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners. Nevertheleſs, as the Conſul treated the conquered with rigour, and they were naturally obſtinate, and were ſupported by a great number of pirates, who had long had correſpondence in the iſland, and places of retreat there, they ſtill made a vigorous reſiſtance.

Plut. in Pomp. App. Mithrid. p. 235. Dio. l. xxxvi. Things were in this ſituation, with regard to *Crete*, when the Tribune *Gabinius* (in the Conſulſhip of *Acilius Glabrio* and *Calpurnius Piſo*) moved, that the conduct of the war againſt the pirates might be given to *Pompey*.

The power of the pirates was arrived to ſuch a height, that they had above a thouſand good ſhips, well manned and furniſhed with ſkilful pilots. They affected magnificence, and their ſhips glittered with gold and ſilver; their oars were ſilvered over; and the curtains of the cabins were of purple. If they went on ſhore, it was to feaſt themſelves in the moſt ſumptuous and coſtly manner; and theſe entertainments were accompanied with concerts of muſick; their inſolence and depredations had riſen to an exceſs beyond all imgination. They had taken above 400 cities, and had plundered thirteen of the moſt famous temples in the world of all their riches: but their principal employment and delight, was to inſult the *Romans*[a] and humble the pride of *Italy*. They landed there,

[a] When any one, who was taken by them, declared himſelf a *Roman*, they pretended

there, infeſted the main roads, and rifled the country houſes that were not far from the ſea. A.U.C. 686.

But of all the miſchiefs done by the pirates, that which occaſioned moſt complaints at *Rome*, was the ſcarcity and dearneſs of proviſions, a matter that always greatly affects the People. The multitude therefore were overjoyed at the propoſal made by *Gabinius* to commiſſion *Pompey* to clear the ſeas of thoſe vermin. But the Tribune is ſaid not to have been actuated by any zeal for the public welfare, but to have formed his project with the ſole view of gaining *Pompey*'s favour, and thereby mending his own fortune. He did not indeed name *Pompey* in the Law, but the public voice ſufficiently declared him to be the man intended, and the Law was ſo worded, as to conſtitute, not a General, but a Monarch throughout the whole extent of the *Roman* empire. *Gabinius* propoſed, that, out of the Conſulars, the People ſhould chuſe one, to whom the command ſhould be given for three years over the whole *Mediterranean*, from the pillars of *Hercules*, and over all the provinces bordering on that ſea, as far as fifty miles within land. The perſon elected was to have power to chuſe out of the Senators fifteen Lieutenants, and to take money at diſcretion, both out of the public treaſury, and from the farmers of the revenue: and he was to have a fleet of 200 ſail, with power to raiſe both ſoldiers and ſeamen, in what numbers he ſhould judge neceſſary. Plut. in Pomp.

The Senators, who in general were very much alarmed at the Tribune's motion, which manifeſtly tended to give the Republic a ſovereign, exclaimed loudly againſt it: they fell upon *Gabinius* with ſuch rage, that if we may believe *Dio*, he was near being killed upon the ſpot. The People, informed of the violence offered to their Tribune, turned their fury againſt the Senators, inſomuch that they were forced to ſeek their ſafety by flight. The Conſul *Piſo* diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion, telling *Pompey*, that, as he trod in the ſteps of *Romulus*, he ought to expect the like end: words, which brought *Piſo* into the ſame danger with which he had threatened *Pompey*. For the multitude gathered about him, and his life would have been in great hazard, if *Gabinius*, who feared the odium that would be brought upon himſelf, by the murder of the Conſul, had not controuled their fury. *Oppoſition* to the Tribune's bill, Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 32. Plut. in Pomp. Dio.

to be frightened, and to tremble: they ſtruck their thighs, and fell at his feet, to aſk him pardon. And when they had obtained forgiveneſs, they placed themſelves about him, put on his ſhoes, clothed him in his proper habit, that (as they ſaid) they might never miſtake him any more; and when, in this manner, they had a long while made him their ſport, they placed a ladder on the ſide of their ſhip, next the water, intimating to their priſoner, that he was now in full liberty to leave the veſſel, and go whitherſoever he pleaſed; and, upon his declining the favour, they threw him overboard.

The daughter of that very *Marcus Antonius*, who had been appointed to clear the ſeas of them, was carried by them from his houſe at *Miſenum*. Plut. in Pomp.

Y. R. 686. Bef. Chr. 66. 385 Conſ.

from ſome of his collegues, was now the Senate's reſource; but of the whole number two only, *L. Trebellius* and *L. Roſcius Otho*, had the courage to brave the danger.

The day came for the tribes to give their ſuffrages upon the Law in queſtion. *Pompey* acted his part to perfection. He aſcended the Roſtra, and addreſſed the People *to ſpare him*; [he was then but in the 39th year; and every body ſaw him in perfect health, and full of vigour; yet] *he was quite ſpent with his paſt fatigues; — and — indeed — he was afraid of envy, — He deſired nothing ſo much as the tranquillity of a private life: — Beſides, — the Commonwealth had many other perſons more capable of ſerving it: Of which capable perſons, however, he would name none; becauſe he would not give offence to any worthy man, whom, poſſibly, he might chance not to mention.*

Gabinius likewiſe played his part in this comedy, undertaking to anſwer *Pompey*'s reaſons. He ſaid, it were to be wiſhed that the ſtate abounded with men of ſuperior merit, but that theſe were rare; and when a ſtate was ſo happy as to poſſeſs ONE, it ought to reap advantage from his abilities. *For* (turning to *Pompey*) *you were not born for yourſelf only, you were born for your country.*

The Tribune *Trebellius* roſe up to ſpeak, but, obſerving that nobody was diſpoſed to hear him, he only pronounced his VETO. *Gabinius* thinking himſelf authorized by the example of *Tiberius Gracchus* (in the caſe of his collegue *Octavius*) moved to have *Trebellius* depoſed from his office: And ſeventeen of the thirty-five tribes had already voted for depoſing him, when he deſiſted from his *oppoſition*.

Vid. Vol. II. p. 525.

Plut. & Dio.

Roſcius Otho, intimidated by the danger which his collegue had juſt eſcaped, and not being able, by any exertion of his voice, to make himſelf heard, amidſt the noiſe of a multitude in ſo violent an agitation, only lifted up two fingers in the air, to ſignify that he would have the power, which was propoſed to be given to *Pompey*, divided between two. The People underſtood his meaning perfectly well, and raiſed a cry of indignation ſo loud, that a raven, it is ſaid, flying over the Aſſembly, was ſtruck with the noiſe, as with a thunder-clap, and fell dead in the midſt of the Forum.

Midd. p. 118. Plut. in Pomp. & Dio.

Nevertheleſs, the grant of a power ſo exorbitant, and unknown to the Laws, was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by *Catulus*, *Hortenſius*, and all the chief men of the Senate (*Cæſar* excepted) as dangerous to the public liberty, nor fit to be intruſted to any ſingle perſon. They alledged, that theſe unuſual grants were the cauſe of all the miſery the Republic had ſuffered from the proſcriptions of *Marius* and *Sylla*, who, by a perpetual ſucceſſion of extraordinary commands, were made too great to be controuled by the authority of the Laws; that, though the ſame abuſe of power was not to be apprehended from *Pompey*, yet the thing itſelf was pernicious, and contrary to the CONSTITUTION of *Rome*; that the equality of

DEMOCRACY required, that the public honours ſhould be ſhared alike by all who were worthy of them; that there was no other way to make men worthy, and to furniſh the city with a number and choice of experienced commanders: He concluded — "You love *Pompey*, and you have reaſon "ſo to do. But your affection for him tranſports you too far; you "charge him with all the moſt dangerous commiſſions, you expoſe him to "the greateſt dangers, Should you unfortunately happen to loſe him, In "whom would you place your confidence?" Upon which, as *Cicero* ſays, *he reaped the juſt fruit of his virtue, when they all cried out with one voice,* IN YOU, CATULUS. Y.R. 686. Bef. Chr. 66. 385 Conſ. Pro Leg. Man. 20.

The greater part of the day being ſpent in theſe diſputes and harangues, it was neceſſary to put off the deciſion of the affair to another Aſſembly. *Pompey* retired into the country, to ſhew his modeſty, and to have the honour of being named in his abſence to ſo important an employment. As there had been a precedent for the Law a few years before in favour of *M. Antonius*, a man much inferior both in merit and intereſt, it was carried againſt the united authority of all the magiſtrates, but with the general inclination of the People. *Pompey* returned by night to *Rome*, in order to ſhun the concourſe of the multitude, and the congratulations of his friends, who, coming to meet him, would have made his entry a kind of triumphal proceſſion. At break of day he came abroad, and offered a ſacrifice; and the People being again aſſembled, granted him ſeveral things, which had not been granted him by *Gabinius*'s law: for they decreed him 500 ſhips, 120,000 foot, 5000 horſe, twenty-four Lieutenants to be choſen out of the Senate; two Quæſtors, and 6000 talents. From the greateſt ſcarcity of proviſions, which had been known for a long time in *Rome*, the credit of *Pompey*'s name ſunk the price of them at once, as if plenty had been actually reſtored. 1162500 l.

But though the Senate could not hinder the Law, yet they had their revenge on *Gabinius*, the author of it, by preventing his being choſen one of *Pompey*'s Lieutenants, which was what he chiefly aimed at, and what *Pompey* himſelf ſolicited: though *Pompey* probably made him amends for it ſome other way. Since, as *Cicero* * ſays, he was ſo neceſſitous at this time, and ſo profligate, that, if he had not carried his Law, he muſt have turned pirate himſelf. * Poſt red. in Senat. 5.

As *Pompey*'s firſt view was to reſtore plenty to the city, and this by delivering *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the coaſts of *Africa*, the three granaries of *Rome*, from the fear of the pirates, he ſo diſtributed his fleet, that in forty days all the ſeas, from the Streights to *Greece*, were perfectly cleared: proviſions came in great abundance to the *Roman* markets, and *Pompey* was extolled to the ſkies. Only the Conſul *Piſo*, through an inflexible obſtinacy, prevented, or retarded, the levies of ſoldiers and ſeamen which had been granted; which obliged *Pompey* to return to *Rome*. He was received with the loudeſt applauſes; and the indignation of the Cic. pro Leg. Man. Plut. in Pomp.

Y. R. 686. Bef. Chr. 66. 385 Conſ.

People againſt *Piſo* roſe to ſuch a height, that they were diſpoſed to deprive him of the Conſulſhip: *Gabinius* had already drawn up a Law for that purpoſe; but *Pompey* would not ſuffer things to be carried to that extremity. On the other hand, the Senate would not ſupport the Conſul in his laſt meaſures; ſo that *Pompey* obtained full ſatisfaction. He preſently left *Rome*, and, at *Brunduſium*, embarked again, in order to finiſh his enterpriſe.

The pirates, as faſt as they were driven out of their lurking-places, bent their courſe towards *Cilicia*, which was their moſt ſecure retreat. *Pompey*, in purſuing them to that coaſt, met ſeveral of their ſmall fleets, which ſurrendered to him: he treated his priſoners with great humanity, and this conduct very much facilitated the completion of his enterprize: for thoſe of the pirates, who had avoided his Lieutenants, becauſe more ſevere, came in from all parts to ſubmit to him, and gave him intelligence of the retreats of the moſt reſolute, and the moſt guilty of their aſſociates. On the coaſt of *Cilicia*, near *Coraceſium*, the whole remaining ſtrength of the pirates, collected into one fleet, waited for him to give him battle. *Pompey*, with a fleet of ſixty ſhips, defeated them without much difficulty. They ſhut themſelves up in *Coraceſium*, and ſuſtained a ſiege; but at length, thinking it moſt prudent to ſubmit, they ſurrendered to the victor their cities, the iſlands they had fortified, and, in a word, all their poſſeſſions, and themſelves.

Plut. in Pomp.

And thus was terminated the war with the pirates, the forty-ninth day after the departure of *Pompey* from *Brunduſium*.

Pompey, in this expedition, had taken above 20,000 priſoners, and the queſtion was how to diſpoſe of them. He could not entertain the thought of putting them to death; and, on the other hand, it was not ſafe to leave it in their power to renew the late miſchiefs. He reflected (ſays *Plutarch*) that man is neither brutal nor unſociable; that violence is a vice contrary to his nature, and may be changed by a change of habitation, and manner of living, as even the fierceſt of wild beaſts are, by ſuch methods, made tame. He reſolved therefore to remove his priſoners far from the ſea-coaſt into the inland parts, and there diſperſe them. He ſettled many in certain cities of *Cilicia*, which were almoſt deſerted; and eſpecially in *Soli*, which had been lately ruined by *Tigranes*. It was afterwards called *Pompeiopolis*, from the name of its reſtorer. He likewiſe tranſplanted a conſiderable number of them into *Achaia*, and even into *Italy*.

Pompey made a great figure in this war with the pirates; but his conduct towards Q. *Metellus*, who had been commiſſioned to reduce the iſland of *Crete*, diſhonoured him. The ſucceſs of *Metellus* in that enterprize, and the obſtinate reſiſtance of the *Cretans*, aided by the pirates, have been already mentioned. As they had heard much of *Pompey*'s lenity and clemency, they ſent deputies to him in *Pamphylia*, where he then

Vid. ſupr. p. 216. Cic. pro leg. Man. c. 12.

then was, having reduced *Cilicia*, declaring by them, that they ſurrendered themſelves to him, and were ready to ſubmit to all that he ſhould command. Ambitious of ruling alone, *Pompey*, contrary to all caſon and decency, received the deputies of the *Cretans*, and their aſſociate pirates: and pretending, that his commiſſion included all *Crete*, becauſe no part of that iſland was fifty miles from the ſea, he, by letter, ordered *Metellus* to ceaſe the war: and he afterwards ſent thither *Octavius*, one of his Lieutenants, to receive the ſubmiſſion of the people; and in his name, and by his authority, to eſtabliſh a peace. *Metellus* paid no regard to theſe orders, but preſſed the ſiege of the place he had inveſted; ſo that *Octavius* a *Roman* commander, was ſhut up in a town with pirates, to ſuſtain a ſiege againſt a *Roman* army. When *Metellus* had forced the place, he cauſed the pirates to be executed, and treated *Octavius* himſelf with the utmoſt contempt: repreſenting to him the unworthineſs of his General's conduct, who, to gratify a mean jealouſy, had taken under his protection the enemies of Gods and men. Y. R. 686. Plut. in Pomp.

This affair continued in ſuſpence till the next year, when the command of the war againſt *Mithridates* was given to *Pompey*; who then, being employed in more important cares, left *Metellus* to complete the conqueſt of *Crete* without interfering any more. For this conqueſt, *Metellus* acquired the ſurname of *Creticus*; but his triumph was poſtponed, through the intrigues of *Pompey*, and the Tribunes of his faction.

In the following Conſulſhip of *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *L. Volcatius Tullus*, *Manilius*, one of the Tribunes, no ſooner entered on his office, than he raiſed a freſh diſturbance in the City, by the promulgation of a Law, *for granting to ſlaves ſet free, a right of voting among the tribes*; which gave ſo much ſcandal to all, and was ſo vigorouſly oppoſed by the Senate, that he was preſently obliged to drop it: but *being always venal*, as *Velleius* ſays, *and the tool of other mens power*, that he might recover his credit with the People, and engage the favour of *Pompey*, he propoſed a ſecond Law, that *Pompey*, *who was then in* Cilicia, *extinguiſhing the remains of the piratic war, ſhould have the government of* Aſia *added to his commiſſion, with the command of the* Mithridatic *war* [a], *and of all the* Roman *armies in thoſe parts.* Y. R. 687. Bef. Chr. 65. 386 Conſ. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 33.

This was, as *Plutarch* obſerves, putting the whole *Roman* empire into the hands of a ſingle man. The Senate therefore were more alarmed by this propoſal, than they had been by that of *Gabinius*: But the People, who at that time idolized *Pompey*, appeared ſo eagerly bent to exalt him, that of all the Fathers, not one, except *Hortenſius* and *Catulus* (*who had* Plut. in Pomp. App. Mithrid. p. 238. Diod. l. xxxvi.

[a] It was about eight years ſince *Lucullus* was firſt ſent to that war, in which, by a ſeries of many great and glorious acts, he had acquired a reputation both of courage and conduct equal to that of the greateſt Generals.

both

Y. R. 687. Bef. Chr. 65. 368 Conſ.

both been Conſuls) ventured to ſpeak in favour of the ancient maxims. *Servilius Iſauricus*, a conſular perſon; *Cæſar* (with a view, perhaps, to commiſſions for himſelf of the like irregular kind) and even *Cicero* then Prætor, *Cicero*, the conſummate patriot, ſupported the Tribune's propoſal, though (as an ingenious and elegant writer obſerves) "They "had not the leaſt pretence of public neceſſity to juſtify it, as they "ſeemed to have had in the commiſſion they gave him againſt the pirates, "who were, at that time, very formidable enemies: But *Lucullus*, who "commanded in *Aſia*, had overcome *Mithridates* in ſeveral battles, and "was as capable of finiſhing the war, as he whom they appointed to be "his ſucceſſor. With an eloquence worthy of a better cauſe, he moſt "artfully reflected on *Lucullus*, whoſe reputation, as well as his authority, "was to be made a ſacrifice to the envy of *Pompey*: Then he proceeded "to deſcant upon *Pompey*'s character, which he ſet off with all the orna-"ments of rhetoric; attributing to him the whole ſucceſs, not only of "the *African*, *Spaniſh*, and *Piratic* wars, but even of that againſt the "*Slaves*, the honour of which was ſolely due to *Craſſus*. Thus by cruel-"ly injuring two of the greateſt Generals that were in the Common-"wealth, by a moſt ſervile flattery of the man who was manifeſtly over-"turning all its LIBERTIES [a], he brought the People to conſent to [or "rather made the People more ardently deſirous to paſs] the MANILIAN "*Law*: which, had a [b] regard to the intereſt of his country been his con-"ſtant principle, he ought to have oppoſed as violently, as he did after-"wards the *Agrarian* Law, or any other attempt againſt the ſafety and "freedom of the ſtate."

Obſervations on the Life and Writings of Cicero, p. 17. 2d edit.

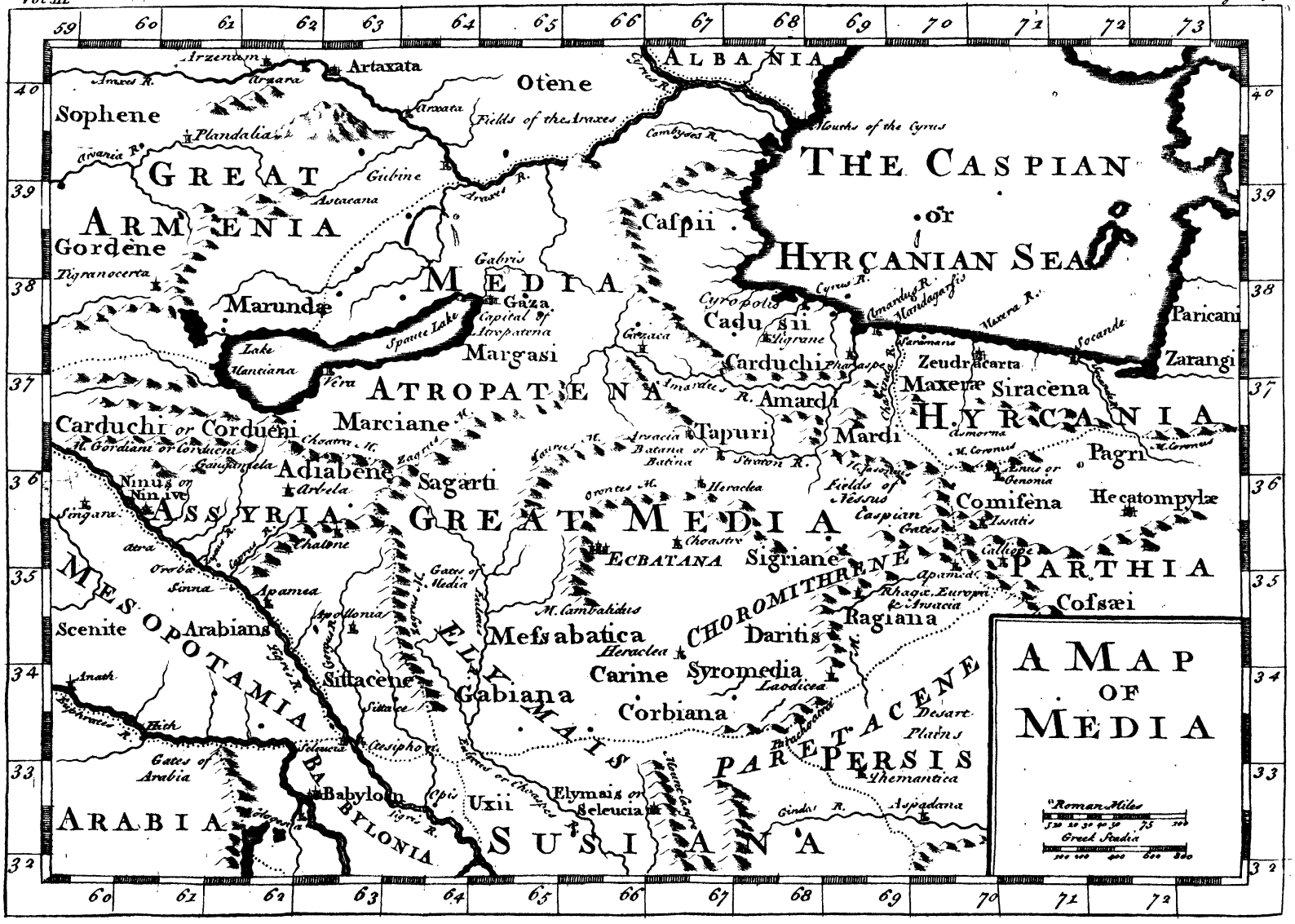
Manilius's

[a] i. e. *All thoſe remains of* ROMAN LIBERTY, that could ſubſiſt under an *uſurped*, *Anti-conſtitutional*, *Infamous* ARISTOCRACY, or OLIGARCHY; where not only *Officers of Truſt*, and even the *higheſt Magiſtracies*, but *Judiciary Decrees*, were openly bought and ſold. *Vid. ſupra*, p. 204, 205.

[b] "We have, ſays M. *Crevier*, the diſcourſe "which *Cicero* pronounced on this occaſion. "It is more to his honour, as an orator, than "as a patriot, or commonwealth's man. *Dio* "cenſures him for it, with a ſeverity which I "ſhall not imitate. This hiſtorian is almoſt "always unjuſt in his judgment of thoſe who "diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their VIRTUE "[*i. e.* their *zeal* for the *Ariſtocracy*] in the "times we are ſpeaking of. In truth, it is "very hard to clear *Cicero* from the charge of "*not being faithful enough to the maxims of* "*the* ARISTOCRACY." [as if it was a proof of *Virtue* to adhere to thoſe maxims in the *Roman* DEMOCRACY.] "But *he had the Conſulſhip* "*nearly in view*, and it behoved him there-"fore to gain the people's favour, and make "ſure of the friendſhip of *Pompey*. I am, "nevertheleſs, perſuaded, that if *Cicero* had "looked upon *Manilius's* project, as a meaſure "pernicious to the *Commonwealth*, he would "never have promoted it, for the ſake of any "perſonal advantage to himſelf."

Vid. ſupr. p. 218, 219.

This is ſurely having a faith abſolutely implicit in the virtue and integrity of *Cicero*, ſuch a faith as *Cicero*, in excuſe of himſelf, pretends to have had in the virtue of *Pompey*. How far this faith is defenſible, I ſhall leave to the reader's conſideration. Moſt perſons, who are members of a FREE ſtate, will, I imagine, judge, that if *Pompey* aſpired to the commiſſion in queſtion, or diſcovered a willingneſs to accept it, he was by no means fit to be


A MAP OF MEDIA
THE CASPIAN or HYRCANIAN SEA
ALBANIA
Mouths of the Cyrus
Arzenum
Artaxata
Otene
Sophene
Plandalia
Fields of the Araxes
GREAT ARMENIA
Gubine
Astacana
Gordene
Tigranocerta
Caspii
MEDIA
Gabris
Gaza
Capital of Atropatena
Marundæ
Spaute Lake
Lake Mantiana
Margasi
Vera
ATROPATENA
Cyropolis
Cadusii
Tigrane
Carduchi
Pharaspe
Zeudracarta
Maxeræ
Siracena
Paricani
Zarangi
Socande
Amardi
Mardi
HYRCANIA
Carduchi or Corduéni
Marciane
Tapuri
Adiabene
Arbela
Sagarti
Ninus or Ninive
ASSYRIA
GREAT MEDIA
Fields of Nessus
Caspian Gates
Comifena
Hecatompylæ
Pagri
Issatis
Calliope
PARTHIA
Cossæi
Sigriane
ECBATANA
Choastre
Heraclea
Sinna
Apamea
Apollonia
Gates of Media
MESOPOTAMIA
Scenite
Arabians
Mesabatica
CHOROMITHRENE
Daritis
Ragiana
Rhagæ, Europa & Arsacia
Carine
Syromedia
Laodicea
Corbiana
Sittacene
Gabiana
ELYMAIS
PARETACENE
Desart Plains
PERSIS
Themantica
Aspadana
Anath
Hith
Gates of Arabia
Babylon
BABYLONIA
Opis
Uxii
Elymais or Seleucia
SUSIANA
ARABIA
Roman Miles
Greek Stadia

A MAP OF COLCHIS IBERIA ALBANIA and the Neighbouring Countries
SARMATIA EUROPÆA
MÆOTÆ in EUROPE
LAKE or PALUS MÆOTIS
Melanchæni
Scymnitæ
Jaxamatæ
Siraces
Pfesfians
Tyrambes
Asfuricani
Ariæca
Zinchi
Amazones
Vales
SCYTHIA
Orineans
Serbi
SARMATIA ASIATICA
Alani
Olondæ
Udini
Diduri
Coli
Moschi
Coraxi
Heniochi
Cercetus
Sindi
Tyrambe
Gerasus
Carcina
Gulph of Carcina
Olbia
Boristhenes R.
Tanais R.
Navaris
Tanais
Panjardis
Pfesius R.
Alexander's Pillars
Mouths of the Rha
Udus R.
Soana R.
Parthenium Promont.
CHERSONESUS TAURICUS
Theodosia
Cherfonesus
Symbolis Port
Criumetopon Prom.
The Cimmerian Bosphorus
THE EUXINE SEA
Dioscurias or Sebastopolis
Siganeum
Pharis
Sebastopolis
Archaopolis
Lazi
Zydrita
Absarum
Athenes City & Prom.
Rhizius City & R.
Hyssus Port
Trebizonde
Heniochi
Macrones
COLCHIS
Cyta
Hyndaris
Glaucus R.
Iberus R.
Cyaneus R.
Charieus R.
Hippus R.
Asgomes R.
Anthemus R.
Ampsalis
Phrixus
Gelduba
IBERIA
Triare Region
Armachica
Armozica
Zalissa
Thasia
Mosa
Orchistene
Cambysene
Comisena
Phanene
Gogarene
Otene
Sodyrcena
Artaxata
Sacapena
Taranitis
Arsenium
Azara
The Fields of the Araxes
Araxata
ASIA MINOR
ARMENIA
Mount Taurus
Euphrates R.
Euphrates
Phanitalia
Arsania R.
Sophene
Cubine
MEDIA
Mouths of the Cyrus
Cyrus
Araxes
Albanus R.
Cambyses R.
Albania
Cabalaca
Gagara
Baruca
Sioda
Cadaca
Gates of Albania
Orica
Caspian or Hyrcanian Sea
THE CASPIAN
or
HYRCANIAN
SEA
Roman Miles 75 to a degree
Greek Stadia 8 of which make a Mile

Manilius's bill, paſſing into a Law, placed *Pompey* at the utmoſt height of his wiſhes; he ſaw himſelf raiſed, by the ſuffrages of his fellow-citizens, to a power almoſt equal to that which *Sylla* had forcibly uſurped. But his natural diſpoſition, and a long habit of profound diſſimulation, made him pretend great affliction, when he received the news of the honour done him. His friends vied with each other in expreſſing their joy; but he, frowning and ſtriking his thigh, cried out, *O Gods! am I then condemned to endleſs labour? How much better would it have been for me to have lived without glory and unknown, than to be thus for ever armed, for ever making war! Muſt I then be always expoſed to that envy which perſecutes me? Muſt I never be ſuffered to enjoy, in the tranquillity of a country life, the dear company of my wife and children?* This diſſimulation, this hypocriſy (ſays *Plutarch*[*]) was intolerable even to his moſt familiar friends, who well knew, that, beſide the pleaſure of having his ambition ſatisfied, he had another exquiſite joy, from the mortification of his hated rival *Lucullus*, to whom nothing could be more offenſive, than to be ſupplanted in his command by *Pompey*. But, before we enter on *Pompey*'s exploits, in the war againſt *Mithridates*, it will be proper to take a view of what had paſſed in *Aſia* and the Eaſt, ſince the Peace which that prince concluded with *Sylla*, in the year 668 of *Rome*; and of the preſent ſituation of things in that country.

Y.R. 687. Plut. Dio. Appian.

CHAP. VII.

The occaſion and commencement (in 669 or 670) of the Second Mithridatic War; *under the conduct of* Muræna. *He concludes a peace with the King in 672, by order of* Sylla, *then* Dictator. *The* Third Mithridatic War *commences in 679, under the conduct of* L. Licinius Lucullus, *then Conſul: and is carried on by him to the year 687; when he is ſucceeded in the command by* Pompey.

THE King of *Pontus* had no ſooner made peace with the *Romans*, then he turned his arms againſt the People of *Colchis*, who had thrown off his government: but they requeſting him to give them his

be truſted with it; unleſs it were intended by his conſtituents as a thing eligible and deſirable, to reduce the government to a *Monarchy*.

I have obſerved, that this ingenious *French* writer ſeems frequently to make the Aristocracy, and the Commonwealth, or Free State, ſynonymous terms; whereas the *Freedom* of the *Roman People*, from the time of *Sylla*, who, by Laws of his own, eſtabliſhed the Aristocracy, was ſurely, at beſt, no better than the freedom of outlaws and banditti, who are under the guidance of ſuitable leaders; and the Senate itſelf was notoriouſly a *Spelunca Latronum*.

[*] N. B. This hiſtorian, in the beginning of his Hiſtory of *Pompey*'s Life, makes *ſincerity* and *veracity* parts of his character.

ſon

App. Mithridat. p. 214.

ſon *Mithridates* to be their king, and he granting their requeſt, they immediately ſubmitted. The father, nevertheleſs, ſuſpecting that the late rebellion might be the effect of his ſon's intrigues to obtain for himſelf a kingdom, ſent for him, bound him with chains of gold, and then put him to death.

After this he undertook the reduction of the *Boſporani*, who had rebelled at the ſame time with the people of *Colchis*: and for this enterprize he made ſuch great preparations, both of men and ſhips, as gave reaſon to think he had the *Romans* more in view, than his rebellious ſubjects. And this ſeemed the more probable, as he retained ſeveral fortreſſes in *Cappadocia*, notwithſtanding his engagement, by treaty, to yield that country to *Ariobarzanes*.

Muræna, who had been left by *Sylla* in *Aſia* with *Fimbria*'s Legions, and who with much ardency aſpired to the honour of a *triumph*, was glad of theſe pretexts for renewing the war. While this project engaged all his thoughts, *Archelaus*, with his wife and children, took refuge with him. This General had been ſuſpected by *Mithridates*, ever ſince the battle of *Chærona*, and the ſubſequent negotiation with *Sylla*; in which the King thought his intereſt had been ſacrificed by his General to that of the *Romans*. *Archelaus*, who knew his maſter's temper, and therefore his own danger, put himſelf for ſafety into *Muræna*'s hands, and then urged him to renew the war: an advice which he readily liſtened to; it being ſo agreeable to his own predetermination. He entered *Cappadocia*, ſeized the city of *Comana*, and there plundered the rich temple of *Bellona*. On theſe hoſtilities, the King of *Pontus*, by an embaſſy [a], remonſtrated to *Muræna*, that he acted contrary to the treaty lately concluded. As the treaty between *Sylla* and *Mithridates* had not been put in writing, the parties having been contented with the execution of the conditions, *Muræna* anſwered, that he knew nothing of it. He continued his incurſions and depredations, and took up his winter-quarters in *Cappadocia* [b]. The King ſent his complaints to *Rome*; and, while he waited for an anſwer, ſuffered *Muræna* unmoleſted to purſue his hoſtilities. At length *Calidius* arrived, bringing with him, not a written decree of the Senate, but a mere verbal order to *Muræna*, to diſcontinue the war againſt *Mithridates*. At leaſt, this is what he ſaid to the *Roman* General in public, but they ſaw each other in private, and the war went on as before.

App ibid. p. 215

Muræna paſſed the river *Halys*, as if intending to march to *Sinope*, the capital of the kingdom of *Mithridates*, and the place where he was born.

Memnon. apud Phot.

[a] The Ambaſſadors are ſaid to have been ſome *Greek* philoſophers, who endeavoured, inſtead of ſerving the King, to render him more odious to the *Romans*.

[b] It is probable, that all this paſſed in the year 670, the Conſulſhip of *Scipio* and *Norbanus*.

Againſt

Againſt the *Roman* General, the king detached *Gordius*, whom he ſoon after followed in perſon, with numerous forces. The armies approached near to each other: the *Halys* only was between them. *Mithridates* paſſed the river in ſpite of all oppoſition from the enemy. A general action enſued, but with what ſucceſs does not appear. Each ſide pretended to the victory; yet it would ſeem, that neither had great cauſe to boaſt: For *Mithridates*, after the battle, retired towards *Colchis*, and *Muræna* into *Phrygia*. The king, however, celebrated his pretended victory by a ſolemn ſacrifice, after the manner of the *Perſians*, from whom he derived his origin. This was the laſt action of the ſecond war with *Mithridates*, which had laſted about three years. *Sylla*, being created Dictator, ſent his abſolute orders to *Muræna* to deſiſt from hoſtilities. *Gabinius*, the bearer of theſe orders, was likewiſe commiſſioned to reconcile the two kings, *Mithridates* and *Ariobarzanes*. The Dictator's will was punctually complied with, and, to ſeal the reconciliation, the king of *Pontus* gave a great feaſt to *Ariobarzanes* and *Gabinius*. App. ubi ſupr. Y. 672.

Muræna ſeems to have had no good title to a triumph, yet he had that honour: perhaps *Sylla*, who knew in what manner *Mithridates* had celebrated his pretended victory, was willing, for the honour of the *Roman* name, to grant a triumph to *Muræna*.

Mithridates, as we have ſeen, had twice made peace with the *Romans*; but he had no written treaty, either with *Sylla* or *Muræna*. He ſent Ambaſſadors therefore to *Rome*, to demand a decree of the Senate, authorizing what had been ſtipulated between him and the *Roman* Generals: But as *Ariobarzanes* had likewiſe ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to complain, that *Mithridates* had not reſtored to him all *Cappadocia*, *Sylla*, who was then Dictator, decreed, that the king of *Pontus* ſhould, previouſly to any new tranſaction, evacuate *Cappadocia* intirely, as had been agreed. *Mithridates* obeyed; and afterwards ſent a new embaſſy finally to ſettle the treaty. But *Sylla** was then dead, and the thoughts of the *Romans* were ſo much engroſſed with inteſtine troubles and diviſions, that the Ambaſſadors could not obtain audience of the Senate: they returned therefore, without an anſwer, to their maſter, who was not ſorry to have that pretext for accuſing the *Romans* of an intention to renew the war. App. Mithrid. p. 216. Y. 673 & 674.

* He died in 675.

He had taken care to keep his troops in exerciſe, by making war upon ſeveral nations on the borders of the *Phaſis*, and mount *Caucaſus*, and likewiſe upon the people of the *Cimmerian Boſporus*, whom he ſubjected, and over whom he made his ſon, *Machares*, king.

And now the difficulties, into which the war of *Lepidus*, and, afterwards, that of *Sertorius*, had thrown the *Roman* Commonwealth, made the king of *Pontus* believe he might renew hoſtilities with advantage. However, at firſt, he did not appear himſelf, but engaged *Tigranes* to Y. 675 & 676.

act, who, having entered *Cappadocia*, became preſently maſter of it, ruined twelve *Grecian* cities in that country, and carried off the inhabitants, to the number of 300,000, to people his favourite city, *Tigranocerta*.

In the year of *Rome* 678 * died *Nicomedes*, king of *Bithynia*, who, by his will, made the *Roman* People his heir; whereupon *M. Junius Silanus*, Proconſul of *Aſia*, received orders to go into that kingdom, and reduce it into a *Roman* province. *Mithridates*, who had long entertained the deſign of ſeizing that kingdom, would by no means acquieſce in its becoming a part of the *Roman* dominion. It was at this time therefore he threw off the maſk, and having ſent the famous embaſſy, before ſpoken of, to *Sertorius*, undertook this his THIRD WAR againſt the *Romans*, with more confidence than he had done the two former; his preparations being more judiciouſly made. Inſtead of an innumerable multitude of Barbarians of different nations and languages, whoſe confuſed noiſes could only terrify the ſoft *Aſiatics*, and whoſe arms glittered with gold and precious ſtones, he aſſembled an army of 120,000 ſtout ſoldiers, formed and diſciplined after the *Roman* manner. To this body of infantry he added 16,000 troopers well mounted, and 100 chariots armed with ſcythes. He likewiſe fitted out a fleet of 400 ſail, well manned; and he amaſſed above nine millions of buſhels of corn, which he diſtributed, in different magazines, along the coaſt. Thus prepared for war, he attacked *Bithynia* both by land and ſea.

Liv. Epit. l. xciii. A. 678.

Vid ſupra, p. 189, 190.

Plut. in Luc.

A. 679. The Conſular Faſces had been transferred to *L. Licinius Lucullus* [c] and *M. Aurelius Cotta*; and the province of *Gallia Ciſalpina*, had

* Conſulſhip of *L. Octavius* and *C. Aurelius Cotta*.

[c] *Plutarch* tells us, that the father of *Lucullus*, who had been Prætor in *Sicily*, was accuſed and found guilty of extortion, and that his mother, ſiſter of *Metellus Numidicus*, was a woman of very indiſcreet conduct. *Lucullus* diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a very uncommon degree of fraternal affection. He was older than his brother *Marcus*, and therefore ſooner capable of holding offices; but never would accept of any office till his brother became capable, by his years, of being aſſociated with him: And the *Roman* People were ſo pleaſed with this turn of his mind, that in his abſence they choſe him Ædile, conjointly with that brother who was ſo dear to him: He was much addicted to letters, and could write and ſpeak readily in the *Greek* as well as the *Roman* language. A hiſtory of the *Marſic* War, written by him in *Greek*, was extant in *Plutarch*'s time. He was fortunately abſent from *Italy* during thoſe dreadful times, when *Marius* and *Sylla* cauſed ſuch deſolation there. He had no ſhare in the Dictator's tyrannical proceedings. Nevertheleſs, *Sylla* always treated him as a perſon he eſteemed and loved, and employed him in his moſt important affairs: and, as a mark of particular friendſhip, inſcribed his Commentaries to him, and left him guardian to his ſon (as was before mentioned.) *Cicero* declares, that *Lucullus* ſet out from *Rome* with little or no experience in war, and arrived in *Aſia* an accompliſhed general: but we learn from others, that *Lucullus* had ſerved with diſtinction in the *Social* War, and had been *Sylla*'s Quæſtor, and in that capacity had commanded a fleet, and fought ſeveral battles, in all which he came off victorious. He had been Ædile in 674; Prætor at *Rome* in 676; and Prætor in *Africa* in 677.

fallen

fallen by lot to the former: But news being ſoon after brought to *Rome*, that the government of *Cilicia* was vacant (by the death of *L. Octavius*, who had ſucceeded *Servilius Iſauricus*,) *Lucullus*, ardently deſirous of conducting the war againſt *Mithridates*, employed all his thoughts to get *Cilicia* aſſigned to him; becauſe, as *Cappadocia* joined to *Cilicia*, if he obtained this province, the accompliſhment of his other deſire would be a natural conſequence.

In order to obtain his wiſh, he was forced to pay humble court to the miſtreſs of one *Cethegus*, an infamous, contemptible man, but who had found means to make himſelf ſo very popular, that nothing was done at *Rome* without his approbation; and there was no acceſs to him, but through his miſtreſs, *Precia*. *Lucullus* gained her by preſents. It greatly flattered her vanity, that a Conſul, and ſuch a man as *Lucullus*, ſhould ſolicit her protection. The province of *Cilicia* was given to him by the People, and, of courſe, as he had foreſeen, the conduct of the war againſt the king of *Pontus*. However, his collegue, *Cotta*, deſiring to have part in that enterprize, obtained of the Senate to ſend him with a fleet to guard the *Propontis*, and to defend *Bithynia*. Plut. in Lucull.

Lucullus carried only one legion from *Italy*: He found four in *Aſia*, but two of the four were thoſe who (as above * related) had formerly killed *Flaccus* their General, and afterwards betrayed *Fimbria*: all ſtout ſoldiers, experienced in war, and inured to fatigues, but intractable, ſeditious, and accuſtomed not to obey their commanders, but to be humoured by them. *Lucullus* had the ſkill to bring them under better diſcipline; (though not to keep them in obedience to the end of the war.) * Vid. ſupr. p. 146.

And whereas the exactions of *Sylla*, and the oppreſſions and extortions of the publicans and uſurers, had greatly indiſpoſed the cities of *Aſia* towards the *Roman* government, *Lucullus* applied himſelf to remedy this evil, as much as the cares of the war would allow him to do. He checked the *Harpies* (as *Plutarch* call them) in their courſe of oppreſſion, till he could entirely expel them; inſomuch, that the ſtates of *Aſia* left him in full liberty to march without fear to the aid of his collegue *Cotta*, who, by imprudence, had brought himſelf into very great danger. For being arrived in *Bithynia*, and finding *Mithridates* there with his army, he aſpired to the glory of conquering him without the aid of *Lucullus*. Defeated near *Chalcedon* both by land and ſea in one day, he loſt 4000 *Romans*, and above 60 ſhips, and was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in that city, where he had no hope of ſuccour, but from his collegue. If *Lucullus* had followed the inclinations of his ſoldiers, he would not have attempted to relieve *Cotta*, with whom they were greatly offended, on account of his project of conquering without them. They would have had their General turn his arms towards *Pontus*; but he, having Liv. Epit. l. xciii. App. Mithrid. p. 218. Plut. in Luc.

called them together, declared to them, that he had rather reſcue a ſingle *Roman* citizen from danger, than conquer all the dominions of *Mithridates*. He began his march therefore towards *Bithynia*; upon advice of which, *Mithridates* left *Chalcedon* and *Cotta*, and met *Lucullus* near *Otryæ*, a city of *Phrygia*; but a maſs of fire falling between the two armies, this prodigy ſo terrified them, that they ſeparated, as it were, by conſent. *Lucullus*, judging from the enormous multitude which followed *Mithridates*, that he would ſoon be obliged to retire for want of proviſions, reſolved to avoid an action. Accordingly it ſo fell out: the king decamped, and, to conceal his march, ſet forward in a very dark and rainy night, and arrived before *Cyzicum*, an important city[d], and one of the keys of *Aſia*. The inhabitants had ſuffered a conſiderable blow in the naval battle of *Chalcedon*, where they had loſt 3000 men and ten ſhips, ſo that he expected to carry the place with eaſe. He formed ten camps about it, and made his fleet ſhut up the two extremities of the Streight, that ſeparated the iſland from the continent. *Lucullus*, nevertheleſs, who had followed the enemy, and had encamped at a ſmall diſtance from them upon an eminence, where he was ſafe from inſult, and at hand to cut off their proviſions, boaſted to his ſoldiers, that, without fighting, he ſhould force *Mithridates* to quit his enterprize.

Strab. l. xii. p. 575. Plut. in Luc.

The *Cyzicenians* ſuſtained the ſiege with wonderful reſolution, only they were ſomewhat diſturbed for having no news of the *Roman* General. They could ſee his camp, but did not know that it was his; for the enemy had made them believe, that it was the camp of the *Armenians* and *Medes*, ſent by *Tigranes* to the aid of *Mithridates*. *Lucullus* very ſoon found means to undeceive them.

The king's army began to ſuffer famine; however, he would not yet abandon his enterprize: only, to be leſs ſtraitened for want of proviſions, he ſent away almoſt all his cavalry, the beaſts of burden, and that part of his infantry, which, having ſuffered moſt, was leaſt capable of ſervice. *Lucullus* intercepted this detachment, near the river *Rhyndicus*; many were killed on the ſpot, and 15,000 taken priſoners, together with 6000 horſes, and a prodigious number of beaſts of burden. *Lucullus* brought all to his camp, paſſing within view of the beſiegers, in a kind of triumph. The famine increaſed in the king's camp; for the ſea, by which he had been hitherto ſupplied with proviſions, became impracticable on account of the bad ſeaſon. Many therefore died of hunger, ſome fed on human fleſh; others, who, abhorring that diet, fed upon graſs and herbage, ſunk through weakneſs; and the great number of the dead, that remained without burial, brought the plague into the camp: *Mithridates*, nevertheleſs, continued the ſiege, waiting the ſucceſs of ſome batteries he had planted.

App. Mithrid. 221. Plut. in Luc.

[d] It was about fifty miles in circumference, and ſituated in an iſland of the *Propontis*.

The

The *Cyzicenians*, who knew the weak condition of his troops, made a vigorous ſally, deſtroyed his works, and burnt all his engines. Nothing remained now for the king but flight, and this was difficult in the preſence of a victorious army. To divert the thoughts of *Lucullus* to another object, he equipped another ſquadron of ſhips, that was to go to the *Ægean* ſea. *Ariſtonicus*, the admiral, carried ten thouſand pieces of gold with him, in order to corrupt, if poſſible, *Fimbria*'s legions, which *Mithridates* had long been in hopes of ſeducing. His hopes had ſome foundation, as thoſe ſoldiers were mutinous and ſeditious, and had been adherents to *Marius*'s faction, of which he had actually with him ſome perſons, ſent to him by *Sertorius*. *Fimbria*'s ſoldiers pretended to liſten to the propoſals of *Ariſtonicus*, but, having contrived to draw him to a place, where they were maſters, ſeized both his gold and him, and killed thoſe that accompanied him.

In the mean time, *Mithridates* was making the beſt diſpoſitions he could for retiring from before *Cyzicum*. He directed two of his Generals to march his land forces, which were ſtill about 30,000, to *Lampſacus*. As for himſelf, he embarked for *Parium*, and had a ſafe paſſage; but his land army was purſued, and overtaken near the *Granicus* (or the *Æſepus*) by the *Romans*, who cut in pieces near 20,000 of them, and took many priſoners. Thoſe few that eſcaped ſhut themſelves up in *Lampſacus*. *Lucullus* appeared before the place, and they would have fallen into his hands, if *Mithridates* had not ſent ſhips to carry them off with all the inhabitants. The *Roman* General returned to *Cyzicum*[a] and was received with acclamations by the inhabitants, who, in honour of him, inſtituted a feſtival, which they called *Lucullea*. App. Mithrid. p. 222.

It is ſaid, that *Mithridates*, in this unfortunate expedition, did not loſe leſs than 300,000 men, including the neceſſary followers of an army. Plut. in Luc.

Lucullus turned his thoughts to drive *Mithridates* entirely out of *Bithynia*; but, for that purpoſe, he wanted a fleet, *Mithridates* being maſter of the ſea: Nevertheleſs, he declined an offer made him by the Senate of 3000 talents, to equip a fleet: He anſwered, that the zeal and fidelity of the allies of the Republic would ſupply him with what he wanted. Accordingly he drew together a great number of ſhips from the cities of *Aſia*, and, in a little time, was able to diſtreſs *Mithridates* by ſea, as well as by land. His lieutenants, *Voconius Barba* and *Valerius Triarius*, took the principal cities of *Bithynia*, *Apamea*, *Pruſa*, *Pruſias*, *Nicæa*: and *Mithridates*, after a ſhipwreck, in which he loſt a great number of veſſels, near *Parium*, was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in *Nicomedia*, whither *Cotta* firſt, and afterwards *Triarius*, came to beſiege him. Ibid. App. Mithrid. p. 223.

[a] The ſiege of *Cyzicum* ſeems to have been begun towards the end of the year 679, in which *L. Lucullus* was Conſul; and it was raiſed in the beginning of the Conſulſhip of *M. Terentius Varro Lucullus* and *C. Caſſius Varus*, year of *Rome* 680.

The

The king, far from being driven to deſpair by ſo much bad ſucceſs, or from confining himſelf to the defenſive, actually ſent away a fleet to ſupport the revolt which *Spartacus* had excited in *Italy*. He had given the command of this fleet to two of his own officers, and *M. Marius*, whom *Sertorius* had ſent to him with the title of Proconſul. *Lucullus* ſailed in queſt of this fleet, found it the road of *Lemnos*, and deſtroyed the whole, being thirty-two ſhips of war, with a great number of tranſports; and the three admirals were made priſoners. *Lucullus*, conſidering *Marius* as a traitor to his country, and apprehending that he might eſcape due puniſhment, by dying ſword in hand, had taken the precaution, before the battle, to order his ſoldiers not to kill any man who had but one eye, which was *Marius*'s caſe; the victor put him to death by torture.

Plut. in Luc.

The intire evacuation of *Bithynia* by *Mithridates*, was the conſequence of this victory; for having received advice, that *Lucullus* was advancing againſt him with the utmoſt expedition, he ſet ſail from *Nicomedia*, to return into his own kingdom: But not far from *Heraclea* a violent ſtorm diſperſed his fleet, and ſunk many of his ſhips. The whole coaſt was covered with the wrecks; and this completed the ruin of his maritime forces. Being himſelf in a ſhip too large to approach the ſhore, during the violent agitation of the ſea, he was conſtrained to go on board a pirate's ſloop; in which he eſcaped to *Heraclea*.

Memnon. apud Phot.

This city did not belong to him; but was a petty *Grecian* Republic, which, diſcontended with the exactions of the *Romans*, and yet dreading their power, remained fluctuating between the two parties. It was by means of a ſecret intelligence, with one of the principal citizens, that the king got admittance; but, being once admitted, he eaſily brought the citizens to declare in his favour: after which, under pretext of defending the town againſt the *Romans*, he placed there a garriſon of 4000 men, then marched to *Sinope*, and from thence to *Amiſus*.

Lucullus, after conferring with *Cotta*, left to him the care of beſieging *Heraclea*, gave the command of the fleet to *Triarius*, and reſolved in perſon to purſue *Mithridates* by land, and carry the war into his dominions.

The king neglected nothing in ſo preſſing a danger, ſent Ambaſſadors and letters to the *Armenian* and *Parthian* kings, and to the kings of *Scythia*. The miniſter whom he ſent into *Scythia* betrayed him; carrying the gold and preſents, with which he was intruſted, into the camp of *Lucullus*. The king of *Parthia* would have nothing to do with a quarrel that ſeemed foreign to him. Only *Tigranes*, ſolicited by one of his wives, the daughter of *Mithridates*, made ſome promiſes, but was not in haſte to put them in execution. The king of *Pontus*, thus reduced to place all his hopes in himſelf, undertook to traverſe the march of *Lucullus*, ſending light-armed troops to haraſs him, and intercept his convoys; inſomuch, that

App. Mithrid. p. 224.

R. Y. 680.

that the *Roman* General, in order to have bread, made 30,000 *Gallo Greeks*, each with a *medimnus* * of corn upon his ſhoulders, march along with the army. But this ſcarcity was of no long duration: the *Roman* army ſoon found itſelf in a plentiful country; which, not having for a long time paſt experienced the calamities of war, ſupplied the conquerors with ſuch abundance, that an ox was ſold for a drachma, a ſlave for four, and the reſt of the booty was reckoned of no value, becauſe they could find no purchaſers.

* Somewhat more than a buſhel. Plut. in Luc.

Lucullus, not meeting with any reſiſtance, laid ſiege to two cities, neighbouring one to the other, *Amiſus* and *Eupatoria*. He did not, however, preſs the ſiege of thoſe places. Blocking them up, he advanced into the country as far as *Themiſcyra*, near the *Thermodon*. His ſoldiers, greedy of plunder, were much diſſatisfied with his manner of carrying on the war. Many places, which had ſurrendered to him, he had received on capitulation: he had taken none by force of arms: and it was manifeſt that he intended to ſpare *Amiſus*, which was one of the royal cities of *Mithridates*, who had a palace in it. *Lucullus* deſpiſed their murmurs, but thought himſelf obliged to juſtify his conduct to thoſe, who thought that he did not follow *Mithridates* cloſe enough, but imprudently gave him time to aſſemble new forces. "There is nothing I wiſh more, ſaid *Lucullus*, than to ſee *Mithridates* again at the head of an army, numerous enough to make him believe he is in a condition to contend with us, and under no neceſſity of flying at our approach. Should he deſpair of defending himſelf by his own ſtrength, he will have recourſe to his ſon-in-law *Tigranes*, king of *Armenia*, the moſt powerful prince of *Aſia*, and who is ſeeking a pretence for making war againſt us: and what more ſpecious pretext can he have, than that of defending a prince his ally, who implores his protection?" In fact, *Lucullus* ſuffered the reſt of the campaign to paſs without any conſiderable ſurprize, and *Mithridates* took advantage of this inaction to draw together, during the winter, 40,000 foot, and 4000 horſe, with which, in the beginning of the ſpring, he paſſed the *Lycus*, and marched to meet the *Romans*, who were advancing in queſt of him. Plut. ibid.

The two armies, though for a conſiderable time in view of each other, came to no general engagement. In a ſkirmiſh of the cavalry, *Mithridates* had all the advantage; inſomuch that the *Roman*, ſenſible of the enemy's ſuperiority in horſe, and therefore of the neceſſity of avoiding the plains, removed his camp to an eminence, where he could not be forced to fight againſt his will. * A. 681. App. Mithrid. p. 225.

It was about this time, that *Lucullus* narrowly eſcaped being aſſaſſinated by *Olthacus*, prince of the *Dandarians*, a nation in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*. This prince having promiſed *Mithridates* to rid him of *Lucullus*, came to the *Roman* camp as a deſerter, and ſo Plut. in Lucul.

* *L. Gellius Poplicola* and *Cn. Corn. Lentulus Clodianus.*

far

far inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the General, as to be often admitted to his table, and even to his councils. The *Dandarian*, having choſen a day for the execution of his purpoſe, commanded his ſervant to keep his horſe in readineſs for him without the camp; and, at noon, when the exceſſive heat diſpoſed every body, ſoldiers and officers, to take ſome repoſe, he went to *Lucullus*'s tent, expecting to be readily admitted. But as *Lucullus*, who had fatigued himſelf very much the day before, and had paſſed the night without ſleep, was juſt then laid down to reſt, his ſervant ſignified this to *Olthacus*. The prince, nevertheleſs, anſwered peremptorily, That he *would* go in; for that he muſt ſpeak to the General upon an affair of importance. To which the ſervant replied, *There is nothing more important than my maſter's health:* and then, without hearkening any further to him, roughly with both his hands puſhed him away. *Olthacus*, afraid of being ſuſpected, left the camp immediately, and returned to *Mithridates*.

In the mean time, both armies began to ſuffer famine, having eaten up the country where there were. The *Romans* had no proviſions, but what they brought from the territories of *Ariobarzanes*, and were obliged to detach large bodies of troops to eſcort their convoys. *Mithridates* rightly judged, that if he could intercept their convoys, he ſhould reduce *Lucullus* to the ſame ſtate to which *Lucullus* had reduced him before *Cyzicum*. This therefore he attempted: whereupon two conſiderable actions enſued, in both which the *Romans* were victorious. In the ſecond, the king's detachment, amounting to 4000 foot and 2000 horſe, was ſo entirely overthrown, that only two men eſcaped to carrry to their maſter the news of his misfortune. The victors paſſed inſulting before his camp, with a long train of carriages, loaded with ſpoils, and proviſions; and this ſight ſpread ſo great a conſternation among his troops, that he loſt all confidence in their ſervice, and, being diſtreſſed, by the want of proviſions, reſolved to ſteal away from his army: and this reſolution he imparted to the principal perſons of his council, who immediately turned their thoughts to ſave their baggage, by ſending it off with all expedition. The ſoldiers, obſerving theſe preparations for flight, ſtopt the baggage: a ſcuffle enſued; the enraged multitude plundered the carriages, and maſſacred thoſe to whom they belonged. *Dorylaus*, one of *Mithridates*'s principal Generals was murdered ſolely for the ſake of the purple robe which he wore. Upon this uproar, the king came out of his tent, and endeavoured to pacify the troops; but no body hearkened to him; and when, without either officer, or ſlave to attend him, he ſought to eſcape by flight, he was thrown down, and muſt have been trampled to death, if one of his eunuchs, who perceived him in that miſerable condition, had not given him timely aid, and a horſe to carry him of. *Lucullus*, appriſed of what had paſſed, ſent his cavalry in purſuit of the runaways, while he himſelf with the

App. Mithr. p. 226.

Plut. in Luc.

Legions

legions entered the camp. A body of *Gallo-Grecian* horſe purſued *Mithridates* ſo cloſe, that it would have been ſcarce poſſible for him to eſcape, had not the purſuers found in their way a mule loaded with gold. Their ſtopping to ſeize the rich prey [a] gave him time ſufficient. He arrived at *Comana*, and from thence went to *Tigranes* in *Armenia*. By this victory, all *Pontus* was ſubjected to the *Romans*. *Lucullus* took the city of *Cabira*, where *Mithridates* had paſſed the preceding winter; hither came the commanders of forts and caſtles [b], bringing the keys of them to the victor without delay. He followed *Mithridates* in his flight, till he learned that the king had entered the dominions of *Tigranes*: then, turning back, he reduced *Armenia Minor*, and ſome nations in the neighbourhood of *Colchis*: after which he led his army towards the cities of *Amiſus* and *Eupatoria*, which had been only blockaded during his abſence. He preſently took *Eupatoria* by aſſault: *Amiſus* coſt him more trouble, having a good engineer for its governor, a man well ſkilled in the ſcience of defending towns. *Lucullus*, nevertheleſs, chuſing a time to aſſault the walls, when the governor did not expect it, carried the place. The governor made his eſcape by ſea, and, in going off, ſet the city on fire, the better to ſecure his retreat; or, perhaps, to prevent the *Romans* from enriching themſelves with the plunder. It was

App. Mithridat. p. 227. Plut. in Luc.

* Y. 682.

[a] The king's ſecretary had fallen into the hands of the *Romans*; and, though *Lucullus* had given orders that particular care ſhould be taken of him, yet thoſe to whoſe charge he was committed, having diſcovered that he had 500 pieces of gold about him, killed him for the ſake of the money. *Plut. in Lucull.*

Lucullus had likewiſe forbid the ſoldiers to plunder the camp, it being, probably, his purpoſe to have all the ſpoil collected, and then equally diſtributed among them, according to ancient cuſtom. But times were changed: the ſight of ſo many gold and ſilver veſſels, purple carpets, and other rich ſpoil, made them regardleſs of the General's orders. *App. Mithr.* p. 227.

[b] In theſe caſtles, the *Roman* General found great treaſure and many priſoners, who had been long ſhut up. Of theſe ſome were *Greeks*, other princes of the royal family, whom the public ſuppoſed to be dead. *Nyſa*, the ſiſter of *Mithridates*, and widow of *Nicomedes*, became *Lucullus*'s priſoner on this occaſion, and very fortunately for her: For the ſiſters and wives of *Mithridates*, who had not fallen into the hands of the *Romans*, but were kept under guard, near *Pharnacia*, periſhed miſerably. The king, not finding *Tigranes* very forward to aſſiſt him, and therefore thinking himſelf irretrievably ruined, ſent the eunuch *Bacchidas* to *Pharnacia*, with orders to his two ſiſters, *Roxana* and *Statira*, who had never been married, and were then about forty years of age, to die. *Roxana* loaded with imprecations her barbarous brother: the other, affecting an heroic courage, highly praiſed the goodneſs of the king, who, not being able to protect them, ſpared them at leaſt the ſhame of captivity, and perhaps of a treatment moſt unworthy of their rank.

Berenice and *Monimia*, two of the king's wives, periſhed in the ſame caſtle. *Berenice* was accompanied by her mother, then very old, who would ſhare with her daughter the cup of poiſon; and ſhe quickly expired. But the daughter, being young, was not ſo ſoon diſpatched; ſo that *Bacchidas*, being in haſte, ſtrangled her. When *Bacchidas* ſignified to *Monimia* the king's order to die, which left her to chuſe what kind of death ſhe pleaſed, ſhe ſnatched off the diadem that encircled her head, and, having put it round her neck, hung herſelf up by it: but, the weight of her body ſoon breaking it, ſhe threw it upon the ground and ſpit upon it, ſaying, *Wretched bandage, couldſt thou not do me ſuch a ſervice as this at leaſt!* And then ſhe preſented her throat to the eunuch's ſword. *Plut. in Lucull.*

* Conſulſhip of *Cn. Aufidius Oreſtes* and *L. Corn. Lentulus Sura.*

originally *Grecian*, and a colony from *Athens*; for which reaſon eſpecially, the victor was very deſirous to ſave it. He would have had his ſoldiers extinguiſh the fire, and forbear plundering; but ſeeing them ready to mutiny, he ſuffered them to plunder, hoping that this would engage them to ſtop the conflagration. But they, on the contrary, ſearching into every dark corner with torches [a] for hidden treaſures, ſet fire themſelves to a great number of the houſes. A heavy rain, however, happily falling, extinguiſhed the fire. *Lucullus* gave orders for rebuilding what was deſtroyed, and ſignalized his humanity in many inſtances; after which he ſet out for *Aſia*, there to paſs the winter, ſending, at the ſame time, his brother-in-law, *Appius Claudius*, to *Tygranes*, to demand of him to deliver up *Mithridates* to the *Romans*.

Plut. in Luc. * Y. 683.

Aſia was, at this time, in a ſtate of extreme diſtreſs. The fine of 20,000 talents, laid on by *Sylla*, had given occaſion to numberleſs oppreſſions by the *Roman* farmers of the taxes, and by the uſurers. The cities were conſtrained to ſell the ornaments of their temples, and the paintings and ſtatues which adorn their public buildings. Fathers ſold their ſons and daughters: and, even after this, they themſelves were ſo cruelly treated, that ſlavery, into which they fell at laſt, ſeemed to them a redemption from it. *Lucullus*, to remedy theſe evils, in the firſt place, prohibited the exacting a greater intereſt than twelve *per cent.* which it was the cuſtom of the *Romans* to pay for money lent. In the ſecond place, he entirely cancelled thoſe debts, of which the intereſt had exceeded the principal. And, laſtly, he decreed, that the fourth part of the debtor's eſtate ſhould be made over to the creditor, till the diſcharge of the debts; declaring farther, that whoever ſhould add the intereſt to the principal, and exact intereſt for the whole, ſhould loſe both abſolutely. By theſe methods, in leſs than four years the debts were paid off, and the eſtates became clear in the hands of the owners. The uſurers, though they had already received 40,000 talents †, the double of the principal ſum; yet, accumulating intereſt upon intereſt, pretended that 80,000 talents ‡ were ſtill due to them from the province.

In great wrath therefore were theſe uſurers; and they hired certain mercenary orators to declaim againſt *Lucullus* at *Rome*; where, the greater part of thoſe who governed the State being in debt to the ſame uſurers, theſe doubted not of the ſucceſs of the invectives. *Lucullus*, however, enjoyed the unmixed delight of being inceſſantly bleſſed by multitudes, and even whole nations, which he had relieved from miſery. The fame of his juſtice ſpread into the neighbouring provinces, and made them envy the happineſs of the people who had ſuch a governor.

[a] *Lucullus* is reported to have wept when he ſaw the deſolation of this city, and to have ſaid to his friends, that he had always looked upon *Sylla* as the happieſt of men, in that he had been willing and able to preſerve *Athens* from deſtruction; but his own hard fate would make him reſemble *Mummius*, who took *Corinth*, and deſtroyed it. *Plut.*

† 7,750,000 l.

‡ 15,500,000 l.

In the mean time, *Appius Claudius* returned from the court of *Tigranes*, to whom he had been ſent to demand *Mithridates*.

Tigranes was, at that time, the moſt powerful king of *Aſia*; much more powerful than his father had been, who had reigned over a part only of *Armenia*. He had paſſed his youth as a hoſtage among the *Parthians*, and did not obtain his liberty, without making a ceſſion to them of a conſiderable part of the dominions of his anceſtors; but he had no ſooner mounted the throne, than he conceived thoughts of aggrandizing himſelf; and, having ſubdued ſeveral petty princes his neighbours, he thence aſſumed the pompous title of King of Kings. Having augmented his ſtrength by theſe conqueſts, he retook from the *Parthians* the country which he had been obliged to reſign to them; and he even entered their territory, and ravaged it. He ſubdued *Meſopotamia*, and filled it with *Greeks*, tranſplanted from *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*. He conſtrained the *Arabians*, called *Scenitæ*, to quit their deſerts; and, having ſettled them in permanent abodes, employed them in carrying on the commerce of the different parts of his vaſt dominions. And, at length the *Syrians*, quite tired out by the diviſions that were perpetually reviving between the princes of the houſe of the *Seleucidæ*, caſt themſelves under his protection: And it was in the city of *Antioch*, the capital of the kingdom of *Syria*, that he gave audience to *Appius Claudius*. Plut. in Luc. & Strab. l. xi. p. 532.

This courſe of proſperity, not interrupted by any ſtroke of adverſe fortune, had rendered *Tigranes* frantic with pride. He had amongſt his ſervants ſeveral kings, whom he conſtrained to wait upon him; and particularly four, who, when he was on horſeback, attended him on foot, meanly habited; and, when he gave audience ſitting upon his throne, they ſtood on each ſide with their hands acroſs, to expreſs, by that attitude, that they were humble ſlaves, ready to ſuffer whatever their imperious maſter ſhould ordain. Plut. in Luc.

This theatrical ſhew made no impreſſion upon *Appius*. When he was admitted to an audience, he told the monarch plainly, that he was come to carry away *Mithridates* as a conquered enemy, deſtined to adorn the triumph of *Lucullus*; and to declare war againſt *Tigranes* himſelf, in caſe of his refuſal to deliver up the king of *Pontus*. The *Armenian*, having never heard a word of ſuch freedom, during the five and twenty years he had reigned, was diſconcerted by the unexpected haughtineſs of the young *Roman*. Nevertheleſs, he affected to appear unmoved, and anſwered with an air of ſerenity, that he would not abandon his father-in-law; and that, as to himſelf, if the *Romans* thought proper to begin a war with him, he ſhould know what meaſures to take in his defence, and would make them repent of their aggreſſion. As *Lucullus*, in his letter to him, had ſtiled him only King, not King of Kings, he put on the ſuperſcription of his anſwer, only the name of *Lucullus*, without

adding IMPERATOR. However, he did not omit to ſend the cuſtomary preſents to *Appius:* and, when the *Roman* refuſed them, *Tigranes* inſiſted, adding other preſents more conſiderable. *Appius*, judging it not proper to appear ſo much out of humour, as to act towards the king like an enemy, accepted a cup, but ſent back the reſt, and returned to *Lucullus* with all poſſible expedition.

This embaſſy had a good effect in favour of *Mithridates*; with regard to whoſe intereſts *Tigranes* had hitherto ſhewn himſelf remarkably cold, having never ſo much as ſeen him, ſince his coming into *Armenia*. But now he invited him to court, and had frequent conferences with him.

Lucullus had no ſooner received the anſwer of *Tigranes*, than he prepared to carry the war into that prince's dominions. Leaving *Aſia*, he rejoined his army in *Pontus*, where *Cotta* had juſt got poſſeſſion of *Heraclea*, after a two year's ſiege; the commander of the garriſon having betrayed the town to *Triarius*, the *Roman* admiral, who attacked it by ſea. *Cotta* carried off great numbers of the inhabitants into captivity, rifled the temples of their treaſures, and of their ſtatues of the Gods; and, when he was poſſeſſed of all the riches of the place, he ſet it on fire, reducing the greater part of it to aſhes: after which he returned to *Italy*, leaving the troops, that had been under his command, to *Lucullus*.

The people of *Heraclea* having ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to complain
Ap Phot. of *Cotta*'s violences, he was very ill received there at his arrival. *Memnon*, an hiſtorian of *Heraclea*, reports, that *Cotta* was deprived of his dignity of Senator; that the captives were ſet at liberty by the Senate; and that the People, before whom the affair was brought, reſtored to the *Heracleotæ* their territory and port.

Plut. in Luc. App. Mithridat. p. 227. Memnon. *Lucullus*, ſoon after his entering *Pontus*, took *Sinope*, where *Mithridates* was born, and had paſſed his infancy, and which, for theſe reaſons, he had made the capital of his dominions. As the place was taken by aſſault, *Lucullus* could not, at firſt, hinder his ſoldiers from committing great diſorders and ſlaughter; but, at length, he put a ſtop to their violence; and thoſe of the inhabitants, who had eſcaped, he treated with great clemency.

The only conſiderable place, which remained to *Mithridates* in *Pontus*, was the city of *Amiſus*, and this very ſoon ſurrendered. *Lucullus* paſſed the winter in *Pontus*, and, whilſt he was there, received ambaſſadors from *Machares*, one of the ſons of *Mithridates*, who had made him king of *Boſporus*. This prince, ſeeing his father abandoned by all his ſubjects, followed their example; and having before courted the friendſhip of *Lucullus*, during the ſiege of *Sinope*, ſent him now a crown of gold. *Lucullus*, on his part, acknowledged *Machares* king, and the ally and friend of the *Roman* people.

The

The next year (684) nothing was talked of, but the mighty prepara tions of *Tigranes*, who, in conjunction with *Mithridates*, was ſoon to enter *Lycaonia* and *Cilicia*; and thence to go and attack the *Romans*, even in the province of *Aſia*. Y. 684.

Lucullus, deſpiſing ſuch an enemy, diſdained to keep upon the defenſive, and leaving *Sornatius*, one of his Lieutenants, with 6000 men, to keep the country in awe, he, with only 12,000 foot and 300 horſe, marched away to attack *Tigranes* in the heart of his kingdom.

As the *Armenian* king was one of the moſt powerful ſovereigns at that time in the world, the enterprize of the *Roman* General ſeemed raſh to many. His ſoldiers followed him with reluctance; and at *Rome*, when his deſign was known there, ſome orators, inſtigated by his enemies, exclaimed that *Lucullus* made war upon war, not by neceſſity, nor for the ſervice of the Commonwealth, but to be always at the head of an army, and to enrich himſelf more and more, regardleſs of the dangers to which he expoſed the State. Plut. in Luc.

Nevertheleſs *Lucullus* purſued his plan, croſſed the kingdom of *Ariobarzanes* (a prince always in alliance with the *Romans*) and advanced to the *Euphrates*, which he paſſed without much difficulty, and encamped that day upon its banks. The following days he croſſed *Sophene*, without hurting the country in the leaſt; which gained him the affection of the inhabitants, ſo that they received the *Roman* troops with joy, and ſupplied them with all the proviſions they needed. He was extremely deſirous to advance; and his ſoldiers having expreſſed ſome eagerneſs to attack a fort, which was ſaid to be full of riches, *There's the fort we muſt take*, ſaid *Lucullus* to them, pointing to mount *Taurus*, which was very diſtant; *what we leave behind us will be the reward of our victory.* He continued his march, and having paſſed the *Tigris*, drew near to *Tigranocerta.*

That *Lucullus* ſhould thus penetrate to the very center of the enemy's country, without oppoſition, cannot but ſeem wonderful. The ſenſeleſs and almoſt incredible pride of *Tigranes* was the cauſe of it. The firſt man who brought the news of *Lucullus*'s approach had his head cut off, in reward of his ſervice. After this example, we may naturally ſuppoſe, that nobody was in haſte to bring advice of the motions of the *Roman* army; and, while the king's dominions were actually a prey to the enemy, his courtiers ſaid to him in flattery, that *Lucullus* would be a great General, indeed, if he only ventured to ſtay at *Epheſus*, and did not immediately fly from *Aſia*, when he ſhould ſee what an innumerable multitude of ſoldiers he had to contend with. But, at length, *Mithrobarzanes*, one of thoſe who had eaſieſt acceſs to him, ventured to tell him the truth, and inform him of the arrival of *Lucullus*. *Tigranes*, ſtill beſotted with the

notions of his own grandeur, commiſſioned this courtier to go with 3000 horſe and a ſtrong body of foot, and bring him the *Roman* General alive, and put his army to the ſword. The event was, that *Mithrobarzanes*, falling with fury upon an advanced part of the *Roman* army when pitching their camp, loſt his life in the action, and the troops were cut in pieces. *Tigranes* began then to open his eyes, and to ſee his danger; and finding himſelf obliged to abandon *Tigranocerta*, he retired towards mount *Taurus*, in order to collect his forces from all parts of his dominions; ſending at the ſame time to *Mithridates* to come and join him. *Lucullus*, by ſeveral detachments, did all he poſſibly could to hinder the aſſembling of *Tigranes*'s troops, and to haraſs the king himſelf, in his retreat. *Muræna* fell upon him in a paſs, and ſo diſtreſſed him, that he was conſtrained to fly with precipitation, leaving his baggage a prey to his enemies. But as it was impoſſible for *Lucullus* to ſubſiſt his army long in an enemy's country, without a victory, he, in order to draw *Tigranes* to a general battle, reſolved to beſiege *Tigranocerta*, his beloved city, his own work, and his glory, and which he had called after his own name. The king, ſomewhat humbled at firſt by the checks he had received, liſtened to the counſels of *Mithridates*, who, by letter, and by *Taxiles*, one of the beſt Generals of the *Armenian*, adviſed him *not to give battle to the* Romans, *Troops invincible in action; but deſtroy them, by employing his numerous cavalry to cut off their proviſions.* But when *Tigranes* ſaw ſo great a number of ſoldiers, of different nations, aſſembled round him, *Armenians* and *Gordyæans*, *Medes* and *Adiabenians*, led by their kings; *Arabians* from the country between *Babylon* and the *Perſian* gulph; *Albanians* and *Iberians* from the coaſts of the *Caſpian* ſea; and even the free nations and *Nomades (Tartars)* from the neighbourhood of the *Araxes*, who, being ſubject to no prince, were allured by the preſents and largeſſes of the *Armenian* king, this monarch returned to his former confidence: and in this confidence he was mightily upheld by the folly of all around him; whoſe diſcourſes, at banquets and councils, were nothing but empty boaſtings and menaces. Intoxicated with pride and preſumption, he thought the advice, *to avoid fighting*, which *Taxiles* continued to give, had the appearance of treachery, and it had like to have coſt that officer his head. And as for *Mithridates*, the *Armenian* ſuſpected him of giving the ſame counſel from envy. This ſuſpicion made *Tigranes* in haſte for a battle, leſt the king of *Pontus* ſhould come and ſhare with him the glory of defeating the *Romans*; and having expreſſed his concern that he had only *Lucullus* to fight with, and not all the *Roman* Generals together, he put his whole army in march.

His forces were, in reality, numerous enough to inſpire ſo vain a prince with great confidence: For he had twenty thouſand archers and ſlingers, and fifty-five thouſand horſe, ſeventeen thouſand of which might be ſaid to be caſed up in iron, ſo covered they were with their impenetrable armour; and

and his infantry amounted to an hundred and fifty thouſand men, beſides the pioneers and other labourers, to the amount of thirty-five thouſand. When this prodigious multitude had paſſed mount *Taurus*, and was near enough to be perceived from *Tigranocerta*, the beſieged raiſed ſhouts of joy, and from the top of the walls menaced the *Romans*, by pointing to that cloud of avengers.

Lucullus called a council to deliberate upon the meaſures proper to be taken. Some were for having him raiſe the ſiege, and march againſt *Tigranes*; others adviſed him to continue the ſiege, and not leave behind him a place ſo important, and furniſhed with ſo ſtrong a garriſon. He anſwered, that he thought both opinions right: and accordingly, dividing his army, left *Muræna* with ſix thouſand foot before *Tigranocerta*; and, taking with him the reſt of his infantry, which hardly amounted to ten thouſand men, all his cavalry, and about one thouſand ſlingers and archers, marched away to meet the enemy. Plut. ibid.

The ſmall army of *Lucullus* appeared ſo contemptible in the eyes of the *Armenian* troops, that the firſt ſight of it produced abundance of jeſts among them. Each of the kings, who then followed the ſtandard of *Tigranes*, addreſſed him for leave to attack, with their own people only, that handful of *Romans*, againſt whom, they ſaid, it was below the dignity of the *King of Kings* to move in perſon. Even *Tigranes* himſelf condeſcended to pleaſantry; *If they are ambaſſadors, they are too many; if ſoldiers, too few.* And thus the day paſſed in raillery and bravadoes.

Lucullus, the next morning, put his troops in march, to paſs a river which divided the two armies. The Barbarians were on the eaſt ſide of it; and as the beſt ford was in an angle, made by the winding of the ſtream weſtward on his left, the *Romans*, in moving to that ford, unavoidably turned their backs upon the enemy. *Tigranes*, who perceived that motion, began to triumph; calling to *Taxiles*, *See* there! your *invincible* Romans *are flying from us! Taxiles* replied, *I wiſh your good fortune may at this time produce what I always thought could never happen. But I ſee their arms glitter; and I know that, when they are upon a march, they cover them with caſes of leather. When they have their ſhields and helmets uncovered, and ſhining*, it is a ſure indication that *they are advancing againſt an enemy.* He had hardly finiſhed theſe words, when the foremoſt of the *Roman* eagles was ſeen ſuddenly to turn to the right, followed by the whole column, in order to paſs the river. *How!* (cried out *Tigranes*, in the greateſt aſtoniſhment) *thoſe people are coming to us!* He repeated theſe words two or three times; and then drew up his army with much precipitation. Of the center he took the conduct himſelf, gave the right to the king of the *Medes*, and the left the king of the *Adiabenians*: and, in the front of the right wing, he poſted that heavy unwieldly cavalry, in which the Barbarians placed their chief confidence.

Juſt

Juſt as *Lucullus* was about to paſs the river, ſomebody obſerved to him that he was going to fight on *an unlucky day.* (It was the 6th of *October*, the day in which *Cæpio* had formerly been defeated by the *Cimbri*, and which from that time was marked as unfortunate * in the *Roman* Calendar.) *Say you ſo?* (ſaid *Lucullus*) *then I am going to make it a lucky day.* Inſtantly he croſſed the ſtream, and advancing the foremoſt, held out his ſword drawn, to ſignify to his troops that they ſhould endeavour at a cloſe engagement with the enemy, whoſe miſſiye weapons (their darts and arrows) would thereby be rendered almoſt uſeleſs in their hands. Directing his *Thrqcian* and *Gallo-Greek* horſe to flank the enemy's heavy-armed cavalry (before-mentioned) which were poſted at the foot of a hill, he himſelf, at the head of two cohorts only, fetched a compaſs, and gained the top of that hill: where he no ſooner arrived, than he cried out, *The victory, ſoldiers, is ours.* He ordered his men not to throw their javelins, but, keeping them in their hands, made uſe of them to wound the enemy in their legs and thighs, which were the only unarmed parts of their bodies. The iron troopers did not wait to be attacked: terrified with the approach of the two cohorts, they inſtantly fled, and in their fright threw themſelves precipitately among their own infantry, cauſing there the like diſmay and confuſion; ſo that theſe too turned their backs, but could not eaſily fly, having been drawn up deep in file, and being now huddled into a vaſt unwieldly throng. The ſlaughter therefore was dreadful, and the more ſo, as *Lucullus* had forbid his men to loſe time, by ſtopping to ſtrip the dead. Treading over bracelets and gorgets enriched with precious ſtones, they purſued the Barbarians very far; nor ceaſed the havock, till the General, ſeeing his victory abſolutely complete, ordered a retreat to be ſounded. It is ſaid, that on the ſide of the *Armenians* above 100,000 foot periſhed, and almoſt all the cavalry; and that, of the *Romans*, only five men were killed, and ſome hundreds wounded.

* One of the Dies Atri.

The *Romans* ſoldiers, returning by the ſame way they had come, now gathered up the rich ſpoils of the vanquiſhed. *Tigranes* had galloped off at the beginning of the rout with a few attendants. Seeing his ſon among theſe, he took off his diadem, and, weeping, gave it into his hands, at the ſame time exhorting him to fly a different way: The young prince, not daring to put it on his head, delivered it to the care of one of his pages; and, this page being afterwards taken priſoner, it thus happened, that the very diadem of the *Armenian* king became part of the ſpoils, which fell into the hands of the victor.

The ancients, who have mentioned this overthrow of *Tigranes*'s forces, have ſpoken of it with amazement. *The ſun* (ſays one writer) *never beheld ſuch a day. The victors* (ſays another) *were themſelves aſhamed of having drawn their ſwords againſt ſuch* contemptible cowardly ſlaves. *Livy* † tells us, that the *Romans* had never gained a victory, in which their

† Apud Plut. in Lucull

number

number was ſo much inferior to that of the enemy, for the conquerors were not the twentieth part of the conquered.

The military ſkill of *Lucullus* has been much admired [more perhaps than it deſerved,] in that he knew how to conquer by quite contrary methods of proceeding; a ſkill, which he had manifeſted in the wars he ſucceſſively conducted againſt *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*.

The former of theſe kings he had totally defeated at *Cyzicum* and *Cabira*, by temporiſing and prudent delays: the latter by activity and expedition, forcing him to a battle, while the troops of his ally, the king of *Pontus*, were yet at a diſtance.

Mithridates had uſed no diligence to join his ally, having deceived himſelf (it is ſaid) into a perſuaſion, that *Lucullus* would proceed againſt the *Armenians* with the ſame ſlowneſs, as formerly againſt himſelf, when before *Cyzicum*. Apprized of the defeat of *Tigranes*, by ſome of the fugitives from the battle, he ſought him out carefully, and found him in a moſt piteous condition, dejected, terrified, quite deſtitute, a real object of compaſſion. Far from aggravating his diſtreſs, by returning the inſults, which he himſelf, in the like adverſity, had formerly received from him, *Mithridates* wept with him, endeavoured to conſole him, revive his courage, and inſpire him with the hope of ſeeing better days; and at the ſame time (to do him honour as a king) gave him his own guard, and his own ſervants, to attend him.

The natural conſequence of *Lucullus*'s victory, was the taking of *Tigranocerta*; which did not, however, ſurrender immediately. The governor found means to defend it for ſome time, diſtreſſing the beſiegers chiefly by diſcharging upon them the *Naphtha*, a kind of *Bitumen*, which eaſily kindles, and which water itſelf can hardly extinguiſh. But it happened that an inteſtine war broke out in the city. The governor, diſtruſting the *Greeks*, and not without reaſon, (they being all of opinion, that it would be beſt to open the gates to the *Roman* General) diſarmed them. The latter apprehending ſomething worſe, roſe in a body, and having armed themſelves with clubs inſtead of ſwords, and wrapt their coats about their left arms to ſerve them in the place of bucklers, boldly attacked the Barbarians, who, though completely armed, were not able to withſtand their fury. The victors, ſo ſoon as they had knocked any one down, ſeized his arms; and this, in a ſhort time, put them in a condition to poſſeſs themſelves of ſome of the towers that flanked the walls; which having done, they called to the *Romans*, and aſſiſted them in entering. Xiphilin ex Dione.

Lucullus, maſter of the place, immediately ſeized and ſecured the royal treaſures, and then gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers. They found in it, beſide other riches, eight thouſand talents in gold and ſilver money. The general out of the whole booty, gave to each 1,550000l.

[b] *Arbuthnot* underſtands theſe eight thouſand talents to have been found in the King's treaſury. Arbuth. Tab &c. p. 182.

2 5l. 16 s. 8 d. each ſoldier eight hundred drachmas. Supplying the *Greeks* with what money was neceſſary for the expence of their journey, he ſent them all back into their own country: and with the like generoſity he treated thoſe people, whom *Tigranes* had forced from their own countries, to ſettle at *Tigranocerta*; which now on a ſudden, from a great city, was reduced to a ſmall village, and no longer made any figure in the country. But thus, by diſperſing the inhabitants of a ſingle city, *Lucullus*, re-peopled a great number; and theſe always loved and honoured him, not only as their benefactor, but even as their founder.

The amiable humanity of the *Roman* General became every day more conſpicuous, and ſo effectually ſubdued the Barbarians, as to make force unneceſſary. Having found ſeveral princeſſes in *Tigranocerta*, he treated them with all the regard due to their ſex and rank; a conduct which naturally acquired him the warm friendſhip of their huſbands, who were in the ſervice of *Tigranes*. The *Arabian* kings came of themſelves to him, to put all their intereſts into his hands. The nation of the *Sophenians* promiſed him obedience; and the *Gordyenians* (it is ſaid) were for leaving their country and cities, to follow him with their wives and children. One cauſe of ſo warm an affection for him was this:

Dio. l. xxxv.

Plut.

Appius Claudius, whom *Lucullus* had appointed his Ambaſſador to *Tigranes*, made a conſiderable ſtay at *Antioch*, waiting the arrival of that prince, who was then employed in the ſiege of *Ptolemais*. Not wholly to loſe his time, *Appius* contrived to open a negociation with *Zarbienus*, king of the *Gordyenians*, who, he knew, impatiently bore the tyranny of *Tigranes*. The intrigue was diſcovered, and the king with his wife and children put to death, before the *Romans* entered *Armenia*. When *Lucullus* was become maſter of the country, he went to *Gordyene*, cauſed obſequies to be performed for the unfortunate *Zarbienus*, erected a funeral pile, adorned it magnificently, ſet fire to it himſelf, and, in conjunction with the relations and friends of *Zarbienus*, (whom he ſtiled his companion, and the friend and ally of the *Romans*) made the cuſtomary libations: and laſtly, he raiſed a ſtately monument for him, applying to that uſe part of the treaſures found in his palace, which were very conſiderable. [He found alſo in the magazines of that prince above 300,000 *medimni* (or buſhels) of corn.]

Plut. in Luc.

App. Mithrid. p. 230. Memnon. & Dio.

Whilſt *Lucullus* was yet in *Gordyene*, he received an embaſſy from *Arſaces* [c] king of *Parthia*, ſoliciting his friendſhip and alliance. The *Roman* received the propoſal amicably, and, in return, ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Parthian*. Theſe miniſters ſoon diſcovered that *Arſaces* was fluctuating, and uncertain, whether to eſpouſe the cauſe of the *Romans*, or that of the two kings, who both were preſſing him earneſtly to join with them.

[c] *Arſaces* was a name common to all the kings of *Parthia* of this race. The proper name of him who now reigned was *Sinatrux*.

The *Armenian* offered to make a ceſſion to the *Parthian* of *Meſopotamia*, *Adiabene*, and that part of *Armenia*, which the *Parthians* had formerly taken from *Tigranes*, and which he had ſince reconquered. The letter which *Mithridates* wrote to *Arſaces* to engage him in the confederacy, is ſtill extant among the fragments of *Salluſt*. It contains an *Invective* againſt the *Romans*, more copious and particular, indeed, but the ſame in ſubſtance with what one hiſtorian has put into the mouth of *Jugurtha*, againſt the ſame people, on occaſion of that prince's alliance with king *Bocchus*. Vid. ſupr. p. 54.

Lucullus, diſſatisfied with the ambiguous anſwers of the *Parthian*, who ſeemed diſpoſed to ſtand neuter, reſolved to attack him in his dominions. To this he was animated by the thought, how glorious it would be for him, in the courſe of one war, to dethrone three kings, the moſt powerful of any in the univerſe.

He ſent orders therefore to *Sornatius*, whom he had left in *Pontus* (as was before related) with 6000 men, to come and join him with thoſe troops in *Gordyene*, from whence he intended to invade the country of the *Parthians*.

Sornatius's ſoldiers had long been diſpoſed to mutiny, and now they broke out into open diſobedience. They declared peremptorily, that they would neither march to join *Lucullus*, nor yet continue in *Pontus*, but would return to *Italy*. This example of mutiny ſpread, like a contagion, to the camp of the Proconſul; whoſe ſoldiers grown rich and voluptuous, and deſirous of repoſe, applauded the noble reſolution of their fellow-ſoldiers of *Pontus*, and loudly declared themſelves determined to follow their example. *Lucullus* therefore was neceſſitated to drop his deſign (for the preſent at leaſt) of marching againſt the *Parthians*.

Tigranes, utterly [d] confounded under the ſenſe of the calamity he was fallen into by his late overthrow, remitted all things to the care and direction of *Mithridates*, as one better experienced in military affairs, and better acquainted with the *Roman* way of making war.

Before the beginning of the ſpring, *Mithridates* had raiſed an army of *Armenians* amounting to 70,000 foot, which he cauſed to be diſciplined after the *Roman* manner, and 35,000 horſe. The two kings, however, did not take the field, till the middle of ſummer, and even then Y. 685.

[d] Had *Lucullus*, immediately after his victory over *Tigranes*, purſued him, and not given him the opportunity of raiſing new forces, he muſt either have driven that prince out of the country, or have taken him priſoner, and thereby put an end to the war. His omitting to do this diſpleaſed the *Romans*, as well in the camp, as in the city at home, as if his neglect herein had been out of deſign to draw out the war for the continuing of himſelf the longer in command: and the diſcontent, which was *hereby* created, furniſhed the beſt reaſon for that reſolution, which was taken hereupon, of ſending him a ſucceſſor, though it was not executed till two years after. *Dio Caſſ.* l. xxxv. p. 1. [See *Prideaux*, Vol. III. p. 414.]

* Conſulſhip of *Q. Marcius Rex* and *L. Cæcilius Metellus*.

they did not ſeek their enemies, but, every movement, were careful to encamp themſelves in places where they could not be attacked; nor, when *Lucullus* had paſſed mount *Taurus* in ſearch of them, was he able, by any ſkill whatſoever, to draw them out, to hazard another general battle. Skirmiſhes there were, in which the *Armenian* cavalry, *fighting as they fled*, after the *Parthian* manner, and with barbed arrows, very much galled and diſtreſſed the *Romans*.

This manner of making war did by no means ſuit with *Lucullus*'s plan of operations: He muſt, at length, by ſuch delays, have been ſtarved out of the country; which was indeed the aim of the two kings. To break their meaſures therefore, and force them to a battle, he reſolved upon an expedient, like that he had uſed the year before, to bring on a general action. *Tigranes* having left his wives and children at *Artaxata*, the old metropolis of *Armenia*, and there depoſited the moſt and beſt of his effects and treaſures, *Lucullus* put his army in march towards that city, concluding, that *Tigranes* would certainly follow him, to hinder his getting poſſeſſion of it. The ſtratagem ſucceeded. *Tigranes*, upon the firſt advice of *Lucullus*'s deſign to lay ſiege to *Artaxata*, marched away with his whole army, and with all expedition, in order to get between the *Romans* and the city. In four days time he effected this purpoſe, and poſted himſelf on the further ſide of the river *Arſanius*, which the *Romans* were to paſs in their way to *Artaxata*.

Lucullus, confident of victory, croſſed the river without heſitation, and drew up his army for action. The fortune of the day was preſently decided. The *Armenians* not able, neither horſe nor foot, to ſuſtain the ſight of the *Roman* infantry, fled at their firſt approach. Of three[c] kings, who had poſted themſelves in the front of the *Armenian* army, *Mithridates* was the firſt that turned his back, behaving himſelf this day moſt ſhamefully. The ſlaughter was not ſo great as in the former battle, but there fell more perſons of diſtinction.

The *Roman* General, after this victory, would have continued his march to *Artaxata*, the taking of which would probably have put an end to the war: but it lying at the diſtance of many days march to the north, and winter coming on with ſnowy and tempeſtuous weather, his ſoldiers, already diſguſted with the fatigues of the campaign, which had been very ſevere, refuſed, after a few days march, to follow him any further into thoſe cold regions. At firſt, indeed, they behaved themſelves with ſome degree of reſpect, ſending their Tribunes to make their remonſtrances to him. But not obtaining any thing by this method, they aſſembled in companies tumultuouſly, during the night, and nothing was heard in the camp but confuſed and menacing voices. *Lucullus*, in the per-

[c] *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* were two of thoſe kings, and the third ſeems to have been a king of *Media*. Prideaux, b. vi. p. 415.

plexity

plexity which this ſpirit of revolt threw him into, had recourſe to expoſtulations and entreaties, conjuring his ſoldiers to have a little patience, only till they had completed the deſtruction of the *Carthage of Armenia* (ſo he called the city of *Artaxata*, which was ſaid to have been built by *Hannibal*, when that illuſtrious fugitive, after the defeat of *Antiochus*, had retired[d] to the court of *Artaxias*, the head of the houſe from which *Tigranes* was deſcended.) It was all in vain; nothing could move them: marching back therefore to the ſouthward, and repaſſing mount *Taurus*, he entered into *Meſopotamia*, and ſat down before *Niſibis*. *Guras*, the brother of *Tigranes*, was nominally commander in this place, but the perſon, who really performed the functions of that office, was the ſame *Callimachus*, who had defended *Amiſus* againſt the *Romans*, and, quitting it, had ſet it on fire. *Lucullus*, after inveſting *Niſibis* a few days only, took it by aſſault. *Guras* he treated with great humanity; but *Callimachus*, though he offered to diſcover hidden treaſures, could obtain no favour. The victor cauſed him to be laid in irons, in order to his ſuffering the puniſhment due to him for burning *Amiſus*; a crime which *Lucullus* could not forgive, becauſe it had deprived him of the ſatisfaction of exerciſing his clemency and generoſity towards one of the moſt conſiderable of the *Greek* colonies in *Aſia*.

The *Roman* army, taking up their winter-quarters in this new conqueſt, paſſed the bad ſeaſon much at their eaſe; for it was in a mild climate, and a fertile country.

Hitherto it would ſeem (ſays *Plutarch*) as if Fortune had taken a pleaſure to wait upon *Lucullus*, and to fight for him; but from this period, as if he had quite loſt her favour, he could effect nothing without difficulty and labour, and was continually running upon rocks and ſhelves. It is true, his virtue, his courage, his firmneſs of ſoul, ſuffered no alteration; but his actions had not the ſame luſtre as before; and he was very near loſing even the glory he had acquired by his paſt exploits; and what was worſt of all (adds the hiſtorian) his adverſities were entirely owing to his own miſconduct. * Y. 686.

He had taken no pains to gain the affections of his ſoldiers, and they had ſeveral cauſes of diſcontent. Two ſucceſſive winters, in which they had undergone great fatigues, the firſt before *Cyzicum*, and the ſecond before *Amiſus*, had given birth to their complaints. And they had been obliged to paſs the following winters, either making war in the enemy's country, or under tents in the countries of the allies: For *Lucullus* Salluſt. ap. Plut. in Luc.

[d] *Plutarch*, who mentions this tradition, does not ſpeak of it as a certain truth: and *Cornelius Nepos*, in his account of *Hannibal*'s misfortunes, ſays nothing of his going into *Armenia*. He tells us, that, after the victory gained by *Scipio Aſiaticus* over *Antiochus the Great*, *Hannibal* went firſt into *Crete*, and then to the court of *Pruſias*, king of *Bithynia*, where he killed himſelf.

* Conſulſhip of *M. Acilius Glabrio* and *C. Calpurnius Piſo*.

never quartered his troops in any of the *Greek* cities, or in the cities of the allies of *Rome*. This ſevere diſcipline, together with a certain reſerve and haughtineſs in his manner, alienated the hearts of the ſoldiers from him. And they were confirmed in this bad diſpoſition by accounts from *Rome*, that the conduct of the General was there cenſured. Certain ſpeech-makers, whom envy excited againſt *Lucullus*, publicly accuſed him of an immoderate deſire of command, and an inſatiable greedineſs of riches. They told the People, that he had not puſhed the war with vigour againſt either *Mithridates* or *Tigranes*; but had given theſe two kings time to retrieve their affairs, in order to make himſelf appear neceſſary, and to furniſh a pretext for his being continued, year after year, in a command of ſuch vaſt extent, as to comprehend *Cilicia*, the province of *Aſia*, *Bithynia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, *Pontus*, *Armenia*, and *Colchis*, as far as the *Phaſis*.

Dio.

Plut. in Luc.

Gabinius diſplayed to the eyes of the people a plan, painted upon a banner, of the magnificent palace which *Lucullus* was then building, to intimate that he was making all that expence out of the ſpoils of the Republic. In ſhort, the diſcourſes and artifices of his enemies had ſuch an effect, as to engage the People to paſs a decree, that the oldeſt of his troops, and eſpecially *Fimbria*'s Legions, ſhould have their diſcharge; that he ſhould be ſucceeded in the command of *Cilicia* by *Marcius Rex*, Conſul of the laſt year; and by *M. Acilius Glabrio*, Conſul of the preſent year, in the command of *Bithynia* and *Pontus*, and of the war againſt the two kings.

Cic. pro Sext. xlm.

But what gave the final blow to the authority of *Lucullus*, was the diſcourſes and intrigues of *P. Clodius*, (ſo famous for his enmity to *Cicero*) a thoroughly wicked man, void of all ſenſe of ſhame, debauched to ſuch an exceſs, as to be ſuſpected, not without foundation, of inceſt with all his ſiſters, one of whom was the wife of *Lucullus*. *Clodius* was, at this time, in the army of his brother-in-law, and greatly diſſatisfied on account of *Lucullus*'s preferring others, more worthy, before him. This man, from a ſpirit of revenge, ſtirred up the ſoldiers, and eſpecially thoſe who had ſerved under *Fimbria*, to mutiny. Pretending great concern for their intereſt, he aſked them, *Whether ſoldiers*, who had *grown old in arms, were never to ſee an end of their fatigues, but to paſs their lives in attacking nation after nation, and running over the world; and this for no other end, but ſafely to convoy the carriages and camels of* Lucullus, *loaded with golden veſſels glittering with gems?* He added, *The ſoldiers of* Pompey, *who have forced none of the royal cities of* Aſia, *nor have had other enemies to contend with, but ſome exiles in* Spain, *and ſlaves in* Italy, live now *in perfect repoſe with their wives and children, poſſeſſing good lands, and inhabiting fair cities. If we are ſtill to ſuffer the fatigues of war, let us reſerve what ſtrength is left us, for a General who makes it his greateſt glory to enrich the ſoldiers that have ſerved well under his command.*

It

It was during the winter, and while the *Roman* army was in quarters at *Niſibis*, that the ſpirit of mutiny, thus foſtered, grew almoſt to perfect rebellion. The two kings, doubtleſs no ſtrangers to the diſaffection of the ſoldiers to their General, took advantage of it. *Tigranes* re-entered *Armenia*, and forced *L. Fannius*, who commanded there for the *Romans*, to ſhut himſelf up in a caſtle. *Mithridates*, with 4000 of his own men, and an equal number of *Armenians*, returned into his kingdom of *Pontus*, and there he defeated *Fabius Adrianus* (one of *Lucullus*'s Lieutenants) whoſe army would have been entirely diſperſed, or deſtroyed, if the king (who, though almoſt ſeventy years of age, expoſed his perſon like a young warrior) had not received two wounds, which obliged him to quit the field. This event ſlackened the ardour of the victors, ſo that the vanquiſhed had time and opportunity to gain the fort of *Cabiræ*. Plut. in Luc. App. Mithrid. Dio.

It was not long before the king, cured of his wounds, marched to beſiege that fort; but being informed, that *Triarius* was advancing with all the troops he had been able haſtily to aſſemble, he retired. *Triarius* purſued him as far as *Comana*, and even gained over him ſome ſmall advantage; and with this the campaign ended.

At the return of ſpring, * *Mithridates*, having without queſtion, recruited his army, led it againſt *Triarius*, whom he hoped to drive entirely out of the kingdom of *Pontus*, before *Lucullus* could come to his aid. *Triarius* kept upon the defenſive, and declined a battle. To force him to it, the king made preparations to attack a caſtle, in which was all the heavy baggage of the *Roman* army. This ſtratagem ſucceeded. The ſoldiers of *Triarius*, to preſerve their baggage, obliged their commander to fight; who, it is ſaid, was not backward thereto, having flattered himſelf with the proſpect of the glory he ſhould acquire, by conquering in the abſence of his General. The two armies met three miles from *Ziela*, a city that became famous in the *Roman* ſtory from this action. *Triarius* was totally routed; nor perhaps, would any of his troops have eſcaped the ſword of the enemy, if *Mithridates* had not been again wounded[a], and thereby rendered unable to keep the field; which made his Generals order a retreat to be ſounded. This was the moſt bloody defeat the *Romans* had ſuffered during the whole courſe of their wars againſt *Mithridates*: ſeven thouſand *Romans* remained dead upon the field of battle, amongſt whom were four and twenty Tribunes, and an hundred and twenty Centurions. *Cicero*, making his court to *Pompey*, at the expence of *Lucullus*, ſays, that, when this General received the news of *Triarius*'s defeat, it was from public rumour, and not from any ſoldier who had eſcaped the ſlaughter. * A. 686. Cic. pro Leg. Man. 9.

[a] The wound was in his thigh. The king had in his army many perſons habited and armed after the *Roman* manner; which accounts for his not being upon his guard againſt a *Roman* Centurion, who gave him the wound. The Centurion was killed upon the ſpot.

The

The troops of *Lucullus*, though they had before refuſed to follow him, yet, through ſhame, conſented to march, when they learnt that *Triarius* was in danger; but it was too late: He did not arrive in *Pontus* till after the diſaſter: He found the dead bodies lying upon the field of battle; and, by neglecting to bury them, he farther exaſperated his ſoldiers againſt him. And as for *Triarius*, they would have torn him in pieces, if their General had not furniſhed him with means of ſaving himſelf by flight.

Tigranes had recovered the greater part of his dominions, and, having aſſembled a conſiderable army, was marching to the aſſiſtance of his ally; and this made *Mithridates* induſtriouſly avoid, for the preſent, a battle with *Lucullus*. The *Roman*, not being able to force him to an engagement, reſolved to lead his army againſt *Tigranes*, whoſe troops he hoped to defeat with eaſe, by attacking them unexpectedly, when fatigued with a long march: But this plan was diſconcerted by the untractableneſs of his own men, who though they had followed him ſome time, yet, when they ſaw that he meant to go into *Cappadocia*, declared peremptorily, they would not follow him thither. *Lucullus* went from tent to tent, and almoſt from man to man, taking them by the hand, and with tears intreating them to advance. There was no kind of ſubmiſſion to which he did not deſcend; but the evil had taken too deep root to admit of a remedy. They treated him with inſolence and contempt, Shewing to him their empty purſes [d], they ſaid, that *he, who alone grew rich by the war, ought to make war alone.* What confirmed the *Fimbrian* Legions in this inſolence, was the arrival of the Conſul *Glabrio*, who had been appointed to ſucceed *Lucullus*. The Conſul was already in *Bithynia*, and had cauſed proclamation to be made in all the adjacent countries, that he prohibited all perſons from obeying the orders of *Lucullus*, upon pain of confiſcation of their eſtates, the *Roman* people having put an end to his command. In conſequence of this proclamation, the ſoldiers of *Fimbria* conſidered *Lucullus* only as a private perſon: and all that the ſoldiers of the other Legions, who ſtill retained ſome reſpect for their General, could obtain from theſe mutineers, was, that they would continue with the army to the end of the ſummer; and even this was upon expreſs condition, that, if the enemy did not appear during the interval, they ſhould be entirely at liberty to withdraw.

Lucullus, to avoid being totally abandoned, was under a neceſſity of accepting what they thought fit to grant, and conſequently of ſuffering *Tigranes* to ravage *Cappadocia*, and of bearing unrevenged the inſults of *Mithridates*. He had wrote to the Senate, that, having ſubdued thoſe two kings, it was neceſſary ten commiſſioners ſhould (according to cuſtom)

[d] This is related by *Plutarch*, who had before related the conſiderable booty the ſoldiers got at the plundering of *Tigranocerta*.

be

be ſent to regulate with him the diſpoſition of his new conqueſt. The commiſſioners arrived at this time, and found *Lucullus* ſo little maſter of the enemy's country, that he was not even maſter of his own troops. And this reduced him to ſay, that, as to any future meaſures relative to the war, he was entirely out of the queſtion; that thoſe were *Glabrio*'s buſineſs, who had been named to ſucceed him. But *Glabrio*, who had expreſſed great ardour for the employment, while he believed he ſhould have nothing to do, more than reaping the fruits of his predeceſſor's victories, kept aloof, when he found there were difficulties and dangers to be encountered.

The end of the ſummer, with which the ſervice of the *Fimbrian* Legions was to end, being come, they marched out of the camp, drew their ſwords, brandiſhed them in the air, and with loud cries called upon the enemy; who not appearing, they pretended they had performed their engagements, and would now retire. *Lucullus* was under a neceſſity of diſmiſſing them. He likewiſe ſent part of the other troops to *Glabrio*, retaining with him only an inconſiderable number of ſoldiers, with whom it was impoſſible for him to undertake any thing further [a].

Pompey, who (as above-mentioned) was already in *Aſia*, when he learnt that the *Manilian Law* had transferred to him *Lucullus*'s command, loſt no time in improving the opportunity, which this commiſſion gave him, of mortifying his rival. Without delay, he cauſed edicts to be fixed up in all the cities, enjoining the *Roman* troops to repair to him: obedience was punctually paid to his edicts: and even *Fimbria*'s Legions, Plut. in Pomp. & in Lucull.

[a] *Plutarch*, upon this occaſion, deſcants again on *Lucullus*'s want of affability and condeſcention to his ſoldiers. "If with all the "great qualities he poſſeſſed courage, vigi- "lance, activity, prudence, and the love of "juſtice, he had likewiſe poſſeſſed that prin- "cipal talent of a General, the ſkill of making "himſelf loved by his ſoldiers, the empire "of the *Romans* would not have had the *Eu-* "*phrates* for its boundary, but the *Caſpian* "ſea and the extremities of the Eaſt. For, "by conquering *Tigranes*, they would have "reaped the benefit of his conqueſts, and "held in ſubjection to themſelves all the "nations which that prince had ſubdued. "And as to the *Parthians*, they were not at "this time ſo powerful, as afterwards, when "*Craſſus* attacked them. Rent in pieces by "civil wars, and haraſſed by their neigh- "bours, their ſtrength was not equal to that "of a king of *Armenia*."

The ſame hiſtorian is of opinion, that *Lucullus*'s victories were eventually more hurtful to his country, than beneficial; they being the *cauſe* of *Craſſus*'s unfortunate expedition againſt the *Parthians*. [As, according to *Polybius*, the ſafe retreat of the *Greeks* under *Xenophon*, through the whole country of their enemies, was the *cauſe* of *Alexander*'s invaſion of *Perſia*.] "The conqueſts of *Tigra-* "*nocerta* and *Niſibis*, the immenſe riches "brought from thoſe cities to *Rome*, and the "diadem of *Tigranes*, borne in pomp in the "triumph of *Lucullus*; theſe inflamed *Craſ-* "*ſus* with the deſire of carrying the *Roman* "arms into the Eaſt. He imagined, that all "the wealth of *Parthia* would be the ſure "prey, as well as ample reward, of whoever "would take the trouble of going to ſeize "it. But the arrows of the *Parthians* very "ſoon undeceived him; and his deplorable "defeat evinces, that *Lucullus* owed his vic- "tories, not to the unſkilfulneſs and unman- "lineſs of his enemies, but to his own un- "daunted courage and able conduct."

which, by a decree of the People, had obtained their diſmiſſion, went voluntarily, and ranged themſelves under the enſigns of *Pompey*; who left his rival not more than 1600 ſoldiers to attend him in his triumph, and even theſe were unwilling to ſtay with him.

Pompey likewiſe ſummoned the principal Magiſtrates of the *Aſiatic* nations, and forbad them to pay any regard to the orders of *Lucullus*: And whereas this General, in concert with the ten commiſſioners, had made ſome decrees and regulations, *Pompey* cancelled them all, and wherever he went, ſuffered nothing to ſubſiſt, that had been inſtituted by his rival, whom he endeavoured, by all poſſible means, to render contemptible.

Lucullus complaining of this ſtrange procedure, ſome of their common friends propoſed a conference between the two Generals. Accordingly they met in *Galatia*. The politeſt expreſſions of reciprocal eſteem and reſpect, warm congratulations, high compliments upon each other's victories, were the introduction to mutual accuſations (which immediately followed) in the moſt opprobrious terms. *Lucullus* reproached *Pompey* with his unjuſt, injurious, inſatiable ambition: *Pompey* reproached *Lucullus* with his paſſion for money, and with the prodigious wealth he had amaſſed during the war. They parted more inflamed, than before, with anger againſt each other; and this anger was for ever breaking out in their daily diſcourſe. *Pompey* affected to lower the value of *Lucullus*'s exploits, by alledging, that he had fought with nothing but the empty ſhadows of armies, whereas he himſelf ſhould have real ſoldiers to combat; an infantry, which *Mithridates*, grown wiſe by his misfortunes, had well diſciplined, and had armed, not with gilded toys, but with ſwords and ſhields; and a cavalry, which the ſame prince had gradually learnt to make truly ſerviceable in war. On the other hand, *Lucullus* affirmed, that he had left his ſucceſſor nothing to do againſt *Mithridates* or *Tigranes*; that the war was at an end: but that *Pompey* (like thoſe cowardly birds which fall greedily to prey upon dead and mangled bodies, which they did not kill) was accuſtomed to come in at the cloſe of a war, and fall furiouſly upon the ſcattered remains of armies defeated and routed by other commanders; and then aſcribe to himſelf the ſole merit of thoſe victories. Thus it was *he*, this mighty man, not *Catulus*, *Metellus*, and *Craſſus*, who conquered in the wars of *Lepidus*, *Sertorius*, and *Spartacus*. And how then was it poſſible, that he ſhould not aſpire to the fame of having terminated the wars of *Pontus* and *Armenia*, HE, who was ſo nobly ambitious of a *triumph* over a gang of run-away ſlaves?

After *Lucullus*'s return into *Italy*, violent and long-continued oppoſition was made to his demand of a triumph. What the event was we ſhall ſee hereafter.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The THIRD MITHRIDATIC WAR *continued, under the conduct of* POMPEY, *to the death of* MITHRIDATES *in* 690.

POMPEY's good fortune attended him in the diſcharge of his new commiſſion. *Phraates*, king of *Parthia*, and *Tigranes*, king of *Armenia*, the allies of *Mithridates*, and on whoſe aid, after his many loſſes, he chiefly depended for ſupport, were fallen at variance. For the ſon of *Tigranes*, revolting againſt his father, had repaired to the court of *Phraates*, his father-in-law, with whom having prevailed to eſpouſe his quarrel, he returned into *Armenia* with an army of *Parthians*.

The elder *Tigranes* therefore, had he been never ſo much inclined to aſſiſt the king of *Pontus*, was incapable of doing it; but, in truth, he had no ſuch inclination, having entertained a ſuſpicion, that this good ally, grandfather of the rebel-prince, ſecretly encouraged him in his rebellion: ſo that *Mithridates* was left with only his own troops, which amounted to no more than 30,000 foot, and 3000 horſe, to withſtand all the forces of the *Romans*. A battle he prudently and induſtriouſly avoided; but, to make the beſt uſe of the ſtrength he had, employed it to ſhut up the entrances into his kingdom, and to ſtarve his enemies, by cutting off their ſupplies of proviſions, as often as poſſibly he could: and it was the eaſier to diſtreſs the *Roman* troops in this reſpect, as the adjacent countries all around them had been waſted and ruined by *Lucullus*. Plut. in Pomp. App. Mithridat. p. 238.

Pompey, at the ſame time that he began his march againſt the king, diſpatched *Metrophanes* to him, to ſound his diſpoſition, whether he might be brought *to ſubmit*; that is, *firſt to deliver up all the deſerters, and then ſurrender himſelf at diſcretion.* The monarch rejected the ſecond article with indignation: The deſerters, either conjecturing the truth, or being informed of their concern in the negotiation, roſe, and drew into their mutiny the national troops, who well knew the need they had of thoſe ſtrangers: But at length the king appeaſed the ſoldiery, by proteſting, he would never deliver up thoſe who had done him ſervice, nor would ever make peace with the *Romans*; that he had never in reality entertained the thoughts of peace; and that the Ambaſſadors he had ſent to *Pompey*, were, in truth, only ſpies.

The *Roman* General not finding it practicable to diſlodge the king from the ſtrong poſts he held, and apprehending a want of proviſions, turned towards *Armenia Minor*, which, being deſtitute of troops, preſented an eaſy conqueſt. *Mithridates*, to whom that province belonged, followed him thither, and encamped his army ſo advantageouſly upon a hill, that he could not be forced to a battle. Drawing his proviſions commodiouſly

from the countries behind him, he employed his cavalry to carry off the enemy's convoys; in which they often ſucceeded; ſo that, had he continued in that poſt, he might have greatly diſtreſſed his enemy; but he quitted it for want of water, not knowing that water was to be had there. *Pompey* ſeized the poſt immediately; and the verdure with which the hill was covered, indicating that there were ſprings in it, he cauſed wells to be dug. Theſe were preſently filled with water, ſo as abundantly to ſupply the whole army.

Plut. in Pomp.

Not long after *Pompey*, by his ſuperior ſkill in war, contrived to ſurprize, and almoſt entirely deſtroy, the cavalry of *Mithridates*; a fatal blow to him, in that it gave the *Romans* a facility in getting proviſions. As the king ſtill perſiſted in declining a battle, *Pompey* undertook to ſhut him up in his camp by lines drawn round it. Five and forty days *Mithridates* continued in a manner beſieged: at length, preſſed by famine, he turned his thoughts to flight; and he made his diſpoſitions ſo ſkilfully, as to deceive *Pompey*'s vigilance. Leaving fires lighted in his camp, he ſet out during the night. *Pompey* purſued him the next morning, but without being able to attack him; for he kept himſelf ſhut up in his camp the whole day, and renewed his march only when it was dark; and the *Romans*, being unacquainted with the country, were not forward to hazard a battle in the night.

However, when the king drew near to the *Euphrates*, *Pompey* made a ſecret and expeditious march, got before him, and poſted himſelf in his way to hinder his paſſing that river, which would have brought him into the dominions of *Tigranes*. *Mithridates* knew nothing of this march of the *Roman* army; and his troops, having ſet out as uſual in the evening, leſs vigilant than before, becauſe expecting to be very ſoon in a place of ſecurity, fell unawares, and in the dark, into the midſt of their enemies. *Pompey* ordered all his trumpets to ſound at once, and all his ſoldiers to give a ſhout; which ſo increaſed the terror and confuſion of the Barbarians, that they preſently turned their backs, and fled: and it is ſaid (though it ſeems not probable, if this conflict happened in the night) that above 10,000 of their number were ſlain, and that the priſoners were not much fewer. The king with 800 horſe opened himſelf a way through the *Romans*; but his guard did not ſtay with him long, and he was reduced to continue his flight with only three companions. Among theſe was *Hypſicratea*, one of his concubines, whom he uſed to call *Hypſicrates*, on account of her maſculine courage and ſtrength. Habited and armed like a trooper, ſhe rode by his ſide in all his battles, accompanied him in all his expeditions, and in all his flights; and, in this laſt, did him the office of a groom, as well as of a valet, taking care not only of his perſon, but of his horſe.

Mithridates, having picked up in his flight about 3000 foot, and ſome foreign cavalry, arrived at a fort called *Synoria*, on the frontiers of *Armenia*

menia Minor. It was one of the places in which he kept his treaſures; he took thence 6000 talents, diſtributing the rich habits and other things of value among his friends: To each of whom he likewiſe gave a proviſion of poiſon, that they might be maſters of their own fate, if they ſhould be in danger of falling alive into the hands of the *Romans.* He had hoped to find an aſylum with *Tygranes*; but the *Armenian*, actuated by the ſuſpicion above-mentioned, or pretending ſo to be, not only ſeized the Ambaſſadors whom *Mithridates* ſent to aſk his permiſſion to enter his dominions, but ſet a price upon the king's head, promiſing 100 talents to any one who ſhould bring it him.

Mithridates, thus abandoned by his ally, reſolved to retire to the *Cimmerian Boſporus* *, where his ſon *Machares* reigned: He could go thither only by land, the enemy being maſters of the ſea: But though the march was long and difficult, the king, ſupported by his courage, puſhed on beyond the ſprings of the *Euphrates*, paſſed the *Phaſis*, and arrived at *Dioſcurias*, ſituated on the *Euxine* ſea in the weſtern extremity of the Iſthmus, which divides that ſea from the *Caſpian*, and there he took up his winter-quarters. *Pompey* had detached ſome horſe and light troops in purſuit of him; but, upon advice of his having paſſed the *Phaſis*, relinquiſhed all hope of overtaking him; and applied himſelf to found a new city on the ſpot where he had gained the late victory, calling the place *Nicopolis* [the city of victory.] To people it, he left there ſuch of his ſoldiers as, by wounds, ſickneſs, or age, were diſabled from further ſerving. With theſe ſome families of the country joined, and in proceſs of time the city became conſiderable.

* Crim Tartary.
* Vid. ſup. p. 225.

It was here that the ſon of *Tigranes*, the only remaining ſon of three whom he had by *Cleopatra*, the daughter of *Mithridates*, came to the *Roman* camp. The father had put to death the other two on light occaſions; whereupon young *Tigranes*, the third ſon, not thinking his life ſafe within the power of ſo cruel a father, fled to *Phraates*, king of *Parthia*, his father-in-law, who not only gave him a kind reception, but brought him back into *Armenia* with an army, and laid ſiege to *Artaxata*, the capital of the kingdom: For *Tigranes* had retired to the mountains. The city being well fortified and well defended, the ſiege was ſpun out to a great length; and *Phraates*, the neceſſity of his affairs recalling him into *Parthia*, returned thither with the better part of his forces. *Tigranes* ſeized the favourable opportunity, fell upon his ſon, vanquiſhed him, and drove him out of the country. The prince's firſt thought, after this diſaſter, was to repair to his grandfather *Mithridates*; but meeting, in the way, the news of his defeat, and of the bad ſtate of his affairs, he fled to the *Roman* camp, and threw himſelf as a ſupplicant at the feet of *Pompey*, who received him kindly, and was glad of his coming; for being then juſt going to enter *Armenia*, he wanted a guide well acquainted with the country, and he made uſe of young

young *Tigranes* for this purpoſe, marching under his guidance directly towards *Artaxata*. The *Armenian* king, terrified to exceſs, now turned his mind wholly to make his peace with the *Romans*; and, in his fright, the firſt ſtep he took was delivering up thoſe Ambaſſadors, by whom *Mithridates*, when diſtreſſed, had aſked his protection; to *Pompey*: The negotiation, however, for peace was traverſed and impeded by the young prince; and the *Romans*, ſtill advancing, paſſed the *Araxes*. Reduced to extremity by his fears, *Tigranes* then opened the gates of *Artaxata*, and received a *Roman* garriſon into it; and having heard much of *Pompey*'s clemency, and honourable diſpoſitions, ſet forward, without any precaution taken, to reſign himſelf and his kingdom to the pleaſure and diſpoſal of the *Roman* General. He laid aſide his royal Robe, but retained his crown, or tiara, that he might command ſome reſpect, even while, as a ſuppliant king, he knew himſelf an object of compaſſion. When he arrived at the camp of the *Romans* (which was about ſixteen miles from *Artaxata*) two Lictors, at the entrance of it, ſignified to him that he muſt diſmount; for that no ſtranger had ever been permitted to enter a *Roman* camp on horſeback. *Tigranes* alighted, gave them his ſword, took off his royal tiara as ſoon as he came into the preſence of *Pompey*, and caſt himſelf proſtrate on the ground before him. *Pompey*, hereupon, leaped from his ſeat, ran to him, and, kindly taking him by the hand, lifted him up, put his crown again upon his head, and placed him on a ſeat at his right hand, and his ſon on another at his left. The king ſaid, "He ſhould never have acted in the manner he had juſt "then done, towards any other perſon of any other nation; but that "there could be no diſhonour in being vanquiſhed by a General, whom "no potentate on earth could ever hope to vanquiſh; nor in ſubmitting "to a man, whom fortune had exalted above all other mortals." To this flattering compliment *Pompey* anſwered, by aſſuring the dejected monarch, he ſhould have no reaſon to complain of his fate; that he ſhould not loſe *Armenia*; and ſhould gain the friendſhip of the *Romans*. After theſe words of conſolation, he invited the king and his ſon that night to ſup with him, appointing the next day for hearing their cauſe. Young *Tigranes* had not riſen from his ſeat at his father's appearing, nor ſhewed the leaſt mark of reſpect for him: He had flattered himſelf with the hope of being put into immediate poſſeſſion of the crown of *Armenia*, and was therefore far from being pleaſed with what had juſt paſt. Wholly poſſeſſed by his anger, he not only refuſed to go to the ſupper to which he was invited, but even intimated, in a kind of threat, that if *Pompey* did not give him ſatisfaction, he ſhould find ſome other *Roman* who would be more effectually his friend.

The day following *Pompey*, after holding a great council, (to which he had called both father and ſon, that he might know their ſeveral pretenſions) pronounced a decree, by which he ordained, that the elder *Tigranes*,

nes, yielding up to the *Romans* all his conqueſts on this ſide the *Euphrates*, and paying 6000 talents, for having made war upon them without cauſe, ſhould ſtill reign in his paternal kingdom of *Armenia Major*; and his ſon in *Gordyene* and *Sophene* (two provinces bordering on *Armenia*) during his father's life time, and ſucceed him in all the reſt of his dominions after his death: but to the father was reſerved, out of *Sophene*, the treaſure he had there depoſited, without which he would not have been able to pay the fine of 6000 talents impoſed on him. The elder *Tigranes* joyfully accepted theſe terms, being glad even thus to be again admitted to reign; and he was ſo overjoyed to hear the *Romans* ſalute him king, that he promiſed to give every common ſoldier fifty drachmas, each Centurion a thouſand, and each military Tribune ten thouſand. But the ſon was highly diſpleaſed with the decree; and, pretending that the treaſure in *Sophene* belonged to him, refuſed to permit his father to take it away. *Pompey* decided the diſpute in favour of the father: the ſon, enraged more than ever at this deciſion, meditated an eſcape; but this deſign was diſcovered, and a guard was placed upon him; and, being afterwards detected in ſoliciting the nobles of *Armenia*, and alſo the *Parthians*, to renew the war, *Pompey* put him among thoſe whom he reſerved for his *triumph*. *Tigranes*, the father, as ſoon as he had received his treaſure out of *Sophene*, paid the 6000 talents, and was thereupon declared a Friend and Ally of the *Roman* people. The king likewiſe performed now his promiſe to the ſoldiers. Vell. Pat.

Phraates ſolicited ineffectually for the releaſe of his ſon-in-law, young *Tigranes*. *Pompey* anſwered the ambaſſadors of the *Parthian*, *That a father had more right over his ſon than a father-in-law*. And whereas the *Parthian* had propoſed, that the *Euphrates* ſhould be the boundary of the two empires, *Pompey*, without entering into any diſcuſſion, declared, that he knew no boundaries but thoſe of right and juſtice. Plut. & Dio.

Ariobarzanes, king of *Cappadocia*, ever faithful to the *Romans*, to whom he owed his elevation to the throne, had been the ſport of their enemies, had been expelled, reſtored, and expelled again; now by *Mithridates*, then by *Tigranes*. The flight of the king of *Pontus*, the ruin of his affairs, and the peace granted by the *Romans* to the king of *Armenia*, confirmed the *Cappadocian* in the poſſeſſion of his dominion: And *Pompey*, in recompence of his fidelity, gave to him *Sophene*, which he had once allotted to the prince of *Armenia*.

After theſe regulations, *Pompey* marched northward in purſuit of *Mithridates*. Coming to the river *Cyrus*, he was oppoſed by the *Albanians*, and and the *Iberians*, two potent nations inhabiting the *Iſthmus*, between the *Caſpian* and the *Euxine* ſeas, and confederates of the king of *Pontus*; but having overthrown them in battle, he forced the *Albanians* to ſue for peace, and then wintered in their country. Liv. Epit. Plut. & Dio.

L. Au-

Y. R. 688. Bef. Chr. 64. 379 Conſ.

L. AURELIUS COTTA, L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, } Conſuls.

Luc. & Dio.

Early the next year he marched againſt the *Iberians*, who were a very warlike nation, and had never ſubmitted to either *Medians*, *Perſians*, or *Macedonians*, during all the time that theſe, ſucceſſively, held the empire of *Aſia*. But, though *Pompey* found ſome difficulties in this war, he ſoon ſurmounted them, and forced the *Iberians* to terms of peace; their king *Artoces*, for hoſtages, giving his ſons.

After this, he reduced the people of *Colchis* to a ſubmiſſion, having taken *Olthacès*, their king, priſoner (whom he afterwards cauſed to be led before him in triumph;) and then marched back againſt the *Albanians*, who, while he was engaged with the *Iberians* and *Colchians*, had renewed the war. He overthrew them in battle with great ſlaughter, killing, with his own hand, their General *Coſis*, the brother of their king *Orodes* [or *Oroëſes*]; and thereby forced the king to purchaſe the renewal of the laſt year's peace by rich preſents, and alſo to ſend his ſons to him for hoſtages.

Having finiſhed this war in the North, he led back his army into the ſouthern parts; for, *Mithridates* being arrived in the kingdom of *Boſporus*, on the other ſide of the *Euxine* ſea, there was no purſuing of him thither, but round that ſea a great way about, through many barbarous *Scythian* nations, and ſeveral deſarts; which was not to be attempted by the *Roman* army, without manifeſt danger of a total miſcarriage. (All that *Pompey* could do, was to order his fleet, commanded by *Servilius*, one of his lieutenants, to be ſo ſtationed, as to hinder ſupplies of

Plut. in Dio.

proviſions, and other neceſſaries, from being carried to the king.) In croſſing the kingdom of *Pontus*, in his way to *Syria*, he arrived at the place where *Triarius* had been defeated by *Mithridates*; and, finding the dead bodies of the *Romans* ſtill lying unburied upon the field of battle, he cauſed them to be interred in honourable manner; which much pleaſed his army, and made the fault of *Lucullus*, who had neglected that duty, appear in a ſtronger light. After this, continuing his march, he ſubdued *Darius*, king of *Media*, and *Antiochus*, king of *Commagene*; and having, by *Scaurus*, reduced *Cœle-Syria* and *Damaſcus*, and, by *Gabinius*, the reſt of thoſe parts, as far as the *Tigris*, he was become maſter of

App. in Mithrid. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 4. Dio Caſſ.

all the *Syrian* empire. *Antiochus Aſiaticus* (the ſon of *Antiochus Euſebes*) the remaining heir of the *Seleuſian* family, who, by the permiſſion of *Lucullus*, had now reigned four years in ſome part of *Syria*, after *Tigranes* had been forced to withdraw his forces from it, applied himſelf to the *Roman* General, requeſting to be re-eſtabliſhed in the kingdom

Juſtin. l. xl. c. 2.

of his anceſtors. But *Pompey* anſwered, That the *Romans* had found *Tigranes* in poſſeſſion of that country, and had conquered it from him,

and

and were not to yield the fruits of their victory to another[a]. And accordingly he reduced *Syria* into the form of a Roman province. *Antiochus* being thus deprived of his crown, here ended the empire of the *Seleucidæ* in *Aſia*, after it had laſted two hundred and fifty-eight years. Y. R. 688. Bef. Chr. 64. 379 Conſ.

What made *Pompey* ſo fond of this march into *Syria*, was a vain and ambitious deſire of extending his conqueſts to the *Red* ſea. He had formerly, while he commanded firſt in *Africa*, and afterwards in *Spain*, puſhed his conqueſts on both ſides of the *Mediterranean* to the Weſtern ocean, and had lately, in his *Albanian* war, led his forces as far as the *Caſpian* ſea; and, if he could alſo lead them to the *Red* ſea, he thought it would complete his glory. Plut in Pomp.

While theſe things were doing by the *Romans*, there happened great diſturbances and revolutions in *Judæa*: They had their original from the ambition and aſpiring ſpirit of *Antipater* (the father of *Herod.*) He, having had his education in the court of *Alexander Jannæus* and his queen *Alexandra*, who reigned after him, inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of *Hyrcanus*, the eldeſt of their ſons, hoping to riſe by his favour, when he ſhould come to the crown after his mother: But when *Hyrcanus* was depoſed, and *Ariſtobulus* made king, from whom he had no proſpect of favour, he ſet himſelf, with all the art he was maſter of (and that was not a little) to reſtore *Hyrcanus* to his crown: In order whereto he treated with *Aretas*, king of *Arabia Petræa*, and engaged him to aſſiſt *Hyrcanus* with an army: and he had, by his intrigues, drawn great numbers of the *Jews* into the ſame deſign. The greateſt difficulty was to excite *Hyrcanus* himſelf to the undertaking: for he, being a quiet indolent man, who loved eaſe more than any thing elſe, had no inclination to ſtir a foot for obtaining a kingdom. But, at length, being made to believe, that his life was in danger, and that he muſt either reign or die, if he ſtaid in *Judæa*, this argument rouzed him to fly for ſafety, and to put himſelf into the hands of *Aretas*. This Prince, according to his agreement with *Antipater*, brought *Hyrcanus* back into *Judæa*, with an army of 50,000 men; and, having there joined the *Jews* of *Hyrcanus*'s party, gave battle to *Ariſtobulus*, gained an abſolute victory over him, purſued him to *Jeruſalem*, entered the city without oppoſition, drove the vanquiſhed prince to take refuge in the mountain of the temple, and there beſieged him. All the prieſts adhered to *Ariſtobulus*, but the generality of the people declared for *Hyrcanus*[b]. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 2. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 3.

Scaurus

[a] Another reaſon aſſigned for this conduct of *Pompey* was, That *Antiochus* being a weak prince, of no courage, or capacity, to protect the country, the putting it into his hands would be to betray it to the ravages and depredations of the *Jews* and *Arabs*.

[b] This happened in the time of their paſſover, on which occaſion *Ariſtobulus*, wanting lambs and beaſts for the ſacrifices of that holy ſolemnity, agreed with the *Jews*, that were among the beſiegers, to furniſh him with them, for a ſum ſpecified. But when they had received

Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 4.

Scaurus being by this time come to *Damaſcus* with a *Roman* army, *Ariſtobulus* ſent thither to him, and, by the promiſe of four hundred talents, engaged him on his ſide. *Hyrcanus* offered him the like ſum; but *Scaurus*, looking upon *Ariſtobulus* as the more ſolvent of the two, choſe to embrace his cauſe; and *Gabinius*, by a preſent of three hundred talents, from the ſame quarter, was induced to do the ſame. And, accordingly, both the *Roman* generals ſent to *Aretas* to retire, threatening him with the *Roman* arms in caſe of refuſal. *Aretas* raiſed the ſiege, and marched off towards his own country; whereupon *Ariſtobulus*, having got together all the forces he could, purſued after him, overtook him, and, with a great ſlaughter, defeated him in a battle, wherein periſhed many of the *Jews* of *Hyrcanus*'s party.

Ibid. l. xiv. c. 5.

About this time, *Pompey* himſelf came to *Damaſcus*, whither reſorted to him ambaſſadors from all the neighbouring countries, eſpecially from *Egypt* and *Judæa*. The ambaſſadors from *Egypt* preſented him with a crown of gold, of the value of four thouſand pieces of gold money, and thoſe from *Judæa* with a vine of gold, of the value of four hundred talents, which was afterwards depoſited in the temple of *Jupiter*, in the Capitol at *Rome*, and there inſcribed as the gift of *Alexander*, king of the *Jews*. [It ſeems the *Romans* would not own *Ariſtobulus* to be king, and, for that reaſon, put his father's name upon it inſtead of his]. While *Pompey* was in theſe parts, there came, to make their court to him, twelve kings, who were all ſeen, at the ſame time, attending upon him.

Plut. in Pomp.

As many ſtrong places in *Pontus* and *Cappadocia* ſtill held out for *Mithridates*, *Pompey* found it neceſſary to march again thither to reduce them; which having, ſoon after his arrival, in a great meaſure, accompliſhed, he took up his winter-quarters at *Aſpis* in *Pontus*. Of the places which he reduced, one[c], called Καινὴ, i. e. *Newcaſtle*, was the

Strabo. l. xii. 7.

received the money, which was let down to them over the wall, they refuſed to deliver the ſacrifices. Nor was this the only baſe action they were guilty of at this time. For there being then at *Jeruſalem* one *Onias*, a man of great reputation for the ſanctity of his life, who was thought to have obtained, by his prayers, rain from heaven, in a time of drought, they brought him forth into the army; and, concluding that his curſe would be as prevalent as his prayers, preſſed him to curſe *Ariſtobulus*, and all that were with him. He long refuſed to hearken to them, but, at length, finding no reſt from their importunities, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, as he ſtood in the midſt of the ſoldiers, and prayed thus, *O Lord God, Rector of the univerſe, ſince thoſe that are with us are thy people, and they that are beſieged in the temple are thy prieſts*, I pray thee, *not to hear the prayers of either of them againſt the other.* The beſiegers were ſo enraged againſt the good man for this, that they ſtoned him to death.

[c] Among other things here found, were *Mithridates*'s medicinal Commentaries, which *Pompey* cauſed to be tranſlated into *Latin* by *Lenæus*, one of his freedmen, a learned Grammarian. For, among many other extraordinary endowments, with which this prince had accompliſhed himſelf, he was eminently ſkilled in the art of phyſic, and is eſteemed the author of that excellent *Alexipharmical* medicine, which, from his name, is now called *Mithridate*, which has ever ſince been in great uſe among the phyſicians. *Plin.* l. xxv. c. 2.

ſtrongeſt

ſtrongeſt: there *Mithridates* had laid a great part of his treaſure, and the beſt of his other effects, as reckoning the place impregnable Here *Pompey* found the private memoirs of the king, which diſcovered many of his tranſactions and ſecret deſigns. Y.R. 688. Bef. Chr. 64. 379 Conſ.

Pompey having, while he lay at *Aſpis*, ſettled the affairs of the adjacent countries, as well as their circumſtances would then admit, as ſoon as the ſpring began, returned again into *Syria*, to do the ſame in that country.

L. Julius Cæsar, C. Marcius Figulus, } Conſuls Y. R. 689. Bef. Chr. 63. 380 Conſ.

On his arrival there, he made *Antioch* and *Seleucia*, on the *Orontes*, free cities, and then continued his march to *Damaſcus*, intending from thence to make war upon the *Arabians*, in order to carry on his victories to the *Red* ſea. But in his way to *Damaſcus* he made many ſtops, to examine into the conduct of the princes of thoſe parts, and to hear the complaints that were made againſt them. For in the declenſion of the *Syrian* empire, many petty princes had raiſed themſelves upon its ruins in ſeveral diſtricts of it, and there exerciſed tyranny over the people, and depredations on their neighbours. Theſe *Pompey*, as he paſſed through the country, ſummoned to him, and, on hearing their cauſes, confirmed ſome of them in their toparchies, under the condition of becoming tributaries to the *Romans*; others he deprived, and ſome he condemned to death for their male-adminiſtration. But *Ptolemy*, the ſon of *Mennæus*, prince of *Chalcis*, who was the wickedeſt of them all, having made himſelf very rich by oppreſſing his people, and plundering his neighbours, preſented *Pompey* with a thouſand talents, and thereby redeeming not only his life, but his principality, continued in the enjoyment of both a great number of years. Joſ. Ant. Plut. & Dio.

On *Pompey*'s coming into *Cœle-Syria*, *Antipater*, from *Hyrcanus*, and one *Nicodemus*, from *Ariſtobulus*, addreſſed themſelves to him concerning the controverſy that was between theſe two brothers, each of the delegates requeſting his patronage to that brother by whom he was ſent. *Pompey*, having heard what they had to ſay, diſmiſſed them with fair words, ordering, that both brothers ſhould appear in perſon before him; and promiſing, that he would then take full cognizance of the whole cauſe, and determine it as juſtice ſhould direct. At this audience *Nicodemus* did much hurt to his maſter, by complaining of the four hundred talents, which *Scaurus*, and the three hundred which *Gabinius* had extorted from him. For this made both thoſe Generals his enemies; and *Pompey* was afterwards much influenced by them in his determination of the diſpute. But *Pompey*, being then intent upon making preparations for his *Arabian* war, could not immediately find leiſure for this matter; and, ſoon after, an event happened, which forced him to lay aſide, for the preſent, whatever he had to do in *Syria*, and march again into *Pontus*. It was as follows. Joſ. Ant. l. xiv. c. 5.

Y. R. 689. Before *Pompey* left *Syria* in the former year (688) there came ambaſſadors to him from *Mithridates*, out of *Boſporus*, with propoſals of peace. They offered on the king's part, in caſe he might be allowed to hold his paternal kingdom (as *Tigranes* had been,) to pay tribute for it to the *Romans*, and quit to them all his other dominions. To this *Pompey* anſwered, that *the king ſhould have come to him in perſon, in the ſame manner as* Tigranes *had done.* The negociation had no effect; for *Mithridates* could not entertain the thought of ſurrendering himſelf: He offered to ſend his ſons, and ſome of his principal friends; but this offer was rejected: Whereupon he made new preparations for war with as great vigour as at any time before: he levied exorbitant ſums upon the people, who, having been lately terrified, and almoſt deſtroyed by a dreadful earthquake, changed that reſpect and zeal, which they had hitherto retained for their ſovereign, even in his worſt fortune, into indignation and hatred; when they felt themſelves thus oppreſſed by him: for the violences and vexations committed by the officers appointed to collect the taxes were inſupportable; and he, falling ſick at this time, could not remedy the evil. He was ſhut up in his palace with three eunuchs, who attended him, and were the only perſons admitted to ſee him. But, notwithſtanding his confinement, the levies went on, and ſixty cohorts, of ſix hundred choſen men each, were raiſed, beſides a great multitude of other ſoldiers, in whom he had leſs confidence. *Pompey*, having notice of theſe preparations for war, found it neceſſary to haſten back again into *Pontus* to watch the king's proceedings. On his arrival, he fixed his reſidence for ſome time at *Amiſus*, and, while he continued in that place, was guilty of the very folly which he had before cenſured in *Lucullus*. For he there ſettled the dominions of *Mithridates* into provinces, and beſtowed the rewards as if the war had been ended: whereas *Mithridates* was ſtill alive, and with a great army, and was meditating an invaſion on the very heart of the *Roman* dominions. *Pompey*, in diſtributing his rewards, gave the leſſer *Armenia*, with ſeveral other territories and cities adjoining, to *Dejotarus*[a], one of the princes of the *Galatians*, to recompenſe him for his adhering to the *Roman* intereſt during all this war, and honoured him with the title of king of thoſe countries, whereas before he was only a *Tetrarch*.

Appian in Mith.

Plut. in Pomp.

Strabo. l. xii.

Dio. Caſſ. Plut. in Pomp. While the *Roman* forces were in *Pontus*, *Aretas*, the *Arabian* king, took the advantage of their abſence to make incurſions and depredations in ſeveral parts of *Syria*. This called *Pompey* back again into that country.

[a] This is the ſame king *Dejotarus*, in whoſe behalf *Cicero* afterwards made one of his orations, which was ſpoken before *Julius Cæſar*. *Galatia* was formerly governed by four *Tetrarchs*, of which *Dejotarus* was now one. To his *Tetrarchy*, *Pompey* added the grants above mentioned, without diſpoſſeſſing the other *Tetrarchs*. But *Dejotarus* had acquired all *Galatia* at the time when *Cicero* pleaded for him. *Strabo*, l. xii. p. 567.

Marcus

Y. R. 690. Bef. Chr. 62. 381 Conſ.

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, } Conſuls.
CAIUS ANTONIUS, }

On his arrival at *Damaſcus*, the cauſe of *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus* was brought to a hearing before him. They both appeared in perſon, as he had ordered; and, at the ſame time, ſeveral of the *Jews* appeared there againſt both: theſe laſt requeſted, in behalf of themſelves, "That they "might not be governed by a king." They pleaded, "That it had been "formerly the uſe of their nation to be governed by the high-prieſt of "the God they worſhipped, who, without aſſuming any other title, "adminiſtered juſtice to them, according to the Laws and Conſtitutions "tranſmitted from their forefathers: that it was true indeed, the two "contending brothers were of the ſacerdotal race, but had introduced a "new form of government, that they might thereby ſubject the people "to ſlavery. Joſeph. Antiq. & de B. Jud.

Hyrcanus, on his part, urged, "That, being the elder brother, he was "unjuſtly deprived of his birth-right by *Ariſtobulus*, who, having left "him only a ſmall portion of land for his ſubſiſtence, had uſurped all "the reſt from him; and, like a man born for miſchief, practiſed piracy "at ſea, and rapine and depredation at land, upon his neighbours." And for the atteſting of what *Hyrcanus* had alledged, there appeared about a thouſand of the principal *Jews*, whom *Antipater* had procured to come thither for that purpoſe.

To this *Ariſtobulus* anſwered, "That not his ambition had excluded "*Hyrcanus* from the government, but his own incapacity to manage it, "being an inactive, ſlothful man, utterly unfit for the buſineſs of the "public, and fallen into the contempt of the people: He added, I was "therefore forced to interpoſe, in order to preſerve the government "from falling into the hands of ſtrangers; and I bear no other title in "the ſtate, than what *Alexander* my father had before me." And, for witneſſes of this, he produced ſeveral young men of the country in gaudy and ſplendid apparel, who did not, by their dreſs, or by their behaviour, bring any credit to the cauſe, in ſupport of which they appeared. *Pompey*, on this hearing, ſaw far enough into the matter to make him diſapprove of the violence done to *Hyrcanus*, but would not immediately determine the controverſy, leſt *Ariſtobulus*, being provoked thereby, ſhould obſtruct him in his *Arabian* war; an enterprize which he had then much at heart. Giving therefore fair words to both brothers, he diſmiſſed them for the preſent, promiſing, that, after he had reduced *Aretas*, and his *Arabians*, he would come in perſon into *Judæa*, and there ſettle and compoſe all matters. *Ariſtobulus*, perceiving how the *Roman* general was inclined, went from *Damaſcus* without taking leave; which very much angered *Pompey*.

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Y. R. 690. In the mean time, *Aretas*, though he had hitherto contemned the *Roman* arms, yet, when he found the *Romans* near him, and ready to invade him with their victorious army, ſent Ambaſſadors to make his ſubmiſſion. *Pompey*, nevertheleſs, marched to *Petra*, the metropolis of *Aretas*'s kingdom, and having taken the place, and the king in it, put him into cuſtody; but releaſed him afterwards on his ſubmitting to the terms required, and then returned to *Damaſcus*.

Plut. & Dio. App. in Mithrid.

Being there informed of the warlike preparations, which *Ariſtobulus* was making in *Judæa*, he marched into that country, and found him in his caſtle at *Alexandrion*, which was a ſtrong fortreſs, ſituated in the entrance of the country on a high mountain. *Pompey* ſent him a meſſage to come down to him; which he was very unwilling to do; but at length, by the perſuaſions of thoſe about him, who dreaded a *Roman* war, he was prevailed with to comply; and, after ſome diſcourſe with *Pompey* about the controverſy depending, he returned again into his caſtle: And this he did two or three times, hoping by theſe compliances to gain *Pompey* to his ſide: but at the ſame time he was fortifying his caſtles, and making preparations for his defence, in caſe the ſentence ſhould go againſt him; of which proceeding *Pompey* being informed, forced him, on his next coming down, to make a ceſſion of all his caſtles, and to ſign orders to thoſe that commanded in them, to deliver them up to the *Romans*. *Ariſtobulus* grievouſly reſented the putting this force upon him, and therefore, as ſoon as he got free, fled to *Jeruſalem*, and there prepared for war. *Pompey*, not to give him time for aſſembling his forces, marched after him. The firſt place where the *Romans* pitched their camp was in the plains of *Jericho*; and here they received the news of the death of *Mithridates*. It was brought to *Pompey* by ſpecial meſſengers ſent from *Pontus*. The meſſengers, having their ſpears wreathed about with laurel, which was always a token of ſome victory, or other important advantage gained to the ſtate, the army were eager to know what had happened; and whereas there was no tribunal yet erected for the General (the camp being juſt pitched), and it would require ſome time to erect one of turf (as was the cuſtom,) they heaped up their pack-ſaddles one upon another, and thereby made an eminence: *Pompey* aſcended it, and from thence communicated to them, that *Mithridates* had laid violent hands upon himſelf, and was dead; that his ſon *Pharnaces*, having ſeized his kingdom, ſubmitted both that and himſelf to the *Roman* State; and that from *him* came the letters bringing this account: ſo that the war, which had cauſed them ſo many fatigues, was now at an end. The army immediately expreſſed their joy by ſhouts, and nothing was to be ſeen the whole day, but feſtivity and ſacrifices of thankſgiving.

Joſeph. Antiq. & de Bell. Jud. Plut. in Pomp. App. in Mithrid.

Joſeph. ibid. Plut. in Pomp.

The ſequel of *Mithridates*'s ſtory, after his arrival at *Dioſcurias*, on the eaſtern coaſt of the *Euxine*, is as follows.

Vid. ſupr. p. 212.

Having there wintered, he ſet out early in the ſpring for the kingdom of *Boſporus*, which had been a province[a] of his empire, and where he had placed one of his ſons, called *Machares*, to govern it with the title of king. But the young king having been hard preſſed upon by the *Romans*, while they lay at the ſiege of *Sinope*, and were maſters of the *Euxine* ſea by means of their fleet, he made peace with them, and had ever ſince maintained the terms of it. This having much angered the father, the ſon dreaded his approach; and therefore, while he was on the way, ſent Ambaſſadors to pacify him, urging in excuſe of his conduct, that what he had done was by the neceſſity of his affairs, and not by choice. Finding that his father was implacable, he endeavoured to make his eſcape by ſea; in which attempt not ſucceeding, he killed himſelf, to avoid falling into his father's hands. Y. R. 690. App. Mithrid. Vid. ſupra, p. 236. Liv. Epit. l. xcviii. App. ibid.

It has been mentioned, that from the kingdom of *Boſporus Mithridates* ſent Ambaſſadors unſucceſsfully to treat with *Pompey*, then in *Syria*; and that loſing all hopes of obtaining peace from the *Romans*, upon any tolerable terms, he made all the preparations he could for war.

As ſoon as he was capable (after his ſickneſs formerly mentioned) of acting and managing his affairs in perſon, he ſent troops to *Phanagoria*, on the eaſt ſide of the Streight, that he might be abſolute maſter of the channel, of which he was already maſter on the weſt ſide, by means of *Panticapeum*. *Caſtor*, a man of obſcure birth, who was governor of *Phanagoria*, had formerly been affronted by the eunuch *Tryphon*; and now, ſeeing this eunuch arrive with the king's troops, killed him, made the inhabitants take arms, and exhorted them to reſume their liberty. The whole city roſe. The citadel, in which were ſeveral of *Mithridates*'s children, and, among the reſt, *Artaphernes*, above forty years old, made ſome reſiſtance; but the people heaping up wood round about it, in order to ſet it on fire, the prince's courage failed, and he ſurrendered himſelf priſoner, with three of his brothers, *Darius*, *Xerxes*, and *Oxathres*, and one ſiſter, called *Eupatra*, all four under age. *Cleopatra*, another daughter of *Mithridates* held out againſt the rebels, notwithſtanding her being thus deſerted by her brother; and gave her father time to ſend ſhips to carry her off to *Panticapeum*. *Caſtor* delivered up his priſoners to the *Romans*. Vid. ſupra, p. 260.

The example of *Phanagoria* was followed by ſeveral of the neighbouring towns; ſo that *Mithridates*, ſeeing treaſons multiply around him, turned his thoughts to purchaſe the friendſhip of the *Scythian* kings, by giving them ſome of his daughters in marriage, with rich preſents: But the ſoldiers, who were appointed to eſcort the princeſſes, delivered them

a The *Boſporani* were thoſe people who inhabited the northern coaſt of the *Euxine* ſea; which coaſt (or at leaſt the weſtern part of it) ſeems to have been ſubject to *Mithridates*, as well as the country called (in this part of the *Roman* ſtory) the *Cimmerian Boſporus*, which is alſo the name of the *Streight*, which divides the *Cherſoneſus* from *Aſia*.

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Y. R. 690. into the hands of the *Romans*, having firſt killed the eunuchs who had the care of them. All theſe diſappointments determined him to make a deſperate expedition through the way of *Pannonia* and the *Trentine Alps*, into *Italy* itſelf, and there attack the *Romans*, as *Hannibal* had done, at their own doors. In order hereto, he collected numerous forces out of the *Scythian* nations, for augmenting his former army, and ſent agents to engage the *Gauls* to join with him. There were abundance of *Gauls* ſettled upon the *Danube*, and the rivers that fall into it, and he had for a long time kept up a good correſpondence with theſe; ſo that he expected not only to meet with no oppoſition from them, but to have them for his allies and auxiliaries.

Plut. in Pomp. Dio, l. xxxvii. Mithrid.

Plut. Lucull. But this enterprize containing a march of above 2000 miles, through all thoſe countries which are now called *Tartaria Crimæa*, *Podolia*, *Moldavia*, *Walachia*, *Tranſilvania*, *Hungaria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Tyrol*, and *Lombardy*, and over three great rivers, the *Boriſtenes*, the *Danube*, and the *Po*, the very thought of it ſo terrified the army, that, to avoid it, they conſpired againſt him, and made his ſon *Pharnaces* their king. *Mithridates* had always diſtinguiſhed this ſon as his favourite, and intended him for his ſucceſſor. But the prince, who was deſirous to preſerve, at leaſt the wreck of his father's fortune, and foreſaw, that the project of marching into *Italy*, if only begun to be put into execution, would probably occaſion the loſs of all, by rendering the *Romans* irreconcileable to the family of *Mithridates*, put himſelf at the head of the conſpirators [b].

The king, informed of what was in agitation, ſent ſome of his guards to ſeize the prince; but he gained over theſe ſoldiers to join him in the conſpiracy: into which, by remonſtrances and promiſes, he eaſily brought likewiſe the *Roman* deſerters, who were encamped without the walls of *Panticapeum*. The prince found no greater difficulty in gaining the ſoldiers of the other camps; and at the head of this multitude of rebels he preſented himſelf before the place at day-break.

The city ſoon followed the example of the camps. Some officers, whom the king had ſent to enquire the cauſe of the ſhouts he heard, having gone over with their ſoldiers to *Pharnaces*, the inhabitants preſently opened the gates to the prince: ſo that the king was reduced to ſhut himſelf up

[b] Fear might perhaps concur with ambition in prompting the prince to rebel. The death of his brother *Xiphares* might make him think his own life very precarious.

Plid. *Mithridates*, in the decline of his affairs, had placed *Stratonice*, the mother of *Xiphares*, in a ſtrong caſtle (called *Sympherium*) in *Pontus*. She, finding herſelf like to be deſerted, delivered the place to *Pompey*, upon his promiſe of ſafety for herſelf, and likewiſe for her ſon, in caſe he ſhould happen to fall into the hands of the *Romans*: and *Pompey* continued her in poſſeſſion of that caſtle, and of moſt of the effects in it. *Xiphares* was at this time in *Pontus* with his father, who, to be revenged on the mother, carried this ſon to the ſide of the Streight, on the oppoſite ſide on which the caſtle ſtood, and there ſlew him within her view, and left the dead body unburied on the ſtrand.

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in the citadel. From thence he ſent to aſk the mutineers what their demands were: They anſwered with extreme inſolence, "We demand that "*Pharnaces* ſhould be our king. We want a young king, not an old one, "governed by eunuchs, and who makes known his power only by cruel-"ties to his Generals, his friends, and even his children." Y.R. 690. Bef. Chr. 62. 389 Conſ.

Mithridates came out, in order to ſpeak in perſon to them; but the ſoldiers who attended him, thinking it would be beſt for themſelves to follow the ſtream, offered their ſervices to the rebels. The *Roman* deſerters, proud of their number and ſtrength, and ever at the head of the rebel-crew, made anſwer to this offer of the ſoldiers, "That it would not be accepted, unleſs "they firſt gave ſome ſignal proof of their zeal." And, at the ſame time, they pointed to *Mithridates*. In ſo great extremity, the king had no choice but to return into the fort, which he did not effect without great difficulty, having had his horſe killed under him. At the ſame inſtant, the whole multitude of the revolted proclaimed *Pharnaces* king; and, for want of a diadem, they bound about his head a broad fillet of *Egyptian* paper, which ſomebody had taken out of a neighbouring temple. Prideaux.

Mithridates, who, from a tower, ſaw all that paſſed, ſent many times to aſk his life of his ſon, with permiſſion to retire. But as none of his meſſengers returned, and he found he muſt die, he made this prayer: *O ye gods! the avengers of fathers, if it be true that you exiſt, and if there be juſtice in heaven, grant that* Pharnaces *may, one day, hear his ſentence of death pronounced by his children.* He then called ſome of his officers and guards, who had hitherto continued faithful to him, and, having praiſed their generoſity, ordered them to repair to the new king; after which he retired into his apartment, diſtributed poiſon to his wives, concubines, and daughters [a], and took a doſe of it himſelf: this not operating upon him, he had recourſe to his ſword; but failing to give himſelf ſuch a wound as was ſufficient to do the buſineſs, he called to him a *Gallic* officer (who, at the head of ſome of the rebels, had forced the walls of the caſtle;) *Brave ſoldier, you did me great ſervices at the time you fought under me. You will do me a greater now than ever, if you will ſave me from the ſhame of falling alive into the hands of the* Romans, *and being led by them in triumph.* The *Gaul* complied with his deſire. Oroſ. vi. 5. Dio. App.

Such was the end of *Mithridates* [b]; whom *Cicero* ſtiles *the greateſt of kings* Cic. in Luc.

[a] Two of his daughters, *Mithridatis* and *Nyſſa*, who were to be married to the two *Ptolemys*, the one king of *Egypt*, and the other king of *Cyrus*, deſired to have the conſolation of dying before their father: they made haſte therefore to drink the poiſon, and expired in a very ſhort time.

The number of this prince's ſons and daughters, by his wives and concubines, was very conſiderable. Many of his ſons he ſlew in his diſpleaſure; and many of his daughters he poiſoned, when he could not carry them off in his flights. Nevertheleſs, five of his ſons, and two of his daughters were carried by *Pompey* to *Rome*, and there led before him in his *Triumph*. Prid.

[b] The continuance of *Mithridates*'s war with the *Romans*, according to *Juſtin* was

Y. R. 690. Vol. I. ii. 18.

kings after Alexander. He was (ſays *Velleius*) a very great prince, ſometimes by his fortune, always by his magnanimity; a general in council and deſign, a ſoldier in execution, and, for hatred to *Rome*, another *Hannibal*. It is agreed, that he was a very extraordinary perſon, both for the greatneſs [a] of his ſpirit, and the endowments of his mind: and that he was learned in all the learning of thoſe times; and it is affirmed, that of twenty-two nations under his command, he could ſpeak to every

forty-ſix years; according to *Appian*, forty-two; according to *Florus* and *Eutropius*, forty; and according to *Pliny*, thirty; but according to the exact truth of the matter, though we reckon the beginning of the war from *Mithridates*'s ſeizing *Caſſadocia* (which was the firſt occaſion of it) its duration to his death, will be no more than *twenty-ſeven* years; which, for the ſake of a round number, *Pliny* calls thirty, and thereby comes neareſt to the truth. *Prideaux*, Connect. p. 432.

[a] The *ſummary* given us, by an ingenious and judicious modern, of the wars, and fortunes of *Mithridates*, and of his character as a warrior, may not perhaps be unacceptable to the reader:

Monteſquieu de la Grandeur, &c.

—— "This diſpoſition of things [mentioned above in the note, p. 148.] gave riſe "to three mighty wars, which form one of "the nobleſt parts of the *Roman* hiſtory: becauſe we do not, on this occaſion, read of "princes already overcome by *Luxury* and "*Pride*, as *Antiochus* and *Tigranes*; nor by "*Fear*, as *Philip*, *Perſes*, and *Jugurtha*; but "a magnanimous king, who, in adverſity, "like a lion that gazes upon his wounds, was "fired with greater indignation upon that account. This part of the *Roman* hiſtory is "ſingular, becauſe it abounds with perpetual "and ever unexpected revolutions; for if "*Mithridates* could eaſily recruit his armies, "it is likewiſe true, that in thoſe reverſes of "fortune, in which kings ſtand in greateſt "need of obedience, and a ſtrict diſcipline, "his barbarous forces forſook him: As he "he had the art of enticing nations, and ſtirring up cities to rebellion, ſo was he likewiſe betrayed by his captains, his children, "and his wives; as he had ſometimes unexperienced *Roman* Generals to contend "with, ſo, at other times were ſent againſt "him, *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*.

"This prince having defeated the *Roman* "Generals, and conquered *Aſia*, *Macedonia*, "and *Greece*, was vanquiſhed, in his turn, by "*Sylla*; confined by a treaty to his former "limits; haraſſed and inſulted by the *Roman* "Generals. Become once more ſuperior to "them, and conqueror of *Aſia*, he was driven "thence by *Lucullus*; purſued into his own "country; obliged to fly for ſhelter to *Tigranes*, and defeated with him: Depending "now upon himſelf alone (the *Armenian* monarch being irrecoverably loſt) he took "ſanctuary in his own dominions, and re-aſcended the throne.

"*Lucullus* was ſucceeded by *Pompey*, who "quite overpowered *Mithridates*. He then "fled out of his dominions, and, croſſing the "*Araxes*, marched from danger to danger "through the country of the *Lazi*, and, aſſembling in his way all the Barbarians he "met with, appeared in *Boſporus* againſt his "ſon *Machares*, who had reconciled himſelf "to the *Romans*.

"Although plunged in ſo deep an abyſs, "he yet formed a deſign of making *Italy* the "ſeat of the war, and *of marching to* Rome, "*at the head of thoſe nations who enſlaved it* "*ſome years after, and by the ſame way they* "*then took*."

[I know not whether by theſe laſt words, the judicious author intended to intimate, that becauſe the *Roman* State was, ſome hundreds of years after this time, enſlaved by the nations he refers to, it would now have been endangered by an invaſion from the ſame nations. If he did, he muſt ſurely have forgot for a moment, that *Rome* was now almoſt in the higheſt degree of ſtrength ſhe ever attained to; and that ſhe was fallen into extreme weakneſs, and broken all to pieces, when thoſe nations ſucceeded in their attempt upon her.]

"Betrayed by *Pharnaces*, another of his "ſons, and by an army terrified at the greatneſs of his enterprizes, and the perils he "was going in ſearch of, he died in a manner worthy of a king."

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one in their own proper language. Other of his accompliſhments have been already mentioned. But that he was inhuman, unnatural in his diſpleaſure, a monſter of cruelty (not to mention the maſſacre in cold blood of 80,000 *Italians* ſettled in *Aſia*) is manifeſt from his murdering his mother and his brother, and from the great number of his ſons, and of his friends and followers, whom, at ſeveral times, and often on very ſlight occaſions, he had put to death. He lived ſeventy-two years, ſixty of which he reigned. Y.R. 690. Plin. l. vii. c. 24. Pud. 43.

Pompey, from the plains of *Jericho*, where (as was before related) he received the news of the death of *Mithridates*, led his army toward *Jeruſalem*. On his approach, *Ariſtobulus*, terrified, and repenting of what he had done, went out to meet him; and, in order to pacify his anger, promiſed him an abſolute ſubmiſſion, and likewiſe a conſiderable ſum of money. The *Roman* General accepted the propoſal, detained the king, and ſent *Gabinius*, one of his Lieutenants, with a body of men, to receive the money; But when *Gabinius* came to the city, he found the gates ſhut againſt him; and was told from the walls, that the citizens would not ſtand to the agreement. *Pompey*, thinking himſelf mocked by *Ariſtobulus*, laid him in chains, and marched with the whole army directly for *Jeruſalem*. The place, by its ſituation, as well as by its fortifications, was very ſtrong, and might have held out a long time, if the people within had not been divided among themſelves: the adherents of *Ariſtobulus* were unanimouſly for defending it; and to this they were the more vehemently carried, by their extreme indignation at *Pompey*'s making their king a priſoner: But the partizans of *Hyrcanus* being the ſtronger, and being determined to receive *Pompey* into the city, the other party retired to the mountain of the temple, where, having broken down the bridges over the deep ditches and vallies that ſurrounded it, they reſolved to maintain themſelves. Moſt of the ſacerdotal order adhered to the cauſe of *Ariſtobulus*, and ſhut themſelves up with thoſe who had ſeized the temple; while the main body of the people, not only admitted *Pompey* into the city, but, with *Hyrcanus* at their head, ſupplied the *Romans* with all the neceſſaries they could furniſh for carrying on the ſiege of the temple. The north ſide of it being obſerved to be the weakeſt part, *Pompey* began his approaches there. At firſt he offered the beſieged terms of peace; but theſe being rejected, he ſent to *Tyre* for battering rams, and all other engines of war proper for a ſiege, determined to exert his utmoſt efforts for the ſpeedy reduction of the place. Nevertheleſs it held out three months, and, perhaps, the *Romans* would have been neceſſitated to quit their enterprize, had it not been for the ſuperſtitious rigour with which the *Jews* obſerved their Sabbath. Formerly it had been carried ſo high, that they would not defend their lives on that day, but, if then aſſaulted, would rather patiently yield their throats to be cut, then ſtir a hand in their own defence. But the miſchief and folly of this being ſufficiently made appear in what Joſ. Ant. & de Bell. Judaic. 1 Mac. ii. 32---38. Prideaux.

Y.R. 690. they ſuffered from it in the beginning of the *Maccabean* wars, it was then
Ibid. determined, that the neceſſary defence of a man's life was not within the prohibition of the fourth commandment. But this, being underſtood to hold good only againſt a direct and immediate aſſault, and not againſt any antecedent preparative leading thereto, it reached not in their opinion, to the allowing of any work to be done on that day, for the preventing or deſtroying the worſt deſigns of miſchief, till they came to be put in execution. Although, therefore, they vigorouſly defended themſelves on the Sabbath day, when aſſaulted, yet they would not then ſtir a hand, either to hinder the enemy's works, or deſtroy their engines, or obſtruct their erecting of them, as they did on other days: Which *Pompey* perceiving, ordered, that no aſſault ſhould be made upon them during their Sabbaths; but that thoſe days ſhould be employed wholly in carrying on his works, and erecting and fitting his engines in ſuch manner, as they might beſt do execution the following days. And thus the *Romans*, taking advantage of the ſuperſtition of the *Jews*, filled up the ditches with which the temple was ſurrounded, and brought forward their engines of battery, without meeting with any oppoſition: By which engines they at length beat down a ſtrong tower; and this drew a great part of the adjoining wall with it; ſo that a breach was made large enough for an aſſault. *Cornelius Fauſtus*, the ſon of *Sylla*, being poſted near the breach, immediately mounted it, and was followed by the whole army, who thus entering the place, made a dreadful ſlaughter of thoſe whom they found within it: it is reckoned, that no leſs than 12,000 were put to the ſword; and, in this maſſacre, none acted more cruelly than the *Jews* of the contrary faction did againſt their own brethren. During all this ſcene of deſtruction, we are told, that the prieſts, who were then in the temple, went on with
Ibid. the daily ſervice of it, not being deterred, either by the rage of their enemies, or by the death of their friends; and that many of the prieſts, while they were ſo employed, had their own blood mingled with the blood of the ſacrifices which they were offering: an inſtance of conſtancy much admired by *Pompey* himſelf.

Joſ. Ant. & de Bell. Judaic.

And thus, after a ſiege of three months, was the *Temple* of *Jeruſalem* taken by the *Romans*, in the end of the firſt year of the hundred and ſeventy-ninth *Olympiad* (*Caius Antonius* and *Marcus Tullius Cicero* being then Conſuls at *Rome*) about the time of our Midſummer, and on the day which the *Jews* kept as a ſolemn faſt for the taking of *Jeruſalem*, and the temple with it, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, king of *Babylon*.

As ſoon as the *Romans* had made themſelves maſters of the place, *Pompey*, accompanied by ſeveral of his chief officers, went up into it, and not contenting themſelves with viewing the outer courts, cauſed the [a] moſt ſacred

[a] That the temple was now taken on the day of a ſolemn faſt, is ſaid not only by *Joſephus* in the places laſt above cited, but alſo by *Strabo*, l. xvi. p. 763. The taking of *Jeruſalem*

ſacred parts of the temple to be opened to them; and they entered not only into the HOLY PLACE, but alſo into the HOLY OF HOLIES, where none were permitted, by the *Jewiſh* law, to enter but the high-prieſt, and he only once in a year, on their great day of expiation. The *Jews* are ſaid to have more grievouſly reſented the profanation of their temple by *Pompey*, than all they had before ſuffered from the *Romans* during the war. Y.R 690, Bef. Chr. 62. 389 Conſ.

Though *Pompey* found, in the treaſures of the temple, 2000 talents in money, beſides its rich utenſils and others things of great value, he left it all intire and untouched, for the ſacred uſes to which it was devoted. And the next day he ordered the temple to be cleanſed, and divine ſervice to be there carried on, in the ſame manner as formerly. Joſ. Ant.

The walls of *Jeruſalem*, however, he demoliſhed; and, though he reſtored *Hyrcanus* to the office of high-prieſt, and made him alſo prince of the country, would not allow him to wear a diadem, or to extend his borders beyond the old limits of *Judæa*; but deprived him of all thoſe cities which had been taken by his predeceſſors from the *Cœle-Syrians* and *Phœnicians*. *Gadara* (which was one of them) having been lately deſtroyed by the *Jews*, he ordered to be rebuilt, at the requeſt of *Demetrius*, his freedman and chief favourite [b], who was a native of that place. This, and all the reſt of thoſe conquered cities, he added to the province of *Syria*; of which he made *Scaurus* preſident, giving him two Legions to keep the country in order. Then, carrying with him *Ariſtobulus*, and his two ſons, *Alexander* and *Antigonus*, and two of his daughters, as captives to be led before him in his triumph, he ſet forward in the way to *Rome*. App. in Syr. & de Bell. Civ.

Pompey on his return from *Syria*, coming to *Amiſus* in *Pontus*, found there the body of *Mithridates*, which had been ſent to him from *Pharnaces*, with many preſents to procure his favour. The preſents *Pompey* received, but as to the body, that he might not ſeem to inſult the dead, Plut. in Pomp.

ſalem by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was on the 9th day of their month *Tamuz* (2 Kings xxv. 21.) which uſually falls about the time of our *Midſummer*, ſooner or later, according as their intercalation happened. But in their preſent Kalendar, it is tranſlated to the eighteenth of that Month.

[b] The enormous riches and power of this *Demetrius* reflect no honour upon his patron. He was not aſhamed, ſays *Seneca*, of being richer than *Pompey*: and *Plutarch* relates of him, that before he returned to *Rome*, he had very fine houſes in the moſt agreeable ſuburbs of the city, with magnificent gardens, whilſt *Pompey* had only a plain habitation. Frequently at feaſts, while *Pompey* was waiting for his gueſts, or politely receiving them, *Demetrius* had already taken his place at table, with his head covered, and lolling at his eaſe. But ſuch was the diſpoſition of *Pompey*; he overlooked every thing in thoſe he loved. *Gabinius*, *Scaurus*, and others, acted all kinds of injuſtice and oppreſſion, under his authority, and enriched themſelves by pillaging without any reſerve. *Pompey* ſuffered it, either through weakneſs, not daring to check them, or through policy, to attach creatures to him, whom he was afraid to remove by too much ſeverity. It is a blot in his reputation; for it does not ſuffice for a man in office, that his perſonal conduct be irreproachable; he is anſwerable for the miſconduct of thoſe who act under his commiſſion. *Crevier*. De Tranq. anim. viii. Plut in Pomp.

he

Y. R. 690. Bef. Chr. 62. 389 Conf. he would not ſee it, but ordered it to be carried to *Sinope*, and there buried in the ancient burial place of the kings of *Pontus*; adding ſuch expences for the funeral, as were neceſſary for the ſolemnization of it in a royal manner.

Vid. ſupr. p. 123 App. Mithrid. p. 250. *Pharnaces* delivered up likewiſe to *Pompey* thoſe perſons, who, ſome years before, had ſeized *Manius Aquilius*, at *Mitylene*, and put him into the hands of the king of *Pontus*; and together with theſe he ſent alſo a great number of hoſtages, whom *Mithridates* had exacted from various princes and ſtates, *Greek* and Barbarian.

Many governors of fortreſſes and caſtles [a] in this country had waited the Dio Caſſ. l. xxxvii. arrival of the *Roman* General, in order to ſurrender them to him in perſon, and thereby avoid being made anſwerable for ſuch parts of the treaſures there depoſited, as they imagined would otherwiſe be embezzled by under officers; ſo that a prodigious quantity of jewels and rich moveables fell into his hands.

And now the conqueror diſtributed rewards to all thoſe petty princes, who had deſerved well of the Republic: to *Pharnaces*, he gave the title of Plut. in Pomp. *Friend and Ally of the* Roman *People*, confirming him in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Boſporus*: Only he excepted, out of the number of his ſubjects, the inhabitants of *Phanagoria*, declaring them *free*: Becauſe, by their revolt, they had given the final blow to *Mithridates*. *Caſtor*, the author of that defection, was likewiſe rewarded with the title of *Friend and Ally of the* Roman *People*: [This man became afterwards the ſon-in-law of king *Dejotarus*.] From *Amiſus Pompey* marched into the province of *Aſia Propria*, and took up his winter-quarters in the city of *Epheſus*. While he lay there, he rewarded his victorious army, giving to each private ſol- 481. 8s. 9d. dier 1500 drachmas, and proportionably more to all the officers according as they were in higher or lower poſts of command; on which occaſion, he 3,100000l expended out of the ſpoils taken in this war 16,000 talents: and yet he 3,875000l reſerved 20,000 talents to be carried into the public treaſury at *Rome*, on the day of his triumph, to make which as glorious, as poſſibly he could, was now his principal object.

[a] In ſome of theſe caſtles *Pompey* found vaſt riches, eſpecially at *Telaura*, where was the chief wardrobe, or ſtorehouſe, of *Mithridates*: for it contained 2000 cups made of the onyx ſtone, and ſet in gold, with ſuch a vaſt quantity of all ſorts of plate, houſhold goods, and furniture, and of all manner of rich accoutrements both for man and horſe, that the Quæſtor of the army was thirty days in taking an inventory of them.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Extraordinary honours are decreed to POMPEY *by the* SENATE, *at the motion of* MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, *then* Conſul; *and by the* PEOPLE, *at the motion of two of their* Tribunes. *An account of the birth, education, and travels of* CICERO; *his progreſs through the* Quæſtorſhip, Ædileſhip, *and* Prætorſhip, *to the* Conſular *dignity*; *his acts and proceedings, (in his* Conſulſhip) *prior to his* Diſcovery *of* CATALINE's Conſpiracy. *Brief hiſtories of* C. JULIUS CÆSAR, M. PORTIUS CATO, *and* L. SERGIUS CATILINA, *to that time. The conſpiracy is quaſhed. Honours done to* CICERO *by the* SENATE. *He is affronted by one of the Tribunes*; *but contrives to make the affront turn to his glory.*

THE joy at *Rome* on the news of the death of *Mithridates* may be ſaid to have been intemperate. *Cicero*, who, in a ſpeech (the firſt he ever made from the Roſtra) had employed his eloquence with the People to procure for *Pompey* that *unprecedented* commiſſion, which was given him by the *Manilian* Law, employed now his conſular and perſonal influence with the Senate to obtain for him *unprecedented* honours. At the motion of *Cicero*, the FATHERS decreed a public thankſgiving, in *Pompey*'s name, of ten days, which was twice as long as had ever been decreed before to any General, even to *Marius* himſelf, for his victory over the *Cimbri* [a].

And upon the receipt of the public letters, which brought the account of *Pompey*'s ſucceſs in *Judæa* (which put an end to the wars in the Eaſt) two Tribunes of the People, *T. Labienus* and *T. Ampius*, paſſed a Law, that this ſingular favourite ſhould, on all feſtival days, have the privilege of wearing a laurel crown, with his General's robe; and in the equeſtrian races of the Circus his triumphal habit [b].

But we read, that in vain would have been theſe decrees in reward of *Pompey*'s victories, in vain would have been the victories themſelves, if his eloquent Panegyriſt, a moſt able and vigilant Magiſtrate, had not preſerved *Rome* (in the cloſe of this very year) from the miſchievous machinations of her own Citizens; machinations ſo big with deſtruction, that *Pompey*, at his return home, declared himſelf indebted to *Cicero*, for the ſatisfaction of ſeeing again his native country. Before we proceed to the relation of that

[a] The reader will not perhaps much wonder at this, if he calls to mind what was formerly mentioned (Vol. II. b. vi. c. 9.) that *Cicero* (a thorough party-man) ſpeaks of *Scipio*'s ſtarving a ſmall garriſon out of *Numantia* (a town in the heart of *Spain*) as an exploit equally momentous with *Marius*'s victory (near the *Po* in the entrance of *Italy*) over the numerous forces of the *Cimbri*; an army amounting to 300,000 men, which, in the opinion of the public at *Rome*, threatened the City with ſpeed and total deſtruction.

[b] If we may believe *Paterculus* and *Dio*, *Pompey*, aſhamed of theſe marks of diſtinction, ſo contrary to Republican maxims, made uſe of them but once. *Cicero* ſeems to ſay the contrary: *Pompeius togulam illam pictam ſilentio tuetur ſuam.* Li. i. Ep. 18. ad Attic.

memo-

memorable tranſaction, it may be proper to give ſome account of the origin of this famous CONSUL, ORATOR, and PHILOSOPHER, of the *ſteps* by which he roſe to the higheſt Magiſtracy, and of the acts of his Conſulſhip anterior to that which was the chief glory of his life.

Midd. vol. I. p. 3. Cic. Ep. ad Att. vii. 5. Plg. Ann. xxxvii. 2. Cic. de Leg. ii. 3. Val. Max. ii. 2.

Marcus Tullius Cicero was [a] born on the third of *January*, in the 647th year of *Rome*, at *Arpinum*, a city anciently of the *Samnites* (now part of the kingdom of *Naples*) which, upon its ſubmiſſion to *Rome*, acquired the freedom of the City, and was inſerted into the *Cornelian Tribe*. It had the honour alſo of producing the great *C. Marius*; which gave occaſion to *Pompey* to ſay, in a public ſpeech, That *Rome* was indebted to this corporation for two Citizens, who had, each in his turn, preſerved it from ruin.

Midd. p. 11. Cic. pro Arch. i. 3.

Cicero's father [b], encouraged by the promiſing genius of his ſon, ſpared no coſt nor pains to improve it by the help of the ableſt maſters, and among the other inſtructors of his early youth, put him under the care of the *Poet Archias*, who, when *Cicero* was about five years old, came to

Midd. p. 2. Sil. Ital. Cic. de Leg. ii. 1, Cic. de Lege Agrar. i.

[a] His mother was called *Helvia*; a name mentioned in hiſtory and old inſcriptions among the ancient families of *Rome*. She was rich and well deſcended. It is remarkable, that *Cicero* never once ſpeaks of his mother in any part of his writing.---As to his father's family---Some derive his deſcent from *Kings*, others from *Mechanics*, but the truth lay between both; for his family, though it had never borne any of the great offices of the Republic, was yet *very ancient and honourable*, of principal diſtinction and nobility in that part of *Italy* in which it reſided, and of *Equeſtrian* rank, from its firſt admiſſion to the freedom of *Rome*. As often as there was occaſion to mention the character and condition of his anceſtors, *Cicero* ſpeaks of them always with great frankneſs, declaring them *to have been content with their paternal fortunes, and the private honours of their own City, without the ambition of appearing on the public ſtage of* Rome. Thus, in a ſpeech to the People, upon his advancement to the Conſulſhip, *I have no pretence*, ſays he, *to enlarge before you, upon the praiſes of my anceſtors; not but that they were all ſuch as myſelf, who am deſcended from their blood, and trained by their diſcipline; but becauſe they lived without this applauſe of popular fame, and the ſplendour of theſe honours which you confer*. It is on this account, therefore, that we find him ſo often called a *new-man*; not that his family was new or ignoble, but becauſe he was the firſt of it, who ever ſought and obtained the public Magiſtracies of the State.

Midd. p. 6. Macrob. Sat. i. 16.

[b] *Cicero*, being the firſt-born of the family, received, as uſual, the name of his father, and grandfather, *Marcus*. This name was properly perſonal, equivalent to that of baptiſm with us, and impoſed with ceremonies ſomewhat analogous to it, on the ninth day, called the *luſtrical*, or *day of purification*; when the child was carried to the temple by the friends and relations of the family, and before the altars of the Gods, recommended to the protection of ſome tutelar Deity.

Tullius was the name of the family, which, in old language, ſignified *flowing ſtreams*, or *ducts of water*, and was derived probably from their ancient ſituation, at the confluence of the two rivers.

Pompeius Feſtus in voce Tullius. Hiſt. Nat. xviii. iii. 1.

The third name was generally added on account of ſome memorable action, quality, or accident, which diſtinguiſhed the founder, or chief perſon of the family. *Plutarch* ſays, *That the ſurname of* Cicero *was owing to a wart, or excreſcence, on the noſe of one of his anceſtors, in the ſhape of a vetch, which the* Romans *called* Cicer. But *Pliny* tells us, more credibly, *That all thoſe names, which had a reference to any ſpecies of grain, as the* Fabii, Lentuli, &c. *were acquired by a reputation of being the beſt huſbandmen, or improvers, of that ſpecies*. As *Tullius* therefore, the family name, was derived from *the ſituation of the farm*; ſo *Cicero*, the ſurname, from the culture of it by *Vetches*. This, I ſay, is the moſt probable, becauſe agriculture was held the moſt liberal employment in old *Rome*; and thoſe tribes, which

to *Rome* with a high reputation for learning and poetry, and lived in the family of *Lucullus* [e].

When *Cicero*, at about seventeen years of age, had changed the *puerile* for the *manly* gown, and had (according to custom) been introduced into the *Forum*, he was placed under the care of *Q. Mucius Scævola*, *the Augur*, the principal lawyer, as well as statesman, of that age, who had passed through all the offices of the Republic with a singular reputation of integrity, and was now extremely old; *Cicero* never departed from his side, but carefully treasured up in his memory all the remarkable sayings, which dropt from him, as so many lessons of prudence for his future conduct; and, after his death, applied himself to another of the same family, *Scævola*, the high priest, a person of equal character for probity and skill in the Law; who, though he did not profess to teach, yet freely gave his advice to all the young students, who consulted him.

Midd. p. 13.

Cic. de Amicit. 1.

Cic. in Brut p. 89. (edit. Sel. Corrad.)

which resided on their farms in the country, the most honourable: and this very grain, from which *Cicero* drew his name, was, in all ages of the Republic, in great request with the meaner people; being one of *the usual largesses* bestowed upon them by the rich, and sold every where in the theatres and streets ready parched or boiled for present use.

[e] It was the custom of the great, in these days, to entertain in their houses the principal scholars and philosophers of *Greece*, with a liberty of opening a school, and teaching together with their own children, any of the other young nobility and gentry of *Rome*. Under this master, *Cicero* applied himself chiefly to poetry, to which he was naturally addicted, and made such a proficiency in it, that, while he was still a boy, he composed and published a poem, called *Glaucus Pontius*, which was extant in *Plutarch*'s time.

Hor. Sat. II. iii. 82. & de Art. Poet. 49 Midd. 11.

After finishing the course of these puerile studies, it was the custom to change the habit of the boy, for that of the man, and take what they called the *manly gown*, or the ordinary robe of the Citizens: This was an occasion of great joy to the young men, who, by this change, passed into a state of greater liberty and enlargement from the power of their tutors. They were introduced, at the same time, into the *Forum*, or the great square of the City, where the Assemblies of the City were held, and the Magistrates used to harangue to them from the *Rostra*, and where all the public pleadings, and judicial proceeding were usually transacted: This, therefore, was the great school of business and eloquence, the scene on which all the affairs of the Empire were determined, and where the foundation of their hopes and fortunes were to be laid: so that they were introduced to it with much solemnity, attended by all the friends and dependants of the family, and, after divine rites performed in *the Capitol*, were committed to the special protection of some eminent Senator, distinguished for his eloquence and knowledge of the laws, to be instructed, by his advice, in the management of civil affairs, and to form themselves, by his example, for useful members and magistrates of the Republic.

Writers are divided about the precise time of changing *the puerile* for *the manly gown*: What seems the most probable, is, that in the old Republic it was never done till the end of the seventeenth year; but when the ancient discipline began to relax, parents, out of indulgence to their children, advanced this æra of joy one year earlier, and gave them the gown at *sixteen*, which was the custom in *Cicero*'s time. Under the emperors, it was granted at pleasure, and, at any age, to the great, or their own relations; for *Nero* received it from *Claudius*, *when he just entered* into *his fourteenth year*, which, as *Tacitus* says, was given before the regular season.

Midd. p. 12.

Ann. xii. 41.

auf. œot. c. 2.

um pri- um pavi- custos hi pur- ra cessit. rf. Sat. 30.

Under theſe maſters he acquired a complete knowledge of the laws of his country[f]; but the knowledge of the Law was but one ingredient of many, in the character which he aſpired to, of *an univerſal patron*, not only of the fortunes, but of the lives and liberties of his countrymen. For that was the proper notion of an ORATOR, or PLEADER of CAUSES; whoſe profeſſion it was, *to ſpeak aptly, elegantly, and copiouſly on every ſubject which could be offered to him, and whoſe art therefore included in it all other arts of the liberal kind, and could not be acquired to any perfection, without a competent knowledge of whatever was great and laudable in the univerſe.* This was his own idea of what he had undertaken.

Midd. p. 24.

Cic. de Orat. i. 5, 6, 13, 16.

The tranſactions of the Forum were greatly interrupted by the civil diſſenſions; in which ſome of the beſt orators were killed, and others baniſhed. *Cicero*, however, attended the harangues of the Magiſtrates, who poſſeſſed the Roſtra in their turns.

Midd. p. 26.

In the mean while, *Philo*, a philoſopher of the firſt name in the *Academy*, with many of the principal *Athenians*, fled to *Rome* from the fury of *Mithridates*, who had made himſelf maſter of *Athens*, and all the neighbouring part of *Greece*. *Cicero* immediately became his ſcholar, and was exceedingly taken with his philoſophy; and, by the help of ſuch a profeſſor, gave himſelf up to that ſtudy with the greateſt inclination, as there was cauſe to apprehend, that the laws and judicial proceedings, which he had deſigned for the ground of his fame and fortunes, would be wholly overturned by the continuance of the public diſorders.

p. 27.

But *Cinna*'s party having quelled all oppoſition at home, while *Sylla* was engaged abroad in the *Mithridatic* war, there was a ceſſation of arms within the City for about three years, ſo that the courſe of public buſineſs began to flow again in its uſual channel; and *Molo*, the *Rhodian*, one of the

[f] This branch of knowledge was thought to be of ſuch conſequence at *Rome*, that it was the common exerciſe *of boys at ſchool to learn the laws of the twelve tables by heart*; *as they did their poets and claſſic authors.* *Cicero* particularly took ſuch pains in this ſtudy, and was ſo well acquainted with the moſt intricate parts of it, as to be able to ſuſtain a diſpute on any queſtion with the greateſt lawyer of his age: So that pleading once againſt his friend *S. Sulpicius*, he declared, by way of raillery, what he could have made good likewiſe in fact, *that, if he provoked him, he would profeſs himſelf a lawyer in three days time.*

Midd. p. 13. Cic. de Leg. ii. 23. Cic. Ep. Fam. vii. 22. Cic. pro Muræn. 13. Ibid. 14. Cic. de Off. i. 32. ii. 19.

The profeſſion of the law, next to that of arms and eloquence, was a ſure recommendation to the firſt honours of the Republic, and for that reaſon was preſerved, as it were, hereditary in ſome of the nobleſt families of *Rome*; who, by giving their advice gratis to all who wanted it, engaged the favour and obſervance of their fellow-citizens, and acquired great authority in all the affairs of ſtate. It was the cuſtom of theſe old ſenators, eminent for their wiſdom and experience, to walk every morning up and down the *Forum*, as a ſignal of their offering themſelves freely to all, who had occaſion to conſult them, not only in caſe of law, but in their private and domeſtic affairs. But in latter times they choſe to ſit at home with their doors open, in a kind of *throne*, or *raiſed ſeat*, like the confeſſors in foreign churches, giving acceſs and audience to all people. This was the caſe of the two *Scævola*'s, eſpecially the *Augur*, whoſe houſe was called *the oracle of the City*; and who, *in the Marſic war, when worn out with age and infirmities, gave admiſſion every day to all the Citizens, as ſoon as it was light, nor was ever ſeen by any in his bed during that whole war.*

Cic. de Orat. iii. 33.

Cic. de Orat. i. 45. Philip. viii. x.

principal

principal orators of that age, and the moſt celebrated teacher of eloquence, happening to come to *Rome* at the ſame time, *Cicero* preſently took the benefit of his lectures, and reſumed his oratorical ſtudies with his former ardour[g]. And that he might neglect nothing which could help in any degree to improve and poliſh his ſtile, he ſpent the intervals of his leiſure in the company of the ladies; eſpecially of thoſe who were remarkable for a politeneſs of language, and whoſe fathers had been diſtinguiſhed by a fame and reputation of their eloquence. Midd. p. 35.

Thus adorned, and accompliſhed, by having run through all that courſe of diſcipline, which he himſelf lays down as neceſſary to form the complete orator, he offered himſelf to the bar about the age of twenty-ſix. Vid. ſupr. p. 174.

The firſt criminal cauſe in which he was concerned, was that of *L. Roſcius Amerinus*, of which an account has been already given. He was then in his 27th year; the ſame age, as the learned have obſerved, in which *Demoſthenes* firſt began to diſtinguiſh himſelf in *Athens*. *Plutarch* ſays, *that preſently after this trial,* Cicero *took occaſion to travel abroad on pretence of his health, but in reality to avoid the effects of* Sylla's *diſpleaſure*[h]. Midd. p. 37. Vid. ſupr. p. 179.

He was *twenty-eight*[i] *years old* when he ſet forward upon his travels to *Greece*. Midd. p. 41.

[g] In the firſt or ſecond year of *Sylla*'s *Dictatorſhip*, *Molo* the *Rhodian* came again to *Rome*, to ſolicit the payment of what was due to his country for their ſervices in the *Mithridatic* war, which gave *Cicero* an opportunity of putting himſelf a ſecond time under his direction, and perfecting his oratorical talents, by the further inſtructions of ſo renowned a maſter: whoſe abilities and character were ſo highly reverenced, that he was *the firſt, of all foreigners, who was allowed to ſpeak to the Senate in Greek without an interpreter*; which ſhews in what vogue the *Greek* learning, and eſpecially eloquence, flouriſhed at this time in *Rome*. Val. Max. l. 2.

[h] There ſeems no ground for this notion — We have a clear account from himſelf of the real motive of this journey: "My body (ſays "he) at this time was exceedingly weak and "emaciated; my neck long and ſmall, which "is a habit thought liable to great riſque of "life, if engaged in any fatigue or labour of "the lungs; and it gave the greater alarm to "thoſe who had a regard for me, that I uſed "to ſpeak without any remiſſion or variation, "with the utmoſt ſtretch of voice, and great "agitation of my body: When my friends, "therefore, and Phyſicians adviſed me to "meddle no more with cauſes, I reſolved to "run any hazard, rather than quit the hopes "of glory, which I propoſed to myſelf from "pleading: But when I conſidered that by "managing my voice, and changing my "way of ſpeaking, I might both avoid all "danger, and ſpeak with more eaſe, I took "a reſolution of travelling into *Aſia*, merely "for an opportunity of correcting my man-"ner of ſpeaking; ſo that, after I had been "two years at the bar, and acquired a repu-"tation in the *Forum*, I left *Rome*, &c." *Brut.* 437. Midd. p. 40, 41.

[i] If *Cicero*, who was born *Jan.* 1, 647, was 28 years old when he began his travels, he did not ſet forward till the year 675; and, if ſo, the learned writer of his life might have found a better reaſon than the paſſage in *Brut.* 437. for conjecturing that he did not leave *Rome to avoid the effects of* Sylla's *diſpleaſure:* For *Sylla* (if indeed he was then alive) was not then DICTATOR. He abdicated the *Dictatorſhip* in 674, the year in which *Cicero* defended *L. Roſcius Amerinus:* And though the orator boaſts of his having defended this *Roſcius* againſt *Sylla* himſelf, *in the height of his power*, and refers to his oration as extant, in proof of what he ſays [*quæ ut ſcis, extat oratio*] it is highly probable, that *the bold paſſages* of it, in which he glories,

Greece and *Aſia*; the faſhionable tour of all thoſe who travelled either for curioſity, or improvement[k]:

He

Vid. ſupr. p. 170.

were *never ſpoken* by him (which was the caſe with regard to ſome other of his orations) and it may well be doubted, whether they were ever written before *Sylla*'s *abdication*, or even before his *death*.

Midd. p. 41.

[k] His firſt viſit was to *Athens*, the capital ſeat of arts and ſciences; where ſome writers tell us that he ſpent three years, though in truth it was but ſix months: He took up his quarters with *Antiochus*, the principal philoſopher of the *old academy*; and under this excellent maſter renewed, he ſays, thoſe ſtudies which he had been fond of from his earlieſt youth. Here he met with his ſchool-fellow, *T. Pomponius*, who, from his love to *Athens*, and his ſpending a great part of his days in it, obtained the ſurname of *Atticus*; and here they revived and confirmed that memorable friendſhip which ſubſiſted between them through life with ſo celebrated a conſtancy and affection.

p. 42.

"It was in this firſt journey to *Athens* that he was initiated, moſt probably, into the *Eleuſinian myſteries*; for, though we have no account of the time, yet we cannot fix it better than in a voyage undertaken both for the improvement of his mind and body. The reverence with which he always ſpeaks of theſe myſteries, and the hints that he has dropped of their end and uſe, ſeem to confirm what *a very learned and ingenious writer* has delivered of them: That they were contrived to inculcate *the unity of God, and the immortality of the ſoul.* As for *the firſt*, after obſerving to *Atticus*, who was one alſo of *the initiated*, how *the gods of the popular religions were all but deceaſed mortals, advanced from earth to heaven*, he bids him *remember the doctrine of the myſteries, in order to recollect the univerſality of that truth.* And as to *the ſecond*, he declares *his initiation to be in fact, what the name itſelf implied, a real beginning of life to him; as it taught the* way, *not only of living with greater pleaſure, but of dying alſo with a better hope.*"

Tuſc. Quæſt. i. 13. De Leg. ii. 14.

N. B. Notwithſtanding this grave declaration, of his having learnt ſo important and ſo pleaſing a truth by his *initiation*, the very learned author of *the Divine Legation*, &c. (above cited) has produced probable evidence, at leaſt, that our traveller, after his return home, did not believe *the immortality of the ſoul* in any ſenſe, that could make him *die with a better hope*, than a man who believes its mortality. Book III. Sect. iii. "The ſeveral and "various characters he ſuſtained in his life "and writings, habituated him to feign and "diſſemble his opinions. He may be conſi-"dered as an *Orator*, a *Stateſman*, a *Philoſo-"pher*; characters all equally *perſonated*; and "no one more the real man than the other: "but each of them taken up and laid down "for the occaſion. This appears from the "numerous inconſiſtencies we find in him "throughout the courſe of his ſuſtaining "them."——The learned writer gives an inſtance, where "the *Philoſopher* confuted the "*Stateſman*;" he adds, "As in another in-"ſtance the *Stateſman* ſeems to have got the "better of the *Philoſoper*. He defends the "paradoxes of the Stoics in a philoſophic diſ-"ſertation: but, in his oration for *Muræna*, "he ridicules thoſe parodoxes in the freeſt "manner."

N. B. "Nor under *one and the ſame charac-"ter*, or *at one and the ſame time*, is he more "conſiſtent. In *the orations againſt* Catiline, "when he opens the conſpiracy to the *Senate*, "he repreſents it as the moſt deep-laid de-"ſign, which had infected all orders and "degrees of men amongſt them: yet, when "he brings the ſame affair before the *People*, "he talks of it as only the wild and ſenſeleſs "eſcape of a few deſperate wretches: it be-"ing neceſſary for his purpoſe, that the *Se-"nate* and *People*, who viewed the conſpiracy "from ſeveral ſtations, ſhould ſee it in dif-"ferent lights.

"We meet with numbers of the like con-"tradictions delivered in his own perſon, and "under his philoſophic character. Thus in his "*Books of Divination* he combats all Augury, "&c. and yet, in his philoſophic *Treatiſe of "Laws*, he delivers himſelf in their favour, "and in ſo ſerious and poſitive a manner, "that it is difficult not to believe him to be "in earneſt. In a word, he laughed at the opi-"nions of ſtate, when he was amongſt the phi-"loſophers; he laughed at the doctrines of "the philoſophers, when he was cajoling an

"aſſembly;

He ſpent two years in this excurſion; and having, after his return, ſpent one year at the bar, he was, in the next, (the Conſulſhip of *Cn. Octavius* and *C. Scribonius*, year of *Rome* 677) elected to the office of *Quæſtor*, and had the honour to be choſen the firſt of all his competitors, by the unanimous ſuffrage of the Tribes, and in the firſt year in which he

" was

" aſſembly; and he laughed heartily at both, " when withdrawn amongſt his friends in a " corner." Nor is this the worſt part of the " ſtory. He hath given us no mark to diſtin- " guiſh his meaning: For in his *Academic* " *Queſtions* he ſs ready to ſwear, he always " ſpeaks what he thinks: *Jurarem per Jo-* " *vem, Deoſque penates, me & ardere ſtudio* " *veri reperiendi, & ea ſentire quæ dicerem:* " yet, in his *Nature of the Gods*, he has ſtrange- " ly changed his tone: *Qui autem requirunt,* " *quid quaque de re ipſi ſentiamus, curioſius id* " *faciunt quam neceſſe eſt.*

" If it be aſked then, in which of his writ- " ings we can have any reaſonable aſſurance " of his true ſentiments? I reply, ſcarce in any " but his Epiſtles.---It is only in his EPISTLES " to his friends, where we ſee the *man* di- " veſted of the *Politician*, the *Sophiſt*, and the " *Advocate:* and *there he profeſſes his diſbe-* " *lief of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſh-* " *ments in the frankeſt and freeſt manner.*" [The paſſages, cited in *Latin*, are thus tranſlated by the very ingenious Mr. *Melmoth*.]

He ſays to *L. Meſcinius*.---" This advan- " tage we may at leaſt derive from our ex- " treme calamities; that they will teach us " to look upon *Death* with contempt; which, " even if we were happy, we ought to deſpiſe, " as *a ſtate of total inſenſibility*," &c. Ep. Fam. l. v. Ep. 21.

To *A. Torquatus*.---" I have the conſola- " tion in common with yourſelf, that ſhould " I now be called upon to lay down my life, " I ſhall not be cut off from a commonwealth, " which I can by any means regret to leave, " eſpecially, as *the ſame blow which deprives* " *me of my life, will deprive me likewiſe of all* " *ſenſibility.*" Lib. vi. Ep. 4.

To *Toranius*.---" Now that counſel can " profit nothing, and that the Republic is ut- " terly overturned, the only rational part that " remains, is to bear with calmneſs whatever " ſhall be the event; eſpecially, when it is " conſidered, *That Death is the final period of* " *all human concerns.*" Lib. vi. Ep. 21.

The ingenious tranſlator is of opinion, that " admitting theſe ſeveral paſſages to be ſo ma- " ny clear and poſitive aſſertions, that the " ſoul periſhes with the body; yet it would " by no means follow, that this was *Cicero's* " real belief. It is uſual with him to vary his " ſentiments in the letters, in accommodation " to the principles, or circumſtances, of his " correſpondents." After ſome inſtances given, the ingenious tranſlator adds, " Other " inſtances of the ſame variation from him- " ſelf might be produced; but theſe, together " with thoſe that have already been occaſion- " ally pointed out in the courſe of theſe re- " marks, are ſufficient perhaps to evince, " that *Cicero's real ſentiments and opinions can-* " *not be proved by any particular paſſages in* " *theſe* letters. In thoſe to *Atticus*, indeed, " he was generally, though *not always*, " more ſincere." *Melmoth*, Remark 6. Vol. II. p. 232.

From *Athens* he paſſed into *Aſia*, where he gathered about him all the principal orators of the country, who kept him company through the reſt of his voyage; and with whom he conſtantly exerciſed himſelf in every place where he made any ſtay. The chief of them, ſays he, was *Menippus* of *Stratonica*, the moſt eloquent of all the *Aſiatics*; and if to be neither tedious, nor impertinent, be the characteriſtic of an *Attic* orator, he may juſtly be reckoned in that claſs. Midd. p. 41.

But as at *Athens*, where he employed himſelf chiefly in philoſophy, he did not intermit his oratorial ſtudies; ſo at *Rhodes*, where his chief ſtudy was oratory, he gave ſome ſhare alſo of his time to philoſophy, with *Poſidonius*, the moſt eſteemed and learned *Stoic* of that age; whom he often ſpeaks of with honour, not only as his maſter, but as his friend. It was his conſtant care, that the progreſs of his knowledge ſhould keep pace with the improvement of his eloquence; he conſidered the one as the foundation of the other, and thought it vain to acquire ornaments, before he had provided neceſſary furniture: He p. 44. & 45.

declaimed

" was capable of it by Law, the *thirty-firſt* of his age[l]". [*Cotta* was the ſame year choſen *Conſul*, and *Hortenſius Ædile.*]

The iſland of *Sicily*, though under the government of one Prætor, was divided into the two provinces of *Lilybæum* and *Syracuſe*, which had each, of them a diſtinct *Quæſtor*. The former fell by lot to *Cicero*. *Sicily* was uſually called *the granary of the Republic*, and the Quæſtor's chief employment in it was to ſupply corn and proviſions for the uſe of the City; but there happening to be a peculiar ſcarcity this year at *Rome*, it made the People very clamorous, and gave the Tribunes an opportunity of inflaming them the more eaſy, by charging it *to the loſs of the Tribunician power*, and their being left a prey, by that means, to the oppreſſions of the great. It was neceſſary therefore to the public quiet, to ſend out large and ſpeedy ſupplies from *Sicily*, by which the iſland was like to be drained; ſo that *Cicero* had a difficult taſk to furniſh what was ſufficient for the demands of the City, without being grievous at the ſame time to the poor natives; yet he managed the matter with ſo much prudence and addreſs, that he made very great exportations, without any burthen upon the province: ſhewing great courteſy all the while to the dealers, juſtice to the merchants, generoſity to the inhabitants, humanity to the allies, and, in ſhort, doing all manner of good offices to every body; by which he gained the love and admiration of all the *Sicilians*, *who decreed greater honours to him at his departure, than they had ever decreed before to any of their governors*[m].

Midd. p. 62.

Vid. Orat. Cottæ in fragm. Sallust.

Pro Planc. 26.

When

declaimed here in *Greek*, becauſe *Molo* did not underſtand *Latin*, and, upon ending his declamation, while the reſt of the company were laviſh of their praiſes, *Molo*, inſtead of paying compliments, ſat ſilent a conſiderable time, till, obſerving *Cicero* ſomewhat diſturbed at it, he ſaid, *As for you*, Cicero, *I praiſe and admire you, but pity the fortune of* Greece, *to ſee Arts and Eloquence, the only ornaments which were left to her, tranſplanted by you to* Rome. Having thus finiſhed the circuit of his travels, he came back again to *Italy*, extremely improved, and *changed as it were into a new man: the vehemence of his voice and action was moderated*; the redundancy of his ſtile and fancy corrected; his lungs ſtrengthened; and his whole conſtitution confirmed.

Plut. in Cic.

Brut. p. 438.

[l] We have no account of the preciſe time of *Cicero*'s marriage, which was celebrated moſt probably in the end of the preceding year, immediately after his return to *Rome*, when he was about thirty years old; it cannot be placed later, becauſe his daughter was married the year before his Conſulſhip, *at the age of thirteen*; though we ſuppoſe her to be born this year, on *the fifth of Auguſt*, which is mentioned to be *her birth-day*. Nor is there any thing certain delivered of the family, or condition of his wife *Terentia*; yet from her name, her great fortune, and her ſiſter *Fabia*'s *being one of the Veſtal virgins*, we may conclude, that ſhe was nobly deſcended.

Midd. p. 59.

[m] Before he left *Sicily* he made the tour of the iſland, to ſee every thing in it that was curious, and eſpecially the city of *Syracuſe*, which had always made the principal figure in its hiſtory. Here his firſt requeſt to the magiſtrates, who were ſhewing him the curioſities of the place, was to let him ſee *the tomb of* Archimedes, whoſe name had done ſo much honour to it; but, to his ſurprize, he perceived, that they knew nothing at all of the matter, and even denied that there was any ſuch tomb remaining; yet as he was aſſured of it beyond all doubt, by the concurent teſtimony of writers, and remembered the verſes inſcribed, and that there was a *Sphere* with a *Cylinder*

p. 64.

When five years, from the time of his election to the Quæſtorſhip, were almoſt elapſed, which was the proper interval preſcribed by Law, before he could hold the next office of *Tribune* or *Ædile* (thro' one of which it was neceſſary to paſs in his way to the ſuperior dignities) he choſe to drop the *Tribunate*, as being ſtripped of its ancient power by the late ordinance of *Sylla*, and began to make intereſt for the *Ædileſhip*, while *Hortenſius*, at the ſame time, was ſuing for the *Conſulſhip*. *Cicero* had employed all this interval in a cloſe attendance on the *Forum*, and a perpetual courſe of pleading, which greatly advanced his intereſt in the City; eſpecially when it was obſerved, that *he ſtrictly complied with the law; by refuſing, not only to take fees, but to accept even any preſents*, in which the generality of patrons were leſs ſcrupulous. Midd. p. 74. Brut. p. 40. Plut. in Cic.

As he had now devoted himſelf to a life of buſineſs and ambition, ſo he omitted none of the uſual arts of recommending himſelf to popular favour, and facilitating his advancement to the ſuperior honours. He thought it abſurd, *that, when every little artificer knew the name and uſe of all his tools, a* Midd. p. 76. Plut. in Cic.

Tuſc. Quæſt. v. 3. *Cylinder* engraved on ſome part of it, he would not be diſſuaded from the pains of ſearching it out. When they had carried him therefore to the gate, where the greateſt number of their ſepulchres ſtood, he obſerved in a ſpot overgrown with ſhrubs and briers, a ſmall column, whoſe head juſt appeared above the buſhes, *with the figure of a Sphere and Cylinder upon it: this, he preſently told the company, was the thing they were looking for, and ſending in ſome men to clear the ground of the brambles and buſhes, he found the inſcription alſo which he expected; though the latter part of all the verſes were effaced.* Thus, ſays he, *one of the nobleſt cities of* Greece, *and once likewiſe the moſt learned, had known nothing of the monument of its moſt deſerving and ingenious citizen, if it had not been diſcovered to them by a native of* Arpinum. At the expiration of his year he took leave of the *Sicilians*, by a kind and affectionate ſpeech, aſſuring them of his protection in all their affairs at *Rome*; in which he was as good as his word, and continued ever after their conſtant patron, to the great benefit and advantage of the province.

He came away extremely pleaſed with the ſucceſs of his adminiſtration; and flattering himſelf, that *all* Rome *was celebrating his praiſes, and that the people would readily grant him every thing that he deſired*; in which imagination he landed at *Puteoli*, a conſiderable port, adjoining to *Baiæ*, the chief city of pleaſure in *Italy*, where there was a perpetual reſort of the rich and the great, as well for the delights of the ſituation, as the uſe of its baths and hot waters. But here, as himſelf pleaſantly tells the ſtory, he was not a little mortified by the firſt friend whom he met, *who aſked him how long he had left* Rome, *and what news there?* He anſwered, *I came from the Provinces:* From *Afric*, I ſuppoſe, ſays another? *No*, (replying with ſome indignation) *I came from* Sicily. A third, who ſtood by, and had a mind to be thought wiſer, ſaid preſently, *How! did not you know that* Cicero *was Quæſtor of* Syracuſe? [which he was not, but of *Lilybæum*] Upon which, perceiving it in vain to be angry, he fell into the humour of the place, and made himſelf one of the company, who came to the waters. This mortification gave ſome little check to his ambition, or taught him however, how to apply it more ſucceſsfully; and did him more good, he ſays, than if he had received all the compliments that he expected. For it made him reflect, that the People at *Rome* had dull ears, but quick eyes; and that it was his buſineſs to keep himſelf always in their ſight; nor to be ſo ſolicitous how to make them hear of him, as to make them ſee him: So that from this moment he reſolved to ſtick cloſe to the Forum, and to live perpetually in the view of the City; nor to ſuffer either his porter, or his ſleep, to hinder any man's acceſs to him. *Pro Plancio*, 26.

ſtateſmen ſhould neglect the knowledge of men, who were the proper inſtruments, with which he was to work: He made it his buſineſs therefore to learn *the name, the place, and the condition of every eminent Citizen; what eſtate, what friends, what neighbours he had; and could readily point out their ſeveral houſes, as he travelled through* Italy [a].

He was now in his *thirty-ſeventh year* (683) when he was declared *Ædil* (as he was before elected *Quæſtor*) *by the unanimous ſuffrage of all the Tribes, and preferable to all his competitors.* Cic. in Piſon.

This Magiſtracy gave a precedence in the Senate, or a priority of voting and ſpeaking next after the *Conſuls* and *Prætors*; and *was the firſt that qualified a man to have a picture, or ſtatue of himſelf, and conſequently enobled his family.* After *Cicero*'s election to the *Ædileſhip*, but before his entrance into the office, he undertook the famed proſecution of C. *Verres*, the late *Prætor* of *Sicily*, which has been already ſpoken of in the preceding pages of this work [b]. Midd. p. 79. In Verr. v. 14. Vid. ſup. p. 206. & ſeq. Midd. p. 76.

[a] This knowledge, which is uſeful in all popular governments, was particularly neceſſary at *Rome*; where the people, having much to give, expected to be much courted; and where their high ſpirits and privileges placed them as much above the rank of all other citizens, as the grandeur of the Republic exceeded that of all other States: ſo that every one who aſpired to any public dignity, kept *a ſlave or two in his family*, whoſe ſole buſineſs *was to learn the names, and know the perſons of every Citizen at ſight, ſo as to be able to whiſper them to his maſter as he paſſed through the ſtreets*, that he might be ready *to ſalute them all familiarly, and ſhake hands with them as his particular acquaintance.* Vid. de petit. Conſ. 11 Hor. 1 Epiſt. vi.

Plutarch ſays, *that the uſe of theſe Nomenclators was contrary to the Laws; and that* Cato *for that reaſon, in ſuing for the public offices, would not employ any of them, but took all that trouble upon himſelf.* But that notion is fully confuted by *Cicero*, who, in his oration for *Muræna* rallies the abſurd rigour of *Cato*'s *Stoical* principles, and their inconſiſtency with common life, from the very circumſtance of his having a *Nomenclator*.---"What do you "mean, ſays he, by keeping a *Nomenclator?* "The thing itſelf is a mere cheat: For if it be "your duty to call the citizens by their names, "it is a ſhame for your ſlave to know them "better than yourſelf.---Why do you not "ſpeak to them before he has whiſpered you? "Or, after he has whiſpered, why do you ſa- "lute them as if you knew them yourſelf? Or "when you have gained your election, why "do you grow careleſs about ſaluting them at "all? All this, if examined by the rules of ſo- "cial life, is right; but if by the precepts of "your philoſophy, very wicked." [*Pro Murena*, 36.] As for *Cicero* himſelf, whatever pains he is ſaid to have taken in this way, it appears from ſeveral paſſages in his letters that he conſtantly had *a Nomenclator at his elbow* on all public occaſions. *Ad Attic.* iv. 1. Plut. in Cic. Midd. p. 87 Divin. in Cæcil.

[b] In the firſt conteſt (there mentioned) with *Cæcilius*, *Cicero* eſtimates the damages of the *Sicilians* at above 800,000 pounds; but this was a computation at large, before he was diſtinctly informed of the facts: for after he had been in *Sicily*, and ſeen what the proofs actually amounted to, he charged them at ſomewhat leſs than half that ſum; which gave occaſion, as *Plutarch* intimates, to a ſuſpicion of ſome corruption, or connivance, in *Cicero*, for ſuffering ſo great an abatement of the fine: But, if there was any abatement at all, it muſt needs have been by the conſent of all parties, out of regard, perhaps, to *Verres*'s ſubmiſſion, and ſhortening the trouble of the proſecutors: For it is certain, that, ſo far from leaving any imputation of that ſort upon *Cicero*, it highly raiſed the reputation both of his abilities and integrity, as of one, whom neither money would bribe, nor power terrify, from proſecuting a public oppreſſor; and the *Sicilians* ever after retained the higheſt ſenſe of his ſervices, and, on all occaſions, teſtified the utmoſt zeal for his perſon and intereſts. Cic. in Verr. i. 18.

From

From the *concluſion* of his orations againſt *Verres* [the five laſt of which were *never ſpoken*] we may obſerve, that *Cicero*'s vigour in this cauſe had drawn upon him the envy and ill-will of the Nobility: which was ſo far, however, from moving him, that, in open defiance of it, he declares, *That the Nobles were natural enemies to the virtue and induſtry of all new men; and, as if they were of another race and ſpecies, could never be reconciled, or induced to favour them by any obſervance of good offices whatever:* That for his part therefore, like many others before him, he would purſue his own courſe, and make his way to the favour of his People, and the honours of the State, by his diligence and faithful ſervices, without regarding the quarrels to which he might expoſe himſelf. That if in this trial the Judges did not anſwer the good opinion which he had conceived of them, he was reſolved to proſecute, not only thoſe who were actually guilty of corruption, but thoſe too who were privy to it: and if any ſhould be ſo audacious as to attempt by power or artifice to influence the bench, and ſcreen the criminal, he would call him to anſwer for it before the People, and ſhew himſelf more vigorous in purſuing him, than he had been even in proſecuting *Verres*.

Vid. ſupr. p. 207. Midd. p. 88. In Verr. v. 71.

From the impeachment of *Verres*, *Cicero* entered upon the [a] *Ædileſhip*, [year of *Rome* 684] and after the uſual interval of two years from

Midd. p. 117.

Midd. p. 111. In Verr. v. 14.

[a] In one of his ſpeeches he gives us a ſhort account of the duty of it; "I am now choſen "*Ædile*," ſays he, "and am ſenſible of what "is committed to me by the *Roman* People: "I am to exhibit with the greateſt ſolemnity "the moſt ſacred ſports of *Ceres*, *Liber*, and "*Libera*; am to appeaſe and conciliate the "mother *Flora* to the People and City of *Rome*, "by the celebration of the public games; am "to furniſh out thoſe ancient ſhews, the firſt, "which were called *Roman*, with all poſſible "dignity and religion, in honour of *Jupiter*, "*Juno*, *Minerva*; am to take care alſo of all "the ſacred edifices, and indeed of the whole "City," *&c.* The People were paſſionately fond of all theſe games and diverſions; and the public allowance for them being but ſmall, according to the frugality of the old Republic, the Ædiles ſupplied the reſt at their own coſt, and were often ruined by it. For every part of the empire was ranſacked for what was rare and curious, to adorn the ſplendour of their ſhews: The Forum in which they were exhibited was uſually beautified with porticos, built for the purpoſe, and filled with the choiceſt ſtatues and pictures which *Rome* and *Italy* afforded. *Cicero* reproaches *Appius* for draining *Greece* and the iſlands of all their furniture of this kind, for the ornament of his Ædileſhip: And *Verres* is ſaid to have ſupplied his friends *Hortenſius* and *Metellus* with all the fine ſtatues of which he had plundered the provinces.

Pro Dom. ad Pont. 43. Aſconius.

Several of the greateſt men of *Cicero*'s time had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by an extraordinary expence and magnificence in this Magiſtracy; *Lucullus*, *Scaurus*, *Lentulus*, *Hortenſius*, and *C. Antonius*; who, though expelled ſo lately from the Senate, entertained the City this year with ſtage-plays, whoſe ſcenes were covered with ſilver; in which he was followed afterwards by *Muræna*; yet *J. Cæſar* outdid them all; and, in the ſports exhibited for his father's funeral, made the whole furniture of the threatre of ſolid ſilver, ſo that wild beaſts were then firſt ſeen to tread on that metal. *Cicero* obſerved the rule which he preſcribed afterwards to his ſon, of an expence agreeable to his circumſtances, ſo as neither to hurt his character by a ſordid illiberality, nor his fortunes by a vain oſtentation of magnificence; ſince the one, by making a man odious, deprives him of the power of doing good; the other, by making him neceſſitous, puts him under the temptation of doing ill.

De Off. ii. 16. Pro Muræna. Plin. Hiſt. N. xxxiii. 3. De Off. ii. 17.

the time of his being choſen *Ædile*, he offered himſelf a candidate for the *Prætorſhip*, but the City was in ſuch a ferment all this ſummer [A. U. 686] that there was like to be no election at all: the occaſion of it aroſe from the publication of ſome new Laws, which were utterly diſliked, and fiercely oppoſed by the SENATE. The firſt of them was that of *Gabinius*, in favour of *Pompey*. The conſequences of this motion have been already related.

Vid ſupr. p. 217. Midd. p. 121.

A ſecond Law was publiſhed by *L. Otho*, *for the aſſignment of diſtinct ſeats in the theatres to the Equeſtrian order*, who uſed before to ſit promiſcuouſly with the populace [a].

C. Cornelius alſo, another Tribune, was puſhing forward a third Law, of a graver kind, *to prohibit bribery in elections, by the ſanction of the ſevereſt penalties:* The rigour of it highly diſpleaſed the SENATE, whoſe warm oppoſition raiſed great diſorders in the City; ſo that all other buſineſs was interrupted, the elections of Magiſtrates adjourned, and the *Conſuls* forced to have a guard. The matter, however, was compounded, by moderating the ſeverity of the penalties in a new Law offered by the *Conſuls*, which was accepted by *Cornelius*, and enacted in proper form, under the title of the *Calpurnian Law*, from the name of the Conſul, *C. Calpurnius Piſo*. *Cicero* ſpeaks of it ſtill *as rigorouſly drawn*; for, beſides a pecuniary fine, it rendered the guilty *incapable of any public office, or place in the Senate.* This *Cornelius* ſeems to have been a brave and honeſt Tribune: He publiſhed another Law, *to prohibit any man's being abſolved from the obligation of the Laws, except by the authority of the People*; which part of the old conſtitution had long been uſurped by the SENATE, *who diſpenſed with the Laws by their own decrees, and thoſe often made clandeſtinely, when a few only were privy to them.* The SENATE, being *reſolved not to part with ſo valuable a privilege*, prevailed with another Tribune to inhibit the publication of it when it came to be read; upon which *Cornelius* took the book from the clerk, and read it himſelf. This was irregular, and much inveighed againſt *as a violation of the rights of the Tribunate*; ſo that *Cornelius* was once more forced

Dio, l. xxxvi. c. 38. Pro Muræn. 23. Midd. p. 122.

Pro Muræn. 19.

[a] By this Law, *fourteen rows of benches, next to thoſe of the Senators, were to be appropriated to their uſe; by which he ſecured to them,* as *Cicero* ſays, *both their dignity and their pleaſure.* The Senate obtained the ſame privilege of *ſeparate ſeats*, one hundred and twenty ſeven years before, in the ſecond Conſulſhip of *Scipio Africanus* (A. U. 559) *which highly diſguſted the People, and gave occaſion* (ſays *Livy*) *as all innovations are apt to do, to much debate and cenſure; for many of the wiſer ſort condemned all ſuch diſtinction in a free City, as dangerous to the public peace: and* Scipio *himſelf afterwards repented, and blamed himſelf for ſuffering it.* Pro Corneſ. i. Fragment. ex Aſconio. [Liv. l. xxxiv. 54.] Val. Max ii. 4. *Otho's* Law, we may imagine, gave ſtill greater offence, as it was a greater affront to the People to be removed yet farther from what of all things they were fondeſt of, *the ſight of plays and ſhews:* It was carried, however, by the authority of the Tribune, and is frequently referred to by *the Claſſic writers*, as an act very memorable, and what made much noiſe in its time. *Hor. Ep.* iv. 15. *Juv.* iii. 159.

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to compound the matter by a milder Law, forbidding the SENATE *to paſs any ſuch decrees, unleſs when two hundred Senators were preſent.* Theſe diſturbances, however, proved the occaſion of an unexpected honour to *Cicero*, by giving him a more ample and public teſtimony of the People's affection; for *in three different Aſſemblies convened for the choice of Prætors*[a], *two of which were diſſolved without effect, he was declared every time the firſt Prætor, by the ſuffrages of all the Centuries.* Aſc. Arg. pro Corn. Pro Leg. Manil. 1.

Cicero's conduct, during his Prætorſhip [b], in the affair of the *Manilian* Law, has been already related. Vid ſupr. p. 222.

When his Magiſtracy was juſt at an end, *Manilius*, whoſe *Tribunate* expired a few days before, was accuſed before him of *rapine and extortion*; and though *ten days* were always allowed to the criminal, to prepare for his defence, he appointed the very next day for the trial. This ſtartled and offended the Citizens, who generally favoured *Manilius*, and looked upon the proſecution as the effect of malice and reſentment, on the part of the Senate, for his Law in favour of *Pompey*. The Tribunes therefore called *Cicero* to an account before the People, for treating *Manilius* ſo roughly; who, in defence of himſelf, ſaid, *that as it had been his prac-* Midd. p. 130.

Midd. p. 124. In Verr. Act. i. 8. Pro Com. 1 Fragm. Pro Rabi. Poſt. iv. Brut. 252.

[a] The buſineſs of the Prætors was to preſide and judge in all cauſes, eſpecially of a public or criminal kind, where their ſeveral juriſdictions were aſſigned to them by lot: And it fell to *Cicero to ſit upon actions of extortion and rapine, brought againſt Magiſtrates and Governors of provinces*; in which, as he tells us himſelf, *he had acted as an Accuſer, ſat as a Judge, and preſided as Prætor.* In this office he acquired a great reputation of integrity by the condemnation of *Licinius Macer*, a perſon of *Prætorian dignity and great eloquence, who would have made an eminent figure at the bar, if his abilities had not been ſullied by the infamy of a vicious life.* "This man," as *Plutarch* relates it, "depending upon his intereſt, and "the influence of *Craſſus*, who ſupported him "with all his power, was ſo confident of be- "ing acquitted, that, without waiting for ſen- "tence, he went home to dreſs himſelf; "and, as if already abſolved, was returning "towards the court in a white gown, but be- "ing met on his way by *Craſſus*, and infor- "med, that he was condemned by the una- "nimous ſuffrage of the bench, he took to "his bed, and died immediately." The ſtory "is told differently by other writers: "That "*Macer* was actually in the court expecting "the iſſue; but perceiving *Cicero* ready to "give judgment againſt him, he ſent one to "let him know that he was dead, and ſtop- "ping his breath at the ſame time with a "handkerchief, inſtantly expired; ſo that "*Cicero* did not proceed to ſentence, by "which *Macer*'s eſtate was ſaved to his ſon "*Licinius Calvus*," an orator afterwards of the firſt merit and eminence. But from *Cicero*'s own account it appears, that, after treating *Macer* in the trial *with great candour and equity, he actually condemned him with the univerſal approbation of the People.* Val. Max. ix. 12. Plut. Cic. Ad Att. i. 4.

[b] Though he had full employment as *Prætor*, both in the affairs of State and Public trials, yet he found time ſtill to act the *Advocate*, as well as the *Judge*, and not only to hear cauſes in his own Tribunals, but to plead them alſo at the Tribunals of the other Prætors. He now defended *A. Cluentius*, a *Roman* Knight of ſplendid family and fortunes, accuſed, before the Prætor, *Q. Naſo, of poiſoning his father-in-law*, Oppianicus, who, a few years before, had been *tried and baniſhed for an attempt to poiſon* Cluentius. The oration, which is extant, lays open a ſcene of ſuch complicated villainy, *by poiſons, murder, inceſt, ſuborning witneſſes, corrupting Judges*, as the poets themſelves have never feigned in any one family; all contrived by the mother of *Cluentius*, againſt the life and fortunes of her ſon. Pro Cluent.

He is ſuppoſed to have defended ſeveral other criminals this year, tho' the pleadings are now loſt, and particularly *M. Fundanius.*

tice to treat all criminals with humanity, ſo he had no deſign of acting otherwiſe by Manilius, *but, on the contrary, had appointed that ſhort day for the trial, becauſe it was the only one of which he was maſter; and that it was not the part of thoſe, who wiſhed well to* Manilius, *to throw off the cauſe to another Judge.* This made a wonderful change in the minds of the audience, who, applauding his conduct, deſired, that he would undertake *the defence of* Manilius, to which he conſented, *and ſtepping up again into the Roſtra, laid open the ſource of the whole affair, with many ſevere reflections upon the enemies of* Pompey. The trial, however, was dropped on account of the tumults [a] which aroſe immediately after in the City, from ſome new incidents of much greater importance.

Plut. in Cic.

Midd. p. 132. Pro Muræn. 11.

Cicero, at the expiration of his *Prætorſhip*, would not accept any *foreign province*, the uſual reward of that Magiſtracy.----The glory which he purſued, was to ſhine in the eyes of the City. And he was now preparing to ſue for the Conſulſhip, the great object of all his hopes; and his whole attention was employed how to obtain it in his proper year, and without a repulſe. Two years were to intervene [contrary to *Sylla*'s Law] between the *Prætorſhip* and *Conſulſhip*; the firſt of which was uſually ſpent in forming a general intereſt, and ſoliciting for it, as it were, in a private manner; the ſecond, in ſuing for it openly, in the proper form and habit of a candidate. The affection of the City, ſo ſignally declared for him in all the inferior ſteps of honour, gave him a ſtrong preſumption of ſucceſs in his preſent pretenſions to the higheſt: but as he had reaſon to apprehend a great oppoſition from the *Nobility*, he looked upon the public dignities *as a kind of birthright*, and could not brook their being intercepted, and ſnatched from them by *new men:* ſo he reſolved to put it out of their power to hurt him, by omitting no pains which could be required of a candidate of viſiting and ſoliciting all the Citizens in perſon. At the election therefore of the Tribunes on the ſixteenth of *July* [688] where the whole City was aſſembled in the field of *Mars*, he choſe to make his firſt effort, and to mix himſelf with the croud, or purpoſe to careſs and ſalute them familiarly by name: And as ſoon as there was any vacation in the Forum, which happened uſually in *Auguſt*, he intended to make an excurſion into the *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and, in the character of a Lieutenant to *Piſo*, the governor of it, to viſit the towns and colonies of that province, which was reckoned very ſtrong in the number of its votes, and ſo return to *Rome* in *January* following.

Vid. ſupr. p. 168.

In Ver. 1. 70.

Ad Att. 1. 1.

Midd. p. 134.

He wrote about the ſame time [b] to *Atticus*, then at *Athens*, to deſire him to engage all that band of *Pompey*'s dependants, who were ſerving under

[a] This relates to a conſpiracy ſaid to have been formed at this time againſt the State, of which more hereafter.

[b] *Cicero* was now engaged in the defence of *C. Cornelius*, who was accuſed and tried *for practices againſt the State in his late Tribunate*, before the Prætor *Q. Gallius*. This trial, which laſted four days, was one of the moſt important

Midd. p. 137.

under him in the *Mithridatic* war, and by way of jeſt, bids him tell *Pompey* himſelf, *that he would not take it ill of him, if he did not come in perſon to his election.*

Cicero being now in his *forty-third year*, the proper age required by Law, declared himſelf a candidate for the Conſulſhip, with ſix competitors; *P. Sulpicius Galba*, *L. Sergius Catilina*, *C. Antonius*, *L. Caſſius Longinus*, *Q. Cornificius*, and *C. Licinius Sacerdos*. The two firſt were *Patricians*; the two next, *Plebeians*, yet *Noble*[a]; the two laſt, the ſons of fathers, *who had firſt imported the public honours into their families*: *Cicero* was the only *new man* among them, or one born of Equeſtrian rank. *Cornificius* and *Galba* were perſons of great virtue and merit; *Sacerdos* without any particular blemiſh upon him; *Caſſius* lazy and weak, but not thought ſo wicked as he ſoon after appeared to be; *Antonius* and *Catiline*, *though infamous in their lives and characters, yet by intrigue and faction had acquired a powerful intereſt in the City, and joined all their forces againſt* Cicero, as their moſt formidable Antagoniſt, in which they were vigorouſly ſupported by *Craſſus* and *Cæſar*. Philip. v. 17. Midd. p. 140.

This was the ſtate of the competition, in which the practice of bribing was carried on ſo openly and ſhamefully, by *Antonius* and *Catiline*, that the Senate thought it neceſſary to give ſome check to it, by a new and more rigorous Law; but when they were proceeding to publiſh it, *L. Mucius Oreſtinus*, one of the Tribunes, put his negative upon them. Aſcon. Argum. in Tog. Cand.

As the election of Conſuls approached, *Cicero*'s intereſt appeared to be ſuperior to that of all the candidates: For the Nobles themſelves, though always envious, and deſirous to depreſs him, yet out of regard to the dangers which threatened the City from many quarters, and ſeemed ready to burſt out into a flame, began to think him the only man qualified to pre- Midd. p. 145.

important in which he had ever been concerned: The two Conſuls preſided in it, and all the chiefs of the Senate, *Q. Catulus*, *L. Lucullus*, *Hortenſius*, &c. *appeared as* witneſſes *againſt the criminal*; whom *Cicero* defended, as *Quintilian* ſays, *not only with ſtrong but ſhining arms*, and with a force of eloquence that drew *acclamations from the people*. [N. B. The names of the *witneſſes* are ſufficient to make us know the *real Crimes* of *Cornelius*, if we only turn back to the Laws he had publiſhed when *Tribune*, p. 282.] Aſcon. Arg. lib. viii.

He publiſhed two orations ſpoken in this cauſe, whoſe loſs is a public detriment to the literary world, ſince they were reckoned among the moſt finiſhed of his compoſitions: He himſelf refers to them as ſuch; and the old critics have drawn many examples from them of that genuine eloquence, which *extorts applauſe, and excites admiration.* Orat. 67. 70.

C. Papius, one of the Tribunes, publiſhed a Law this year *to oblige all ſtrangers to quit the City*, as one of his predeceſſors, *Pennus*, had done likewiſe many years before him: The reaſon which they alledge for it was the confuſion occaſioned by *the multitude, and inſolence of foreigners, who aſſumed the habit, and uſurped the rights of Citizens*: But *Cicero* condemns all theſe Laws as *cruel and inhoſpitable, and a violation of the Laws of nature and humanity.* De Off. iii. 11.

[a] Many of the *Plebeians* ſurpaſſed the *Patricians* themſelves in point of *Nobility*: For the character of *Nobility* was wholly derived from the *Curule Magiſtracies* which any family had borne. *Vid. Aſcon. Arg. in Teg. candid.*

ſerve

ſerve the Republic, and break the cabals of the deſperate, by the vigour and prudence of his adminiſtration: For, *in caſes of danger*, as *Salluſt* obſerves, *pride and envy naturally ſubſide, and yield the poſt of honour to virtue.* The method of chuſing Conſuls was not by an open vote, but by a kind of *ballot, or little tickets of wood*, diſtributed to the Citizens, with the names of the candidates ſeverally ſubſcribed upon each: But in *Cicero*'s caſe, the People were not content with this ſecret and ſilent way of teſtifying their inclinations; but, before they came to any ſcrutiny, *loudly and univerſally proclaimed* Cicero *he firſt Conſul*; ſo that, as he himſelf declared, in his ſpeech to them after his election, *he was not choſen by the votes of particular Citizens, but the common ſuffrage of the City; nor declared by the voice of the crier, but of the whole* Roman *People.* He was *the only new man*, who had obtained this ſovereign dignity, or, as he expreſſes it, *had forced the intrenchments of the Nobility for forty years paſt, from the firſt Conſulſhip of* C. Marius, *and the only one likewiſe who had ever obtained it in his proper year, or without a repulſe.*

Sall. xxiii.

De Leg. Agr. con. Rull. ii. 2. In Piſon. i.

De Leg. Agr. ib. 1, 2.

Antonius was choſen his collegue, by the majority of a few Centuries, above his friend and partner *Catiline.*

Cicero's firſt care, after his election [a], was to gain the good-will of his collegue, and to draw him from his old engagements to the intereſt of the *Ariſtocratical Faction* [which our orator calls the *Republic.*] To this end, he tempted him with a kind of argument, that ſeldom fails of its effect with men of *Antonius*'s character, the offer of power to his ambition, and of money to his pleaſures: In ſhort, a bargain was preſently agreed upon between them, that *Antonius* ſhould have *the beſt of the provinces, which had been aſſigned to the Conſuls of this year.*—By which addreſs, *Cicero* gained him ſo entirely, as to have him ever after obſequious to his will.

Sall. Bell. Cat. 26.

There was another project which he had likewiſe much at heart, *to unite the Equeſtrian order with the Senate into one common party and intereſt.* This body of men, next to the Senators, conſiſted of the richeſt [and moſt knaviſh] Citizens of *Rome*, who, being the conſtant farmers of all the revenues of the empire, had a great part of the inferior People dependent upon them. *Cicero* imagined, that the united weight of theſe two orders [*Conſpiratio omnium* BONORUM] would always be an over-balance to any other power in the State, and a ſecure barrier againſt any attempts of the POPULAR [whether men of inordinate ambition, or true Republicans, friends of the old conſtitution, upon the uſurped prerogatives of the Senate.] He was the

In Piſon. iii. Midd. p. 152.

In Cat. iv. 10.

[a] *Cicero*'s father died this year (689) on the 24th of *November.* In this year alſo, moſt probably, *Cicero* gave his daughter *Tullia in marriage, at the age of thirteen, to* C Piſo Frugi, a young Nobleman of great hopes, and one of the beſt families in *Rome*: It is certain, at leaſt, that *his ſon was born* in this ſame year, for he tells us it was in the Conſulſhip of *L. Julius Cæſar* and *C. Marcius Figulus.*

Ad Att. i. 6. Ibid. p. 3. Ad Att. i. 2.

only man in the City capable of effecting ſuch a coalition, being now at the head of the *Senate*, yet the darling of the *Knights*, who conſidered him as the pride and ornament of their order; whilſt he, to ingratiate himſelf the more with them, affected always in public to boaſt of that extraction, and to call himſelf an *Equeſtrian*; and made it his ſpecial care to protect them [right or wrong, as we ſhall ſee hereafter] in all their affairs, and to advance their credit and intereſt: ſo that, as ſome writers tell us, *it was the authority of his Conſulſhip, that firſt diſtinguiſhed and eſtabliſhed them into a third order of the State.* The policy was certainly very good, with reſpect to *Cicero*'s views; for through the year of his Conſulſhip, he had the whole body of Knights at his devotion, *who, with* Atticus *at their head, conſtantly attended his orders, and ſerved as a guard to his perſon:* And if the ſame maxim had been purſued by all ſucceeding Conſuls, it might probably have preſerved the liberty of the Republic [*i. e.* the anticonſtitutional uſurped power of the Senate] from being ſo ſoon overthrown.

Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. xxxiii. 2.

Ad Att. ii. 1.

The *Tribunes* entered always into their office *on the* tenth *of* December; the *Conſuls* on the *firſt* of *January*. A little before *Cicero*'s inauguration, *P. Servillius Rullus*, one of the new Tribunes, had been alarming the Senate with *the promulgation of an* Agrarian *Law*. The purpoſe of it was, *to create a Decemvirate, or ten commiſſioners, with abſolute power for five years over all the revenues of the Republic; to diſtribute them at pleaſure to the Citizens; to ſell and buy what lands they thought fit; to determine the rights of the preſent poſſeſſors; to require an account from all the Generals abroad, excepting* Pompey, *of the ſpoils taken in their wars; to ſettle colonies whereſoever they judged proper, and particularly at* Capua; *and, in ſhort, to command all the money and forces of the empire.*

Middl. p. 153--162.

The publication of a Law, conferring powers ſo exceſſive, gave a juſt alarm to all who wiſhed well to the public tranquillity. As ſoon therefore as *Cicero* was inveſted with his new dignity, he raiſed the ſpirits of the SENATE, *by aſſuring them of his reſolution to oppoſe the Law, and all its abettors, to the utmoſt of his power; nor ſuffer the* Senate *to be hurt, or its liberties to be impaired, while the adminiſtration continued in his hands.* From the SENATE he purſued the *Tribune* into his own dominion, the *Forum*; where, in an artful and elegant ſpeech from the *Roſtra*, he gave ſuch a turn to the inclination of the People, that *they rejected this* Agrarian *Law with as much eagerneſs, as they had ever before received one.*

Contr. Rull. ii. 37.

He began, "By acknowledging the extraordinary obligation he had "received from them, in preference and oppoſition, to the Nobility; "*declaring himſelf the* creature *of their* power, *and of all men the moſt* "*engaged to promote* their *intereſts*; that they were to look upon him as *the* "*truly popular Magiſtrate*; nay, *that he had declared, even in the* SENATE, "*that he would be the* PEOPLE'S CONSUL." He then fell into *a commenda-* "*tion of the* Gracchi, whoſe name was extremely dear to them, profeſſing,

Ibid. 5.

feſſing, " That *he could not be againſt all* Agrarian *Laws, when he recol-*
" *lected, that thoſe* TWO MOST EXCELLENT MEN, *who had the greateſt*
Contr. " *love for the* Roman *People*, had divided the public lands to the Citizens;
Rull. 5. " *that he was not one of thoſe Conſuls, who thought it a crime to praiſe the*
" Gracchi, *on whoſe counſels, wiſdom, and laws, many parts of the preſent*
" *government were founded:* That his quarrel was to the particular Law,
" which, inſtead of being popular, or adapted to the true intereſt of the
Ib. 6. 11. " City, was, in reality, the eſtabliſhment of a tyranny, and a creation of
13, 14. " ten kings to domineer over them all." This he diſplays at large, from
the natural effect of that power which was granted by it; and proceeds to
Ib. 18. inſinuate, *that* it was covertly *levelled at their favourite* Pompey, and par-
ticularly *contrived to retrench and inſult* his *authority*. " Forgive me,
" Citizens, for my calling ſo often upon SO GREAT A NAME: you your-
Vid. ſupr. " ſelves impoſed the taſk upon me, when I was *Prætor*, to join with you
p. 227. " in defending his dignity, as far as I was able: I have hitherto done
" all that I could do; *not moved to it by my private friendſhip for the man,*
" *nor by any hopes of honour, and of this ſupreme Magiſtracy, which I*
" *obtained from you, though with* HIS APPROBATION, *yet without his help.*
" Since then I perceive this Law to be deſigned, as a kind of engine, to
" overturn HIS POWER, I will reſiſt the attempts of theſe men; and, as
" I myſelf clearly ſee what they are aiming at, ſo I will take care that
" you alſo ſhall ſee, and be convinced of it too." He then ſhews, " how
" the Law, though it excepted *Pompey* from being accountable to the
" *Decemvirate*, yet excluded him from being one of the number, by li-
" miting the choice to thoſe who were preſent at *Rome*; that he ſubjected
" likewiſe to their juriſdiction the countries juſt conquered by him, which
" had always been left to the management of the General:" Upon which
he draws a pleaſant picture of the Tribune *Rullus*, with all his train of
Officers, Guards, Lictors, and Apparitors, ſwaggering in *Mithridates*'s
kingdom, and ordering *Pompey* to attend him by a mandatory letter in the
following ſtrain:

" *P. Servilius Rullus*, Tribune of the People, *Decemvir*, to *Cnæus Pom-*
" *pey*, the ſon of *Cnæus*, greeting.

Contr. (" He will not add the title of GREAT, when he has been labouring to
Rull. 20. " take it from him by Law.)
23.

" *I require you not to fail to come preſently to* Sinope, *and bring me a ſuf-*
" *ficient guard with you, while I ſell thoſe lands by my law, which you have*
" *gained by your valour.*"

He obſerves, " That the reaſon of excepting *Pompey* was not from
" any reſpect to him, but for fear he ſhould not ſubmit to the indignity of
" being accountable to their will: But *Pompey* (ſays he) *is a man of that*
" *temper, that he thinks it his duty to bear what you pleaſe to impoſe; but*
" *if there be any thing which you cannot bear yourſelves*, he *will take care*
" *that*

" *that you ſhall not bear it long againſt your wills*[a]." He proceeds to enlarge " upon the dangers which this Law threatened to their liberties: that, " inſtead of any good intended by it to the body of the Citizens, its pur- " poſe was to erect a power for the oppreſſion of them; and, on pretence " of planting colonies in *Italy* and the provinces, to ſettle their own crea- " tures and dependants, like ſo many garriſons, in all the convenient poſt " of the empire, to be ready on all occaſions to ſupport their tyranny: " That *Capua* was to be their head-quarters, their favourite colony; of " all cities the proudeſt, as well as the moſt hoſtile and dangerous, in " which the wiſdom of their anceſtors would not ſuffer the ſhadow of " any power or magiſtracy to remain: yet now it was to be cheriſhed " and advanced to another *Rome*: That by this Law the lands of *Cam-* " *pania* were to be ſold or given away, the moſt fruitful of all *Italy*, the " ſureſt revenue of the Republic, and their conſtant reſource when all " other rents failed them; which neither the *Gracchi*, *who, of all men,* " *ſtudied the People's benefit the moſt, nor* Sylla, who gave every thing " away without ſcruple, durſt venture to meddle with." In the concluſion he takes notice " of the great favour and approbation with which " they had heard him, as a ſure omen of their common peace and proſ- " perity; and acquaints them with the concord that he had eſtabliſhed " with his collegue, as a piece of news of all other the moſt agreeable, " and promiſes all ſecurity to the Republic, if they would but ſhew the " ſame good diſpoſition on future occaſions, which they had ſignified " on that day; and that he would make thoſe very men, who had been " the moſt envious and averſe to his advancement, confeſs, that the People " had ſeen farther, and judged better than they, in chuſing him for their " Conſul."

Contr. Rull. 28. 32.

Ib. 29.

In the courſe of this conteſt, he often called upon the Tribunes *to come into the* Roſtra, *and debate the matter with him before the People*; but they thought it more prudent to decline the challenge, and attack him rather by ſedulouſly inſinuating to the multitude, *that his oppoſition to the Law flowed from no good-will to them, but an affection to* Sylla's *party, and to ſecure to them the lands which they poſſeſſed by his grant*; *that he was making his court by it to the ſeven tyrants, as they called ſeven of the principal Senators, who were known to be the greateſt favourers of* Sylla's *cauſe, and the greateſt gainers by it*; the two *Lucullus's*, *Craſſus*, *Catulus*, *Hortenſius*, *Metellus*, *Philippus*. Theſe inſinuations made ſo great an impreſſion on the City, that he found it neceſſary to defend himſelf againſt them *in a ſecond ſpeech to the People*, in which he declared, " *That he* " *looked upon the Law, which ratified all* Sylla's *acts, to be of all Laws* " *the moſt wicked, and the moſt unlike to a true Law, as it eſtabliſhed a*

Ib. 2. 28. 3. 1. & 2.

[a] Is it poſſible to obſerve the many ſtrokes of flattery to *Pompey* in this ſpeech without feeling an utter contempt for the ſpeaker, a Patriot Conſul?

" *tyranny in the City*; *yet, that it had ſome excuſe from the times, and, in* " *their preſent circumſtances, ſeemed proper to be ſupported*; *eſpecially by* HIM, " *who*, for this year of his Conſulſhip, *profeſſed himſelf the patron of peace*; " but that it was the height of impudence in *Rullus*, to charge him with " obſtructing their intereſts for the ſake of *Sylla*'s grants, when the very " Law, which that Tribune was then urging, actually eſtabliſhed and per- " petuated thoſe grants, and ſhewed itſelf to be drawn by a ſon-in-law " of *Valgius*, who poſſeſſed more lands than any other man by that " invidious tenure, which were all by this Law to be partly confirmed, " and partly purchaſed of him." This he demonſtrates from the expreſs words of the Law " which he had ſtudiouſly omitted (he ſays) to take " notice of before, that he might not revive old quarrels, or move any " argument of new diſſention *in a ſeaſon ſo improper*: That *Rullus*, there- " fore, who accuſed him of *defending* Sylla's *acts*, was, of all others, *the* " *moſt impudent defender* of them: For *none had ever affirmed them to be good* " *and legal, but to have ſome plea only from poſſeſſion, and the public quiet*; " But by this Law the eſtates, that had been granted by them, were to " be fixed upon a better foundation, than any other eſtates whatſoever." He concludes, " by renewing his challenge to the Tribunes to come and " diſpute with him to his face." But after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, finding themſelves wholly unable to contend with him, they were forced at laſt to ſubmit, and to let the affair drop, to the great joy of the SENATE.

This alarm being over, another accident broke out, which might have endangered the peace of the City, if the effects of it had not been prevented by the authority of *Cicero*. *Otho*'s Law, mentioned above, for the aſſignment of *ſeparate ſeats for the Equeſtrian order* *, had highly offended the People, who could not digeſt the indignity of being thruſt ſo far back from their diverſions; and while the grudge was ſtill freſh, *Otho*, happening to come into the theatre, was received by the Populace with *an univerſal hiſs*, but by the Knights *with loud applauſe and clapping*: Both ſides redoubled their clamour with great fierceneſs, and from reproaches were proceeding to blows, till *Cicero*, informed of the tumult, came immediately to the theatre, and calling the People out into the temple of *Bellona*, *ſo tamed and ſtung them with power of his words* [b], *and made them ſo aſhamed*

Vid. ſup. 282.

[b] The ſpeech was ſoon after publiſhed, tho' from the nature of the thing it muſt have been made upon the ſpot, and flowed extempore from the occaſion; and as it was much read and admired for ſeveral ages after, as a memorable inſtance of *Cicero*'s *command over men*'s *paſſions*, ſo ſome have imagined it to be alluded to in that beautiful paſſage of *Virgil*:

Ac Veluti magno in populo cum ſæpe coorta eſt
Seditio, ſævitque animis ignobile vulgus;
Jamque faces & ſaxa volant, furor arma miniſtrat:

aſhamed of their folly and perverſeneſs, that, on their return to the theatre, they turned their hiſſes into applauſes, and vied with the Knights themſelves in demonſtrations of their reſpect to Otho.

There happened about the ſame time a third inſtance, not leſs remarkable, of *Cicero*'s great power of perſuaſion. *Sylla* had, by an expreſs law, *excluded the children of the proſcribed from the Senate, and all public honours*; which was certainly an act of great violence, and *the decree rather of a tyrant than the Law of a free State*: So that the perſons injured by it, who were many, and of great families, were now making all their efforts to get it reverſed. Their petition was highly equitable, but, by *Cicero* and the Ariſtocratical faction, cenſured as highly unreaſonable, in the preſent diſorders of the City: And why? Becauſe, without queſtion, the firſt uſe, that they would naturally make of the recovery of their privileges, would be to revenge themſelves on their oppreſſors. It was *Cicero*'s buſineſs, therefore, to prevent that inconvenience, and, as far as it was poſſible, with the conſent of the ſufferers themſelves: On which occaſion *this great commander of the human affections*, as *Quintilian* calls him, found means to perſuade thoſe unfortunate men, *that to bear their injury was their benefit*; *and that the* government *itſelf could not ſtand, if* Sylla's *Laws were then repealed, on which the quiet and order of the public were eſtabliſhed.*—The three caſes juſt mentioned make *Pliny* break out into a kind of rapturous admiration of the man, *who could perſuade the People to give up their bread, their pleaſure, and their injuries*[c], *to the charms of his eloquence.* Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 28.

Another

Tum pietate gravem & meritis ſi forte virum quem
Aſpexere, ſilent, arrectiſque auribus adſtant;
Ille regit dictis animos, & pectora mulcet. VIRG. Æn. i. 152

As when ſedition fires th'ignoble croud,
And the wild rabble ſtorms and thirſts for blood;
Of ſtones and brands a mingled tempeſt flies,
With all the ſudden arms that rage ſupplies:
If ſome grave ſire appears amidſt the ſtrife,
In morals ſtrict and innocence of life,
All ſtand attentive, while the ſage controuls
Their Wrath, and calms the tempeſt of their ſouls. Mr. PITT.

Macrob. Sat. ii. 10.

One topic, which *Cicero* touched in the ſpeech, and the only one of which we have any hint from antiquity, was to reproach the rioters for their want of taſte and good ſenſe, *in making ſuch a diſturbance while* Roſcius *was acting.*

[c] This laſt mentioned effect of *Cicero*'s eloquence, muſt ſurely appear to an unprejudiced reader as *incredible*, as it is extraordinary. Did *Cicero*, to induce the petitioners to withdraw their petition, employ the ſame arguments which ſwayed him to oppoſe it? Did he ſay to them, *You had better deſiſt from your purſuit: For ſhould you obtain a reſtoration of your privileges, you would naturally make uſe of the grant to revenge yourſelves on your oppreſſors?* In a ſpeech, made ſeveral years afterwards, he declared, *that he had excluded from honours a number of brave and honeſt young men, whom fortune had thrown into ſo unhappy a ſituation, that if they had obtained power, they would probably have employed it to the ruin of* In Piſon. 2.

Another tranſaction of moment in which he was engaged, a little before the laſt mentioned, was the defence of *C. Rabirius*, a Senator, accuſed by the Tribune *Labienus*, of treaſon * or rebellion, for having killed *L. Saturninus*, a Tribune, about thirty-ſeven years before, who had cauſed a dangerous ſedition in the City. The fact, if true, had been done in conſequence of a decree of the Senate, by which all the Citizens were required to take arms in aid of the Conſuls *C. Marius*, and *L. Flaccus*.

* Per duellio.

Vid. ſupr. p. 94. a. ann. 653.

It is highly probable, that to puniſh *Rabirius* was not the thing aimed at[d]; (nor to vindicate the character or proceedings of *Saturninus*;) but to attack that *aſſumed prerogative* of the *Senate*, by which, in the caſe of a ſudden commotion, they uſed to arm the City at once, by requiring the Conſuls *to take care, the Republic received no detriment:* Which vote, it was pretended, gave a ſanction to every thing that was done in conſequence of it. The practice of thus inveſting the Magiſtrates with ſo extraordinary a power commenced in the early times of the Republic; and tho' the firſt inſtance of it was on the occaſion of a great and ſudden danger from a foreign enemy, the example was afterwards followed in caſes of domeſtic feuds and diſturbances, but *had been always complained of by the Tribunes as an infringement of the conſtitution, by giving to the Senate an arbitrary power over the lives of the Citizens, which could not legally be taken away without a hearing and judgment of the whole People:* And, indeed, experience had ſhewed, that by ſuch a vote the *Tribunes* themſelves, whoſe perſons the Laws had made ſacred, were expoſed to be cut off without ſentence or trial, and even when engaged in the moſt laudable meaſures for the public good.

Vid. Vol. I ad ann. 289.

This point, therefore, was to be tried on the perſon of *Rabirius*. The *Duumviri*, or two Judges for this trial, according to *Suetonius*, were drawn

the State. Suppoſing this to have been *Cicero*'s opinion, *that they would have ſo employed their power*—Did he deliver this opinion to them as the reaſon of his oppoſing their requeſt?

Or did he tell them, *that their injury was their benefit; for that the government itſelf could not ſtand, if* Sylla's *iniquitous Law relating to them were repealed?* Would it not have been a moſt intolerable impertinence (not to ſay impudence) after *Pompey* had repealed the moſt material and important of all *Sylla*'s Laws, without ruining the State, or doing it any real miſchief, to ſpeak *of the quiet and order of the Republic, as depending on the maintenance of* Sylla's *Laws?* (many of which, beſide the law relating to the Tribunes, had without ceremony, or any inconvenience, been violated.) Doubtleſs, if the petitioners were prevailed upon by *words* to deſiſt a while from their purſuit, it muſt have been by a *promiſe to do them juſtice, ſo ſoon as the preſent alarm, cauſed by the rumour of a dreadful conſpiracy, ſhould be over.*

[d] *Jus omne retinendæ majeſtatis Rabirii cauſa continebatur.* [Cic. in Oratore.] *Non enim C. Rabirium culpa delicti,* non invidia, vitæque turpitudo, non denique veteres, juſtæ graveſque inimicitiæ civium, in diſcrimen capitis vocaverunt: *Sed ut illum ſummum auxilium majeſtatis, atque imperii, quod nobis a majoribus eſt traditum, de Republica tolleretur! ut nihil poſthac auctoritas Senatus, nihil conſulare imperium, nihil conſenſio bonorum contra peſtem ac perniciem Civitatis valeret.* Cic. pro Rab. c. 1.

by

by lot, and *C. Julius Cæsar*, who, the same author tells us, had instigated[e] *Labienus* to begin the prosecution, happened to be one of the two: *Lucius J. Cæsar* was the other, according to *Dio*, who reports that they were both named by the *Prætor*[g]. *Hortensius* pleaded the cause of the accused, and proved (as *Cicero* affirms) by many witnesses, *that* Saturninus *was actually killed* by the hand of a slave, who, for that service, obtained his freedom from the Republic. The Judges, however, condemned *Rabirius*; whereupon he appealed from their sentence to the PEOPLE. *Cicero* pleaded his cause before the *Centuries*, but was not suffered, by the prosecutor, to speak above half an hour. He opened the defence with great gravity, declaring, "that in the memory of man there had not "been a cause of such importance, either undertaken by a Tribune, or

Midd. p. 164.

By some passages in *Cic. pro Rabir.* it appears, that *Labienus* pretended at least to commence the prosecution, in order *to revenge the death of his uncle*, who was slain in company with *Saturninus*.

In this affair there were two circumstances which deserve Notice. The first is, that *Saturninus*, after he had surrendered himself, was killed, *contrary to the will* of the Consul *Marius*, and in violation of the *public faith*, pledged to him by *Marius*. Now unless the extraordinary commission of *Dent operam*, &c. from the Senate to the Consuls, empowered them only to kill, not to spare, *Marius* was free to pledge the *public faith* to *Saturninus*; and when that had been done, it was highly criminal in any private Citizen to kill him, how flagitious soever his conduct had been. It appears, that *Labienus* had urged *this* in his accusation: For *Cicero* thus answers: "If, as you have very often affirmed, "any promises of indemnity were made to "*Saturninus*, they were made, not by *Rabi-* "*rius*, but by *Marius*, and, if they were "broken, that breach is to be imputed to "him. What promise could pass? Who could "make any promise but by a resolution of "the Senate? Are you so much a stranger to "this City? Are you so very ignorant of our "government and constitution, as to be ig- "norant of that?" &c.

Guthrie's Transl.

The force of this answer I shall leave to the readers consideration.

The other circumstance (of which *Cicero* takes no notice) is, that *Rabirius carried about, from house to house, in a triumphant and most insulting manner, the head of* Saturninus; which proceeding ought naturally to make *Rabirius* be considered as more maliciously concerned, than any other person in the murder. *Marius senatus consulto armatus Saturninum & Glauciam in Capitolium persequutus obsedit.——in deditionem accepit: nec deditis fides servata —Caput ejus [Saturnini] Rabirius quidam Senator per convivia in ludibrium circumtulit.* Aurel. Vict. cap. 73.

[g] M. *Crevier*, to reconcile, as well as he can, these differing accounts, conjectures, that the two Judges were *drawn by lot, by a Prætor*.

The Jesuit *Catrou* writes, that though "it "properly belonged to the *Duumviri* to try "the cause in the first instance, it was "brought before the *Prætor*, and *Cæsar* got "himself nominated to be *one of the Præ-* "*tor's assessors*; but that *Cicero* unriddled "the affair, *brought the cause before the Peo-* "*ple, and got* Rabirius *acquitted*." Now both *Suetonius* and *Dio* agree in this, that *the accused* brought the affair *by appeal*, before the PEOPLE: Neither of them say that he was acquitted. Nay, *Dio* says, he would certainly have been condemned, if any sentence had been given; which, if true, it is hard to guess what *Suetonius* means by saying, that nothing was of so much service to the accused, as his trial before the PEOPLE, as the forward severity of the Judge who had condemned him. [*Cæsar*] *sorte judex in reum [illegible], tam cupide condemnavit, [illegible] ad populum provocanti nihil æque ac judicis acerbitas [illegible]: [illegible]* it does not appear, that any service was done him, but by the *Prætor*, who contrived to dissolve the Assemby.

Hist. Rom. l. lxi. p. 1.

"defended

" defended by a Conſul: That nothing leſs was meant by it, than that for-
" the future there ſhould be no Senate or public council in the City; no
" conſent or concurrence of the HONEST, againſt the rage and raſhneſs of
" the wicked; no reſource or refuge in the extreme dangers of the Repub-
" lic.—He wiſhes, that he had been at liberty to confeſs what *Hortenſius*
" indeed had proved to be falſe, that *Saturninus*, the enemy of the *Ro-*
" *man* People, was killed by the hand of *Rabirius*.—That he ſhould
" have proclaimed and boaſted of it, as an act that merited reward inſtead
" of puniſhment.—Here he was interrupted by the clamour of the oppo-
" ſite faction; but he obſerves it to be the faint effort of a ſmall part of the
" Aſſembly; and that the body of the People, who were ſilent, *would never*
" *have made him Conſul, if they had thought him capable of being diſturbed by ſo*
" *feeble an inſult*; which he had adviſed them to drop, ſince it betrayed only
" their folly, and the inferiority of their numbers[h].—The Aſſembly being
" quieted, he goes on to declare, that though *Rabirius* did not kill *Satur-*
" *ninus*, yet, together with the Conſuls, and all the beſt of the City, he
" took arms with intent to kill him, to which his honour, virtue, and duty,
" called him. That to charge *Rabirius* with this crime, was to condemn
" the greateſt and worthieſt Citizens whom *Rome* had ever bred; and tho'
" they were all dead, yet the injury was the ſame to rob them of the honour
" due to their names and memories[i]." To this he added many oratorical flouriſhes concerning fame and glory and immortality, and in praiſe of *Marius*, *one of the wiſeſt, as well as braveſt of the* Roman *heroes, whoſe ſpirit, worthy for its holineſs to be worſhipped, he calls to witneſs how much he thinks himſelf obliged to vindicate and fight ſtrenuouſly for the renown of all ſuch meritorious heroes.* But all this was to very little purpoſe, if we may believe *Dio*; for the People would have condemned the criminal, had not *Metellus Celer*, at that time Augur and Prætor, contrived by a[k] ſtratagem to diſſolve the Aſſembly before they came to vote: and *Labienus*

[h] It would give great light to the hiſtory of theſe times, if we could know the *dates* of the *publication* of *Cicero*'s ſpeeches. We may well doubt, whether the Orator was really ſo *ſtout*, on this occaſion, as he repreſents himſelf: His cajoling the multitude by ſuch an extravagant ſtrain of panegyric upon *C. Marius* [whom at other times he ſpeaks of as the moſt villanous of all villains] would naturally make one diſbelieve his venturing to reproach the *popular faction*, with the *inferiority* of their numbers in the preſent Aſſembly; and eſpecially if (as *Dio* reports) they were the *majority*.

[i] There is one particular in *Cicero*'s ſpeech on this occaſion, in which it may, to ſome readers be difficult to diſcern the ſkill of the Orator. His chief purpoſe, as we have ſeen, was to maintain that *aſſumed prerogative* of the SENATE, whereby, whenever they pleaſed to think it neceſſary or convenient, they gave an abſolute uncontroulable power to the Conſuls, by the vote *Dent operam*, &c. and yet, in this very oration, he makes a new * and a fine encomium on *Caius Gracchus*, who was murdered, together with 3000 Citizens, by the Conſul *Opimius*, in conſequence of the Senate's exerting the ſaid ASSUMED PREROGATIVE.

* Vid. ſup. p. 288, 289. Vid. Vol. II. B. vi. ch. x.

[k] The Aſſemblies, by Centuries, were in ſome ſenſe military, the People being under arms, and drawn up in line of battle. They were

Labienus did not afterwards revive the proſecution, though he was free to do it[u].

Cicero made a new Law this year to correct the abuſe of a privilege, called *Legatio Libera*, that is, an honorary legation or embaſſy, granted arbitrarily by the Senate to any of its members, when they travelled abroad on their private affairs, in order to give them *a public character, and a right to be treated as Ambaſſadors, or Magiſtrates*; which, by the inſolence of theſe great gueſts, was become a grievous burden upon all the ſtates and cities through which they paſſed. *Cicero's deſign was to aboliſh it*, but being driven from that *by one of the Tribunes*, he was content *to reſtrain the continuance of it*, which before was unlimited, *to the term of one year*. Middl. p. 228. DeLeg iii. 8.

It was about this time that the news came from the Eaſt, of *Pompey*'s having happily finiſhed the long war in that part of the world, by the taking of * *Jeruſalem*. The honours decreed him by the Senate, at the motion of *Cicero*, have been related †; and it is not to be doubted, that the Conſul, by his zeal on this occaſion, attached to him more firmly than ever *Pompey*'s friends; of whoſe ſupport, in the exerciſe of his Magiſtracy, he foreſaw he ſhould very ſoon ſtand in need[t]. * Vid. ſup. 268. † Vid. ſup. p. 271.

And

were held in the field of *Mars* without the City, which might, therefore, in the early times, when *Rome* was weak, and had but a very ſmall territory, be expoſed to a ſudden incurſion of their neighbours: To obviate which danger, a guard was poſted, and an enſign planted upon the *Janiculum*; and theſe continued there ſo long as the Aſſembly laſted, the ſoldiers, who formed the guard at firſt, being relieved by others who had given their votes. This precaution was no longer neceſſary at the time of which we are ſpeaking, but was retained through a ſuperſtitious regard to an ancient uſage; and the Aſſembly could decree nothing legally, but while the banner was ſeen flying. *Metellus* haſtened to the *Janiculum*, and cauſed the enſign to be taken down; and the Aſſembly of courſe broke up. Dio. l. xxxvii. 42.

[u] By the iſſue of this affair, as well as from the paſſage above cited [p. 292. note [r]] of *Cicero*'s ſpeech, it ſeems reaſonable to think, that no deſign had been formed againſt the life of *Rabirius*; and if I might be allowed to hazard a conjecture, concerning the view of the popular faction in this proſecution, I ſhould ſay, it was to deter the Conſul and his friends, *in this very time of alarm*, from having recourſe to the old, but dangerous expedient, of *Dent operam conſules*, &c. and if *Cicero* had paid more regard to the admonition, it might have been better for him, and for the public tranquillity.

[t] It has been related above, that *Cicero*, by a promiſe to his collegue *Antonius*, of yielding to him the beſt of the provinces aſſigned to them, had engaged him not to obſtruct the meaſures of his adminiſtration. It was the cuſtom for the Senate to appoint what particular provinces were to be diſtributed every year to the ſeveral Magiſtrates, who uſed afterwards to caſt lots for them among themſelves; the Prætors for the Prætorian, the Conſuls for the Conſular provinces. In this partition, therefore, when *Macedonia*, one of the moſt deſirable governments of the empire, for command and wealth, fell to *Cicero*'s lot, he exchanged it immediately with his collegue for *Ciſalpine Gaul*, which he reſigned afterwards to *Q. Metellus*. *Cicero*, in a letter to *Atticus* [Lib. ii. Ep. 1.] mentions an oration he made to the PEOPLE, on occaſion of his reſigning his pretenſions to this province; and ſpeaks of that oration as the *ſixth* of his *ten Conſular orations*. [*Sexta cum provinciam in concione depoſui.*] The *two firſt* were againſt *Rullus*'s *Agrarian* Law. The *third* concerning *Otho*. The *fourth* in defence of *Rabirius*. The *fifth* concerning *the children of the Proſcribed*.

Y. R. 690. And now he took the opportunity, which his Conſular authority gave him, of acquiring *the friendſhip and ſupport* of [a] *Lucullus*, whom probably he thought he might at this time oblige, without diſobliging his rival, whoſe conqueſts were finiſhed, and whoſe glory was complete.

Midd. p. 229. Plut. in Luc. *Lucullus* was ſoliciting the demand of a triumph for his victories over *Mithridates*; in which purſuit he had been obſtructed for three years ſucceſſively by the intrigues of ſome of the Magiſtrates, who, by putting this affront upon him, paid their court to *Pompey*. By the Law and Cuſtom of the Republic, no General, while he was in actual command, could come within the gates of *Rome*, without forfeiting his commiſſion, and conſequently all pretenſions to a triumph; ſo that *Lucullus* continued all this time in the ſuburbs, till the affair was decided. The Senate favoured his ſuit, and were ſolicitors for him, but could not prevail, 'till *Cicero*'s Academ. I. ii. 1. authority at laſt helped to introduce his triumphal car [b] into the City; making him ſome amends by this ſervice for the injury of the *Manilian* Law, which had deprived him of his government. After his triumph, he entertained the whole *Roman* People with a ſumptuous feaſt, and was much careſſed by the Nobility, as one whoſe authority would be a proper check to the ambition and power of *Pompey*; but having now obtained all the honours, which he could reaſonably hope for, and obſerving the turbulent and diſtracted ſtate of the City, he withdrew himſelf, Plut. in Luc. not long after, from public affairs, to ſpend the remainder of his days in a polite and ſplendid retreat. He was a generous patron of learning, and himſelf eminently learned, ſo that his houſe was the conſtant reſort of the principal ſcholars and wits of *Greece* and *Rome*; where he had

Proſcribed. The ſeventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, againſt *Catiline*. It was probably, therefore, after his defence of *Rabirius*, that he made this reſignation. At what time he Vid. Vol. II. B. vi. ch. 10. caſt lots with his colleague, is not ſaid. By *Caius Gracchus*'s Law relating to the Senate's appointment of the provinces to the Conſuls and Prætors, the Senate was annually to name the provinces, *before the elections* of the Magiſtrates. [*Cic. de Prov. Conſ.* 2. *pro Dom.* 9. *Sall. de Bell. Jug.* xxix. 47.]

[a] *L. Lucullus* cum victor a Mithridatico bello revertiſſet, inimicorum calumnia triennio tardius, quàm debuerat, triumphavit. Nos enim Conſules introduximus pene in urbem currum clariſſimi viri: *Cujus mihi Conſilium & auctoritas quid tum in maximis rebus profuiſſet, dicerem, niſi de me ipſo dicendum eſſet.* Cic. in Luc.

[b] The pomp of this triumph was not remarkable for the quantity of ſpoils, or number of priſoners. The chief fruits of *Lucullus*'s victory were in the hands of *Pompey*. A gold ſtatue of *Mithridates*, ſix feet high, a ſhield adorned with precious ſtones, and abundance of gold and ſilver plate, together with 2,700,000 drachmas in coined ſilver, were the moſt ſhining part of the ſhew. But Plut. in Luc. there were alſo written ſcrolls, on which were ſet down the ſums with which *Lucullus* had ſupplied *Pompey* for the war with the Pirates, and thoſe he had remitted at different times to the Quæſtors. He had likewiſe given 950 drachmas to each of his ſoldiers. 30l. 13 6½d.

He gave a feaſt to the whole People, at which above 100,000 caſks (containing twelve gallons each) of *Greek* wine were conſumed. He adorned the public places and buildings with a great number of ſtatues, but the moſt Ibid. valuable thing which he brought from the Eaſt was the cherry-tree, unknown till then in *Europe*, but which grew in *Pontus* without cultivation.

provided

provided a well-furniſhed library, with porticos and galleries annexed, for the convenience of walks and literary conferences, at which he himſelf uſed frequently to aſſiſt; giving an example to the world of a life truly noble and elegant, if it had not been ſullied by too great a tincture of *Aſiatic* ſoftneſs, and *Epicurean* luxury.

We come now to the famed conspiracy, of which *Salluſt* has written the hiſtory, and which is the ſubject of a great part of *Cicero*'s writtings. He had intimations of it, in the very beginning of his Magiſtracy, but it did not break out till towards the end of his year.

In order to a more perfect knowledge of this part of the *Roman* ſtory, it will be proper to give ſome account of the life and fortunes of Catiline, the contriver of the intended miſchief, together with a character of the man, as formed upon a view of his conduct *prior* to that wicked conſpiracy; and becauſe the method taken to avert the impending evil was *extraordinary*, and *not univerſally approved*, and was *attended with very momentous conſequences*, it may likewiſe be proper to acquaint ourſelves more particularly, than we have hitherto done, with the principal perſons, who, in the Senate, appeared in oppoſition to each other on this occaſion. *Salluſt* mentions but three who made ſpeeches, the Conſul *Cicero*, *Cæſar*, *and Cato*. Of the firſt a good deal has already been ſaid; but we ſhall become better acquainted with him, by the following brief *hiſtories of* Cæſar *and* Catiline *till the time of the wicked conſpiracy of the latter*. And becauſe *the hiſtories* of theſe two *Romans* have in ſome parts of them, a connexion with each other, it may be beſt to place them together, immediately before *Salluſt*'s account of the diſcovery of the plot, and give firſt *the hiſtory of* Cato *to that time*, which has no connexion, or very little, with either of the other, and is inſerted here only to make us know the character he *then* bore.

Macus Porcius Cato, commonly called *Cato Minor*, or *Cato* of *Utica*, was great grandſon of *Cato* the *Cenſor*, and deſcended from a ſon which the *Cenſor* had, in his old age, by a ſecond wife, the daughter of one of his clients. *Cato* of *Utica* had, by both father and mother's ſide, one ſiſter, named *Porcia*. His mother, by a former marriage, had a ſon, whoſe name was *Servilius Cæpio* (for whom *Cato*'s fraternal affection was not leſs remarkable than that of *Lucullus* for *his* brother) and ſeveral daughters, of whom the moſt known was the mother of *Brutus* [b].

Plut. Cat. Min. Vid. ſupra. p. 226.

It is ſaid of *Cato*, that, from his infancy, he diſcovered by his ſpeech, his countenance, and even his childiſh ſports and recreations, an inflexibility of mind; for he would force himſelf to go through with whatever he had undertaken, though the taſk was ill ſuited to his ſtrength: He was

[b] All theſe lived together, and were bred up in the houſe of *Livius Druſus*, their uncle by their mother, a man of weight in the government at that time.

rough towards thoſe that flattered him, and quite untractable[c] when threatened; was rarely ſeen to laugh, or even to ſmile; not eaſily provoked to anger, but, if once incenſed, hard to be pacified.

Sylla, having had a friendſhip with the father of *Cato*, ſent often for him and his brother, and talked familiarly with them. *Cato*, who was then about fourteen years of age, ſeeing the heads of great men brought thither, and obſerving the ſighs of thoſe that were preſent, aſked his Preceptor, *Why does nobody kill this man?—Becauſe*, ſaid the other, *He is feared more than he is hated.* The boy replied, *Why then did you not give me a ſword, when you brought me hither, that I might have ſtabbed him, and freed my country from this ſlavery?*

Plut. in Cat.

He learnt the principles of the Stoic philoſophy (which ſo well ſuited his character) under *Antipater* of *Tyre*, and applied himſelf diligently to the ſtudy of it. Eloquence he likewiſe ſtudied, as a neceſſary means to defend the cauſe of Juſtice; and he made a very conſiderable proficiency in that ſcience. To increaſe his bodily ſtrength, he inured himſelf to ſuffer the extremes of heat and cold; and uſed to make journeys on foot, and bare-headed, in all ſeaſons. When he was ſick, patience and abſtinence were his only remedies: he ſhut himſelf up, and would ſee no body till he was well. Tho' remarkably ſober in the beginning of his life, making it his rule to drink but once after ſupper, and then retire, he inſenſibly contracted a habit of drinking more freely, and of ſitting at table till morning. His friends endeavoured to excuſe this, by ſaying, that the affairs of the public engroſſed his attention all the day, and that, being ambitious of knowledge, he paſſed the night at table in the converſation of [tipling[d]] philoſophers. *Cæſar* wrote that *Cato* was once found dead drunk at the corner of a ſtreet by a great number of people, who were going early in the morning to the levee of ſome great man; and that when, by uncovering his face, they perceived who it was, they bluſhed for ſhame. *You would have thought*, added *Cæſar*, that *Cato had found them drunk, not they him.* *Pliny* obſerves, that by this reflection, *Cæſar* praiſes his enemy, at the ſame time that he blames him. And *Seneca* (his extravagant

Plin. Ep. iii. 12.

Sen de Tranq. Vit. xxv. Plut.

[c] When *Cato* was a child, the *Italian* allies ſolicited for the freedom of the City; *Pompedius Silo*, one of the deputies, and who had contracted a friendſhip with *Druſus*, lodged at his houſe for ſeveral days, in which time being grown familiar with the children, he ſaid to them, *Will, will you deſire your uncle to befriend us in our buſineſs?* *Cato* ſmiling, ſeemed to conſent; but *Cato* made no anſwer, only he looked ſtedfaſtly and ſternly upon the ſtranger: *And you*, ſaid Pompedius, *will not you, as well as your brother, intercede with your uncle in our behalf?* *Cato* ſeeming by his ſilence and by his look to reject their petition, *Pompedius* ſnatched him up, and, holding him out of the window, ſhook him ſeveral times, threatening to let him fall, if he would not comply: the boy remained unmoved, and, ſeemingly, unconcerned: whereupon *Pompedius*, letting him down again, ſaid ſoftly to his friends, "Were this child "a man, I believe we ſhould not gain one "voice among the People."

Plut. in Cat.

[d] *Cato vino laxabat animum, curis publicis fatigatum.* Sen. de Tranq. Vitæ. c. xv.

panegyriſt)

panegyriſt) ventures to aſſert, that it is eſiaer to prove drunkenneſs to be a virtue, than *Cato* to be vicious. He affected ſingularity, and, in things indifferent, to act directly contrary to the taſte and faſhions of the age, [which ſome hold to be a ſure mark of a flaw in the underſtanding.] Magnanimity and conſtancy are generally aſcribed to him; and *Seneca* would fain make that haughtineſs and contempt for others, which, in *Cato*, accompanied thoſe virtues, a matter of praiſe. *Cato*, ſays *Seneca*, having received a blow in the face, neither took revenge nor was angry; he did not even *pardon the affront*, but *denied that he had received it*: His virtue raiſed him ſo high, that injury could not reach him. He is reputed to have been chaſte in his youth. His firſt love was *Lepida*, but when the marriage was upon the point of being concluded, *Metellus Scipio*, to whom ſhe had been promiſed, interfered, and the preference was given to him. This affront extremely exaſperated our Stoic: He was for going to Law with *Scipio*, and when his friends had diverted him from that deſign, by ſhewing him the ridicule of it, he revenged himſelf by making verſes upon his rival. When this firſt flame ſubſided, he married *Attica*, the daughter of *Serranus*, had two children by her, and then divorced her for her very indiſcreet conduct. Sen. de Conſtan. Sap. c. xv. Plut.

It has been already mentioned, that he ſerved as a volunteer under *Gellius* in the war of *Spartacus*, and when military rewards were offered him by the commander, refuſed them, becauſe he thought he had no title to them.

Some years after, he went a Legionary Tribune into *Macedonia*, under the Prætor *Rubrius*: In which ſtation he appeared, in his dreſs and during a march, more like a private ſoldier than an officer; for the dignity of his manners, the elevation of his ſentiments, and the ſuperiority of his views, ſet him far above thoſe, who bore the titles of Generals and Proconſuls. It is ſaid, that *Cato*'s deſign in all his behaviour, was to engage the ſoldiers to the love of virtue; whoſe affections he engaged thereby to himſelf, without having that in his intention. For the ſincere love of virtue (adds *Plutarch*) implies an affection for the virtuous. Thoſe who praiſe the worthy without loving them, pay homage to their glory; but are neither admirers, nor imitators of their virtues. Vid. ſup. P. 197.

When the time of his ſervice expired, and he was leaving the army, the ſoldiers were all in tears, ſo effectually had he gained their hearts by his condeſcending manners, and ſharing in their labours [as *Marius* had uſed to do.]

Before he returned to *Rome*, he reſolved to make the tour of *Aſia* (where *Pompey* then was, at the head of the *Roman* armies) not only to ſee that fine country, but to acquaint himſelf with the manners of its inhabitants, and be an eye-witneſs of the condition of its ſtates and provinces. In the courſe of his travels he came to *Antioch*, curious to ſee one of the fineſt cities of the Eaſt. When not far from it, he perceived, without the gates, a mul- Plut. in Pomp. & in Cat.

a multitude of people in white habits, and, on both ſides of the way, young perſons and children ranged in order. He imagined, that this was intended for his reception, which diſpleaſed him; for he did not affect pomp and ceremony. He was travelling on foot, according to his conſtant cuſtom, but his friends being on horſeback, he ordered them to diſmount, in civility to thoſe, who, he believed, were come out with a deſign to do him honour. [Among them were the Prieſts, and the Magiſtrates of the city.] But when he was at ſome ſmall diſtance, the perſon who had ranged the multitude in order, having a crown upon his head, and a ſtaff in his hand, came forwards, and aſked him, *where he had left* Demetrius [*Pompey*'s freedman]*, and whether he would ſoon arrive?* On that queſtion, the friends of *Cato* burſt out into a loud laugh; but, for himſelf, ever ſerious and auſtere, he went on, without anſwering one word to the man who had queſtioned him; but cried out, *Oh wretched city*[a]*!*

Vid. ſup. p. 269. in the note.

Plut. in Cat.

We are told, that *Cato* coming to make his compliments to *Pompey* at *Epheſus* [no body knows when] that General ran to meet him, and gave him the higheſt praiſes, both when preſent and after he was withdrawn; but did not preſs his worthy gueſt to ſtay with him, as he uſed to do other young *Romans.*

Id. ibid.

After his return home he was choſen to the Quæſtorſhip, and had ſcarce entered upon this charge, when he made a great reformation in the Quæſtor's office, and particularly with regard to the *Regiſters.*

Theſe *Regiſters*, whoſe places were for life, and through whoſe hands inceſſantly paſſed the public accounts, being to act under young Magiſtrates, unexperienced in buſineſs, aſſumed an air of importance; and, inſtead of aſking orders from the Quæſtors, pretended to direct and govern, as if they themſelves were the Quæſtors. *Cato* reduced them to their proper ſphere. One of theſe fellows had the protection of *Catulus*, then CENSOR[b], whom he engaged to go to the Quæſtor's office to ſolicit for him. As *Catulus* lived in friendſhip with *Cato*, and was of the ſame faction, he doubted not of ſucceſs in his application. But the Quæſtor remonſtrated to him, that the perſon, for whom he intereſted himſelf, was very criminal, having forged a will. *Catulus*, nevertheleſs, ſued for favour, on his own account, to the guilty Regiſter. Hereupon *Cato* expoſtulated with the Patriot, on his acting a part ſo inconſiſtent with his dignity and his virtue; but finding him ſtill perſiſt in his ſolicitation, ſaid to him, in a very different tone of voice, *It would be a great ſhame for*

[a] *Julian*, the Apoſtate, revived the reproach, ſeveral ages afterwards, againſt the inhabitants of *Antioch*, when he was angry with them. *Julian, Miſopog.*

[b] The other CENSOR was *Craſſus.* Theſe Magiſtrates diſcharged no one function belonging to their office. A diſpute aroſe between them, in relation to the people of *Gallia Tranſpadana*, to whom *Craſſus*, ſupported by *Cæſar*, was for granting the freedom of the City. *Catulus* oppoſed the deſign; and the collegues agreed in nothing, but the reſolution to abdicate their office, which they actually did. *Plut. in Craſſ. & Suet. in Caſ.*

you, Catulus, *if while you are* CENSOR, *and charged with the inſpection of our manners, I ſhould order my ſerjeants to turn you out of my office.* Angry and confounded, *Catulus* opened his mouth, as if to reply; but having nothing reaſonable to ſay, retired ſilent and out of countenance. However, he managed ſo knaviſhly, as to ſave the Regiſter from any further puniſhment, than the loſs of his employment and ſalary.

One thing by which *Cato* extremely pleaſed the People, was his making the aſſaſſins, to whom *Sylla* had given conſiderable rewards out of the treaſury, for murdering the proſcribed, diſgorge their gains.

Plutarch tells us, that *Cato* was ſo exact in performing the duties of a Senator, as to be always the firſt who came to the houſe, and the laſt who left it; and that he never quitted *Rome* during thoſe days when the Senate was to ſit.

Nor did he fail to be preſent at every Aſſembly of the people, that he might awe thoſe, who, by an ill judged facility, beſtowed the public money in largeſſes, and frequently, through mere favour, granted remiſſion of debts due to the State. At firſt his auſterity and ſtiffneſs diſpleaſed his collegues, but afterwards they were glad to have his name to oppoſe to all the unjuſt ſolicitations, againſt which they would have found it difficult to defend themſelves. *Cato* very readily took upon him the taſk of refuſing.

The amount of all this ſeems to be, that *Cato* had been a ſtout, ſtubborn, ill-natured boy; that he affected ſingularity when a man: yet was capable both of friendſhip and of love; was condeſcending to his inferiors; a brave and hardy ſoldier; a good ſenator; in his principles a Stoic; in his practice chaſte and temperate, only a little given to tipling in good company; complexionally true and honeſt; and aſpiring to the character of rigid, unrelenting juſtice.

CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR was born in the year of *Rome* 654, in the Conſulſhip of *M. Antonius* and *A. Poſthumius Albinus*. The *Julian* family was *Patrician*: It had been tranſplanted from *Albo*[a] to *Rome* by king *Tullius Hoſtilius*, and, from the beginning of the Commonwealth, had been adorned with the higheſt dignities. *Cæſar* was in his ſixteenth year when he loſt his father, of whom all that we know is, that he had been Prætor, and that he died ſuddenly one morning while putting on his ſhoes. *Cæſar*'s mother was *Aurelia*, a lady of merit, and of a very noble family, though *Plebeian*; ſhe is much praiſed for the care ſhe took of her ſon's education. It has been already mentioned, that in the year 671, he was in great dan-

Pigh. ad ann. 654. & 676.

Plin. vii. 53.

Aurel. de Cæſ. Cor. Eloq. c. 28.

Suet. in Cæſ. 6.

[a] It is ſaid, that the *Julii* traced back their origin to *Iulus* the ſon of *Æneas*, and therefore, without doubt, the grandſon of *Venus*. The firſt of the *Julian* family, who bore the ſurname of *Cæſar*, was *Sex. Julius Cæſar*, Prætor in the year of *Rome* 545. It is generally thought that this ſurname denotes an infant, for the birth of whom it was neceſſary to cut open the mother's womb, *a Cæſo matris utero*, Plin. vii. 9. and that very dangerous and uncommon operation, called the *Cæſarean* operation, has its name from thence. According to another etymology, *Cæſar* ſignifies a child born with long hair, *a Cæſarie*.

ger

ger of being put to death as a *Marian*, being the nephew of *Marius*'s wife *Julia*, and having married *Cinna*'s daughter, whom all the tremendous power of the Dictator could not induce him to repudiate. He was ſaved through the interceſſion of the friends of his family; to whom, at the ſame time, *Sylla* is ſaid to have foretold, that the youth, for whom they interceded, would, one day, be the ruin of their party. *Suetonius* adds, that *Sylla* often admoniſhed the *Optimates* to be upon their guard againſt that looſe-girded boy.

Suet. in J. Cæſ. 1.

But *Cæſar*, though he thus eſcaped being murdered by the Dictator, did not think it ſafe for him to continue in *Italy*; he paſſed into *Aſia*[a], made his firſt campaigns under *Minucius Thermus*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage, and at the taking of *Mitylene*, acquired the honour of a *civic* crown, which was given him by his General.

I.I.

From thence he went to the army of *Servilius Iſauricus*, then commander againſt the pirates in *Cilicia*, but he did not ſtay long there. Upon the news of *Sylla*'s death he returned to *Rome*, and was very active in obtaining an amneſty for thoſe of the *Marian* party. Following the example of young perſons deſirous of acquiring a name, he accuſed of extortion *Dolabella*, who had been Conſul in the year 672, and on his return from his government of *Macedonia* had obtained the honour of a triumph. *Cæſar* produced a great number of witneſſes againſt the accuſed, and, though not twenty-three years of age, pleaded the cauſe in ſo maſterly a manner, that his diſcourſe was cited above an hundred years after his death, as not to be read without admiration. Nevertheleſs, *Hortenſius* and *Cotta*, who were then the leading men at the bar, ſaved *Dolabella* by their eloquence; and *Cæſar* is ſaid to have been mortified at his failure of ſucceſs. To perfect himſelf in eloquence, he ſoon after went to *Rhodes*, to hear the leſſons of *Apollonius Molo* the rhetorician, under whom *Cicero* had improved his talents. In his paſſage thither he was taken by pirates near the iſland of *Pharmacuſa*, which lies oppoſite to the city of *Miletus* in *Aſia*. To theſe robbers he behaved himſelf, though their priſoner, as if he had been their maſter. When they aſked him twenty talents for his ranſom, he laughed at them, telling them they did not know who their priſoner was, and he promiſed them fifty: After which he diſpatched moſt of his attendants to the neighbouring cities, to collect that ſum for him; and, with only his phyſician, and two domeſtics, remained

Vel. Sup. p. 179.

Auct. de Clar. Cor. Eloq. c. 34.

Plut. in J. Cæſ.

[a] *Suetonius*, who ſeems to delight in expatiating on the private vices imputed to thoſe whoſe lives he writes, tells us, that *Cæſar* incurably hurt his character, by his familiarity with *Nicomedes*, king of *Bithynia*, a prince of corrupt manners, to whoſe court he went twice; but that this was the only blot upon him of that ſort. *Pedicitiæ ejus famam nihil quidem præter Nicomedis contubernium laſt, gravem tamen & perennem aſſtrabrio & ad omnium convitia expoſito.* The hiſtorian gives us many ſevere ſtrokes upon him, but they are all from perſons intereſted to diſhonour him, and whoſe malice is evident, whether they ſpoke truth or not. His gallantries, mentioned by this writer, were not what would diſtinguiſh his character from thoſe of his contemporaries; and he had *Cato*'s teſtimony to his exemplary ſobriety. *Suet. in Cæſ.* 53.

eight

eight and thirty days in the power of thoſe villains, and during all that time maintained an air of command; ſo that when he laid down to ſleep, if they diſturbed him with their noiſe, he ſent them orders to be ſilent. To amuſe himſelf, he compoſed verſes and oratorical diſcourſes, which he afterwards read to the pirates; and, if they did not admire his performances, he called them fools and barbarians: and though he made himſelf familiar with them, and took part in their ſports and exerciſes, yet he always ſuſtained his dignity, and threatened them from time to time with crucifixion. The pirates were not diſpleaſed with his eaſy manner, and were far from taking his menaces to be ſerious. However, when he had paid them the ſum promiſed, he cauſed himſelf to be conveyed to *Miletus*, and, having there, with wonderful activity, fitted out all the ſmall veſſels he found in that port, came by ſurprize upon the pirates, who were ſtill at anchor near the iſle of *Pharmacuſa*. He ſunk ſome of their ſhips, and took others; and having put his priſoners into confinement at *Miletus*, went immediately to *Junius*, the Proconſul of *Aſia*, who was then in *Bithynia*, to aſk his orders for puniſhing them. The Proconſul, weak, avaricious, and envious of the young man's glory, anſwered, That he did not intend to have the priſoners executed, but to ſell them. *Cæſar* returned to *Miletus* with all expedition, and by his own private authority, before any orders could come from the Proconſul, cauſed the pirates to be crucified as he had often threatened them he would do: Only, to mitigate the puniſhment, he directed that their heads ſhould be firſt ſtruck off.

From thence he went to *Rhodes*, purſuant to his firſt deſign, but did not continue there long. *Mithridates* was at that time ravaging the neighbouring countries: whereupon *Cæſar*, that he might not appear idle and indolent, when the allies of *Rome* were threatened with danger, went over from *Rhodes* into *Aſia*, and, having aſſembled ſome troops, drove the king's lieutenant out of the province, and thereby kept the cities, that were wavering, from a revolt.

On his return to *Rome*, he employed all poſſible methods to make himſelf friends, gain the multitude, and draw all eyes upon him. He was frequently the advocate of the diſtreſſed; his manners were affable and polite, condeſcending to the loweſt of the People; and he was magnificent in his retinue and his table. His enemies imagined, that he would ſoon be ruined by his expences, and that his credit would expire with his patrimony. And indeed he was ruined as to his fortune; for before he obtained any magiſtracy he was thirteen hundred talents in debt; but 251 £.
his credit with the multitude had taken deep root. It ſeems to be agreed, that he was what is called a man of pleaſure, and was much in favour with the women. In his early youth he had an intrigue with *Servilia*, *Cato*'s ſiſter, the mother of *Brutus*; and riper years did not put end to it.

The firſt office which he obtained by the ſuffrages of the People, was that of *Military Tribune*, or *Tribune of the Soldiers*, and in that poſt he ſupported, with all his credit, thoſe who were for reſtoring to *the Tribunes*

of the People, all the privileges and authority, of which *Sylla* had deprived them.

The *Marian* party were much delighted with his behaviour on occaſion of the funeral of his aunt *Julia*, the widow of *Marius*. He made a ſpeech in praiſe of that lady in the Forum; and cauſed *images of* Marius to be carried in the funeral proceſſion: As no ſuch thing had been ſeen in public ſince *Sylla*'s Dictatorſhip, this boldneſs occaſioned ſome clamours; but the People anſwered them with applauſes, were tranſported with joy, and admired his courage.

At the funeral of his wife *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Cinna*, *Cæſar* increaſed the good-will and affection which the People had conceived for him. It had been cuſtomary to make funeral orations upon ancient ladies: But *Cæſar* was the firſt who did that honour to a young one, his deceaſed wife; and for ſo doing was now conſidered as a man eſtimable for the goodneſs of his heart, as before for a thouſand other ſhining qualities. Being Quæſtor[p] when he made theſe orations upon his aunt and wife, he ſoon after ſet out for *Spain*, to perform the buſineſs of that office, under the Prætor, or Proconſul, *Antiſtius Vetus*.

In the Year 688, *Cotta* and *Torquatus* being Conſuls, *Cæſar* was Ædile. In the games and theatrical[q] ſhews, which in this office he exhibited, according to cuſtom, he acquitted himſelf with a magnificence, that ſurpaſſed every thing of that kind, which had ever been ſeen.

Vid. ſup. p. 281. note (c)

To do honour to his father's memory, *Cæſar*, during his Ædileſhip, entertained the People with combats of gladiators, to the number of 320 pair; and he had provided many more, but an alarm having been ſpread in the City, the Senate paſſed a decree to fix the number of gladiators, that ſhould be allowed to fight on theſe occaſions.

Suet.

Cæſar ſeized the opportunity which his office of Ædile gave him, to place in the Capitol, during the night, certain ſtatues of *Marius*, which he had cauſed to be made ſecretly, with Victories bearing trophies, and with inſcriptions that celebrated the conqueror of the *Cimbri*. At break of day, the ſplendor of theſe ſtatues, which were maſter-pieces of art, and

[p] By the *Roman* Laws, the tie between a Quæſtor and his ſuperior was ſacred. *Cæſar*, faithful to this maxim expreſſed his gratitude and friendſhip to *Vetus*, by ſhewing great kindneſs to his ſon.

It was at this time, that, on ſeeing a ſtatue of *Alexander*, he is ſaid to have ſighed, and reproached himſelf for having done nothing at an age, at which the *Macedonian* had ſubjected the greater part of the world. He aſked his diſcharge, and quitted *Spain* before the time, animated with a paſſionate deſire to ſignalize himſelf, and raiſe his fortune.

[q] Among theſe ſhews there were ſome at the joint expence of himſelf and his colleague *Bibulus*, others which he gave at his own expence, and this occaſioned the honour of the whole to be aſcribed to *Cæſar*; whereupon *Bibulus* is ſaid to have complained, in a ſtrain of pleaſantry of his own hard fortune, ſaying, that the ſame thing had happened to him as to *Pollux*, to whom, conjointly with his brother, a temple was built in the *Forum*; and that, nevertheleſs, *Pollux* was univerſally forgot, the temple being never called by any other name, than the temple of *Caſtor*. *Suet in Cæſ.*

finely

finely gilded, drew a mighty concourſe of ſpectators, and every body admired ſo bold an act, of which the author was preſently known by all the world. Many conſidered this ſtep as an enormous crime, the honours formerly done to *Marius* having been aboliſhed by the decrees of the Senate. They ſaid, it was an eſſay of *Cæſar*'s to try what the *Roman* People were capable of bearing, and to pave his way to the tyranny. On the other hand, the *Marians*, encouraged by an event ſo pleaſing, and ſo little expected, came flocking from all parts, and, by their number, aſtoniſhed thoſe who had imagined that party to be almoſt annihilated. The Capitol in the mean time reſounded with acclamations; many even melted into tears at the ſight of thoſe ſtatues, proſcribed from the time of *Sylla*'s ſovereignty; and they extolled *Cæſar* to the ſkies, as a man worthy of the honour of being allied to *Marius*.

The affair was laid before the Senate, and it was upon this occaſion that *Catulus* [r] ſaid, *It is time, Fathers, to take care of ourſelves: for* Cæſar *no longer attacks the* COMMONWEALTH *by undermining and ſapping, but by open aſſaults.* Nevertheleſs, *Cæſar*, by his eloquence, gained the Senate's approbation of what he had done. Plut.

Suetonius tells us, that *Cæſar* having, by his ſplendid ſhews, gained the good-will of the People, engaged ſome of the Tribunes to move for a decree, by which *Egypt* ſhould be aſſigned to him a province [s]; and that the pretence for aſking this extraordinary commiſſion, was, that the *Alexandrians* had by violence expelled their king, whom the Senate had complimented with the title of Friend and Ally of the *Roman* People [t]. As *Egypt* was not a province of the empire, it is hard to gueſs what the hiſtorian

[r] Concerning this ſententious patriot, vid. ſupr. p. 282 & 285, and more hereafter.

[s] *Tentavit per partem Tribunorum, ut ſibi Ægyptus Provincia plebiſcito daretur.* Suet. c. 11.

[t] M. *Crevier* is of opinion, that what *Cæſar* wanted, was a commiſſion for reducing *Egypt* and the iſle of *Cyprus* into a *Roman* province, and this in conſequence of a Will ſaid to have been made by *Alexander* III. king of *Egypt*, who died at *Tyre*: by which Will he left the *Senate* and *People* of *Rome* all his right to the inheritance of the *Lagides*. He adds, "'Tis "difficult to decide, whether this Will was "real or only pretended. *Cicero* mentions it "in one of his orations, but without explaining himſelf clearly [*Cic. in Rull.*] Certain it is, that the Senate ſent deputies to "*Tyre*, to take poſſeſſion of the *money* depoſited there by *Alexander*. — *Cæſar* was ſupported in his project by *Craſſus*, then *Cenſor*; but he met with oppoſition from "*Craſſus*'s collegue, *Catulus*, and from ſeveral others, who maintained that there was "no ſuch Will, and that it was not for the "honour of the *Roman* People to ſeem greedy "of the inheritance of kings."

As to the pretenſion of the *Romans* to the inheritance in queſtion (ſuppoſing the Will to be genuine) M. *Crevier* gives us what he thinks the moſt probable account.

"After the death of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, the "*Egyptians* placed his daughter *Cleopatra* upon the throne. *Sylla*, then Dictator, having "with him *Ptolemy Alexander*, the ſon of another *Alexander*, *Lathyrus*'s brother, who died "before him, ſent that young prince into "*Egypt*, to reign there jointly with *Cleopatra*. "But *Alexander*, at the end of nineteen days, "cauſed *Cleopatra* to be murdered, for which "horrible cruelty he was himſelf killed by the "people of *Alexandria*. I ſuppoſe, that this "*Alexander* left a ſon of the ſame name, who, "as his father and grandfather had reigned "over *Egypt*, had well-founded pretenſions to "that kingdom, eſpecially as the legitimate "poſſe-

hiſtorian means: But, whatever the buſineſs was, *Cæſar* was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the *Optimates*, and did not carry his point.

Midd. 143. In the year 689, he was one of the *Aſſiſtant Judges* to the *Prætor*, whoſe province it was to ſit upon the *Sicarii*, that is, thoſe who were accuſed *of killing*, or *carrying a dagger with intent to kill*: and he concurred with the other Judges in condemning by *the Law of aſſaſſinate*, thoſe, who in *Sylla*'s *proſcription had been known to kill, or receive money for killing, a proſcribed Citizen*; which money *Cato*, when he was *Quæſtor* the year before, *had made them refund to the Treaſury.*

Plut. in Cat. Suet. J. Cæſ. 11.

In the preſent year, 690, he ſued for the *High-Prieſthood*, vacant by the death of *Metellus Pius*; a poſt of the firſt dignity in the Republic. The Tribune *Labienus* had opened his way to it, by the publication of a *new Law for transferring the right of electing from the college of Prieſts to the People*, agreeably to the tenor of a former Law, which had been repealed by *Sylla*. *Cæſar* carried this high office, before he had yet been *Prætor*, [being only *Prætor Elect* this year] againſt two conſiderable competitors, of the firſt authority in *Rome*, *Q. Catulus*, and *P. Servilius Iſauricus*; the one of whom had been Cenſor, and then bore the title of *Prince of the Senate*; and the other had been honoured with *a triumph*: Yet he procured *more votes againſt them, even in their own tribe, than they both had for them out of the whole number of Citizens.*

Vid. ſupr. p. 163.

Suet. J. Cæſ. 13. Pigh. Ann. tom.

Hitherto all that we have learnt of *Cæſar*, is, that he was of the firſt claſs of the Nobles, a rake in his yearly years, and a ſpendthrift, but remarkably brave and intrepid, magnanimous, polite, eloquent, generous, liberal even to profuſion: That with regard to the public affairs, he was of the popular party, and had the courage to make funeral panegyrics on his aunt *Julia*, the widow of *Marius*, and on his own wife *Cornelia*, *Cinna*'s daughter, whom he refuſed to repudiate at the command of *Sylla* [with whoſe ſovereign will and pleaſure *Pompey* ſhewed a mean compliance, by parting with *Antiſtia*:] That, when he was *Ædile*, he exhibited very fine and expenſive ſhews, and replaced in the Capitol the ſtatues of *Marius* (of

Vid. ſupr. p. 203.

" poſterity of *Lathyrus* was extinct by the " death of *Cleopatra*. The *Egyptians*, how- " ever, recognized *Ptolemy Auletes*, the natu- " ral ſon of *Lathyrus*, for their king.

" I further ſuppoſe, that the diviſions " which happened in *Egypt*, whilſt *Pompey* " was making war in *Aſia*, and which occa- " ſioned the ſending of Embaſſies to that ge- " neral, aroſe from the oppoſite pretenſions " of *Alexander* III. and *Auletes*. *Pompey* would " not take cognizance of this difference. " *Ptolemy Auletes* continued in poſſeſſion of " the throne, and *Alexander*, withdrawing to " *Tyre*, died there ſoon after.

" *Uſher* and *Prideaux*, whom M. *Rollin* has " followed in his *Ancient Hiſtory*, gives us a " different ſucceſſion of the crown of *Egypt*, " from *Lathyrus*: But, from a note upon M. " *Prideaux*'s text, I think it evident, that " *Uſher*'s opinion is not to be ſuſtained. *Græ-* " *vius*, in a note upon the firſt *Agrarian* of " *Cicero*, mentions the *third Ptolemy Alexan-* " *der*, of whom I ſpeak in this place. I " thought this a point neceſſary to be cleared " up, and I know no better means of recon- " ciling the teſtimonies of *Porphyry*, *Appian*, " *Suetonius*, *Plutarch*, and *Cicero*, than the " plan which I follow. This ſyſtem connects " all the fragments which we find upon this " ſubject in different authors."

which

which action he obtained the Senate's approbation:) That *notwithſtanding a Law made by* Sylla (as *Suetonius* ſignificantly remarks) *excepting from puniſhment the aſſaſſins, who for hire had killed the Citizens by him proſcribed* (which aſſaſſins *Cato* had the year before conſtrained, as villains and murderers, to refund the money paid them out of the treaſury, in reward of their bloody atchievements) he condemned them to ſuffer as guilty of murder: and that, by theſe popular meaſures, and his extraordinary liberality, he became ſo great a favourite, as to be preferred, for the *Huge-Prieſthood*, to two eminent Conſulars, *Catulus* and *Servilius*.

It ſeemed proper to give this ſhort ſummary, containing every thing that is *well atteſted*, and of *moment*, in *Cæſar*'s character and public conduct prior to the preſent time, that the reader may from thence, and not from the conjectures of hiſtorians, or party-men, or from predictions made of events after the events were paſt, form his judgment of the diſpoſition of this illuſtrious *Roman*, when *Cicero* was Conſul. For it may be obſerved, that almoſt all the modern writers on this ſubject have endeavoured [u], in

[u] Some conſiderations have already been offered in the foregoing ſheets, to ſhew the injuſtice done to the reader, and the inconvenience which may happen to the writer, by prefacing the hiſtory of a man's actions with his moral character; ſuch as, to the writer who has conſidered the whole tenour of his life, he may ſeem, upon the whole, to have deſerved. The character given by *Plutarch* of *Marius*, previous to what he relates of the life and actions of that famous *Roman*, furniſhed an inſtance of the injuſtice and inconvenience of that practice. What has been ſaid of *Cæſar* by ſome hiſtorians, before they relate his actions, furniſhes another.

Cicero's *Engliſh* hiſtorian, ſpeaking of the dedication of the Capitol by *Catulus* (in 684) after the rebuilding of it, writes thus:

" On the occaſion of this feſtival he is ſaid " to have introduced ſome inſtances of luxury, " not known before in *Rome*, of covering the " area, in which the People ſat, *with a purple* " *veil, imitating the colour of the ſky, and de-* " *fending it from the injuries of it, and of gild-* " *ing the tiles* of this fabric, which were made " of copper: For though the cielings of temples had before been ſometimes *gilt*, *yet this* " *was the firſt uſe of gold on the outſide of a* " *building*." *Catulus*, however, is not ſuppoſed by this writer to have had any unjuſtifiable views in his introduction of thoſe inſtances of luxury. [He was not like *Cæſar*, " *the grand* " *purpoſe of whoſe whole life was to oppreſs* " *the liberties of his country*; and who, *by his* " *prodigality, was forced to repair his own* " *ruin by ruining the Republic.*] *Cæſar*, in " the ſports exhibited for his father's funeral, " made the whole furniture of the theatre of " ſolid ſilver: But *the exceſs of his expence was* " *but in proportion to the exceſs of his ambition:* " *for the reſt were only purchaſing the Conſul-* " *ſhip, he the Empire*." But why are we to ſuppoſe, that *Cæſar* was *then* more criminally ambitious than *Catulus*? The reaſon, I ſuppoſe is, " that *Catulus*, being the ſon of that " *Catulus* who was the ableſt ſtateſman of his " time, and the chief aſſertor of the *Ariſtocra-* " *tical* intereſt, and condemned to die by " *Marius*, had inherited the *virtues*, as well " as *principles*, of his father." Whether this be any great compliment to the father, the reader will judge when he has attended to the following conjecture of our author concerning the ſon.

" *Brutus*, after ſuſtaining the ſiege of *Mo-* " *dena*, ſurrendered himſelf into *Pompey*'s " hands; but being conducted, as he deſired, " by a guard of horſe, to a certain village " upon the *Po*, [*Oroſius* ſays to *Rhegium*] he " was there killed by *Pompey*'s orders. This " act was cenſured as cruel and unjuſt, and " *Pompey* generally blamed for killing a man

Vid. ſupr. p. 89. note c.

Middl. p. 114.

p. 32.

p. 113.

p. 51.

p. 52.

in imitation of ſome of the ancients, to prepoſſeſs their readers with the moſt

" of the firſt quality, who had ſurrendered " himſelf voluntarily, and on the condition " his life: But *he acted probably by the advice* " *of* Catulus, in laying hold of the pretext of " *Brutus's treaſon* [ſo called by the conquerors] " to deſtroy a man, who, from his rank and " authority, might have been a dangerous " head to the *Marian* party, and *capable* of " *diſturbing that* Ariſtocracy which *Sylla had* " *eſtabliſhed*, and which the Senate, and *all* " *the better ſort*, were very deſirous to main- " tain." To this let it be added, that *Catulus* was by *Sylla* declared to be the *beſt man in the Republic*: From whence we may (not unreaſonably) conclude, that he was one of the *worſt*; that he was one of that tyrant's ſatellites, and had a heart, if not a hand, in all his reformations and maſſacres: And this will account for his being the zealous friend and defender of his brother ſatellite, *Catiline*; which has created a difficulty to thoſe who have entertained a high opinion of *Catulus*'s virtue, without ever aſking themſelves why; or, perhaps, becauſe they have found that *Cicero* ſpeaks well of him. Not one good action is recorded of *Catulus*, except his oppoſition to the paſſing of the *Gabinian* and *Manilian* Laws; which oppoſition we ſhall not readily aſcribe to a concern for the *public weal*, if we call to mind *his malicious proſecution* of *Cornelius*, on account of the ſeaſonable and neceſſary Laws propoſed by that honeſt Tribune. Of this proſecution, *M. Morabin* (*Cicero*'s French hiſtorian) in his excellent work, writes thus: *Les plus accreditès d'entre le Senateurs porterent temoignage contre cet ancien Tribun, et tout le peuple etoit dans une merveilleuſe perplexité ſur ce qui en arriveroit. De quoi s'agiſſoit-il au fond?* Cornelius *avoit lû lui meme ſon projet de loi; et parcequ'aucun Tribun n'en avoit uſé ainſi avant lui, faute peut-etre de s'etre trouvé dans les memes circonſtances, il plaiſoit à* Hortenſius, *à* Catulus, *à* Metellus Pius, *à* Lucullus, *et à* M. Æmilius Lepidus, *d'en faire un crime* [*de Léze Majeſté*] *à ce Magiſtrat, pretendant qu'il avoit autant qu'il etoit en lui rendu inutile la voye d'oppoſition. Le veritable attendat — c'etoit de leur avoir fait perdre le droit de diſpenſer des loix. Tant il eſt vrai que les plus honnetes gens ſont ſujets à s'oublier lorſqu'on les attaque ſur leurs intérêts.*

Vid. ſupr. p. 282, 285. Hiſt de Cic. p. 90.

Again, *Cicero*'s *Engliſh hiſtorian*, ſpeaking of the Law, propoſed by *Manilius* in favour of *Pompey*, tells us, that " *J. Cæſar* was a zealous promoter of this law; but from a different motive than the love either of *Pompey*, or the Republic: *His deſign* was *to recommend himſelf by it to the* People, *whoſe favour, he foreſaw, would be of more uſe to him than the* Senate's. Midd. p. 128

And was not this the deſign of *Cicero* in his zealous defence of the *Manilian* Law? Let us hear his panegyriſt. Vid. ſupr. p. 222.

" *He was now in the career of his fortunes, and in ſight as it were of the Conſulſhip, the grand object of his ambition; ſo that his conduct was ſuſpected to flow from an intereſted view of facilitating his own advancement, by paying his court to* Pompey's *power*: " But the *reaſons* already intimated [The " reaſons are; " The mutinous ſpirit in *Lucullus*'s troops, and the loſs of his authority " with them, which *Glabrio* was ſtill leſs qualified to ſuſtain, — and *Pompey*'s ſucceſs " againſt the Pirates, and his being upon the " ſpot with a great army] and *Pompey*'s ſingular character of modeſty and abſtinence, " joined to the ſuperiority of his military " fame, *might*, *probably*, *convince him*, that it " was not only ſafe, but neceſſary at this time, " to commit a war, which nobody elſe could " finiſh, to ſuch a general; and a power, which " nobody elſe ought to be entruſted with, to " ſuch a man. This he himſelf *ſolemnly affirms*, " in the concluſion of his ſpeech: *I call the* " *Gods to witneſs*, ſays he, *and eſpecially thoſe* " *who preſide over this temple, and inſpect the* " *minds of all who adminiſter the public affairs*, " *that I neither do this at the deſire of any one*, " *nor to conciliate* Pompey's *favour, nor to procure from any man's greatneſs*, either a ſupport in dangers, or *aſſiſtance in honours*: — " *Whatever pains I have taken in this cauſe*, " *I have taken it all, I aſſure you, for the ſake* " *of the Republic.* — After ſo many honours received from you, and this very honour [the " Prætorſhip] which I now enjoy, I have " made it my reſolution, Citizens, to prefer " your will, the dignity of the Republic, and " the ſafety of the provinces, to all my own " intereſts and advantages whatſoever." Midd. Vol. I. p. 127.

That

moſt favourable opinion of *Cæſar*'s heart and deſigns before he

Middl. Vol. II. p. 512.

That the able hiſtorian and panegyriſt of the ſaint, *who, now probably, in the regions above, lives in the fruition of endleſs happineſs*, did not, in the preſent inſtance, believe him, notwithſtanding his *ſolemn affirmation*, we may gather, I think, not only from ſome words in the beginning of the paſſage above cited, but more evidently from what he ſays on occaſion of the ſaint's obtaining the Conſulſhip.

Midd. p. 148.

" *Cicero* was now arrived, through the uſual " gradation of honours, at the higheſt which " the People could regularly give, or an ho- " neſt Citizen deſire.---The ſubordinate Ma- " giſtracies, therefore, being the ſteps only to " this ſovereign dignity, were not valued ſo " much for their own ſake, as for bringing " the candidates ſtill nearer to the principal " object of their hopes, who, thro' this courſe " of their ambition, *were forced to practiſe all* " *the arts of popularity*; to court the little as " well as the great, *to eſpouſe the principles and* " *politics in vogue, and to apply their talents* " *to conciliate friends, rather than to ſerve the* " *Public. But the Conſulſhip put an end to* " *this ſubjection, and with the command of the* " *State gave them the command of themſelves:* " ſo that the only care left was how to execute " this high office with credit and dignity, and " employ the power entruſted to them for the " benefit and ſervice of their country.

" *We are now, therefore, to look upon* Cicero " *in a different light, in order to form a juſt idea* " *of his character:* To conſider him *not as an* " *ambitious courtier, applying all his thoughts* " *and pains to his own advancement*; but as a " great Magiſtrate and Statеſman; adminiſ- " tering the affairs, and directing the coun- " cils of a mighty empire."

The extract given above (p. 222.) from *the Obſervations on the Life and Writings of* Cicero, furniſhes a plain proof, that the candid author of that elegant piece does not believe what the orator ſwears, on this occaſion, concerning his diſintereſtedneſs: neither does M. *Crevier* believe him, as the reader may ſee by the note in the ſame page.

† Lib. vi. p. 21. Vid. Pref. to Midd Life of Cic. p. xxv.

Well---But *Cicero*'s hiſtorian, upon the authority of *Dio* † [whoſe authority is to be of great weight when he places *Cæſar* in a bad light, but of no weight when he ſpeaks diſadvantageouſly of *Cicero*] tells us, that *Cæſar* had, beſide the deſign of recommending himſelf to the PEOPLE, another [leſs manifeſt to the world;] and this was, " *To caſt a freſh* " *load of envy upon* Pompey, *which*, by ſome " accident, *might be improved afterwards to* " *his hurt.*" Nor was this the worſt; for " His CHIEF VIEW was to make the precedent " familiar, that whatever uſe *Pompey* might " make of it, he himſelf might, one day, make " a bad one. For this is the common effect " of breaking thro' the barrier of the Laws, by " which many States have been ruined, when, " from a confidence in the abilities and " integrity of ſome eminent Citizen, *they in-* " *veſt him*, on preſſing occaſions, *with extra-* " *ordinary powers*, for the common benefit " and defence of the ſociety: for tho' power " ſo entruſted may, in particular caſes, be " of ſingular ſervice, and *ſometimes neceſſary*." [N. B. Theſe two words, *ſometimes neceſſary*, ſeem to be thruſt into the period merely for the ſake of *Cicero*, who, during his Conſulſhip, was *inveſted with the extraordinary powers* referred to] " yet the example is al- " ways dangerous, furniſhing a perpetual pre- " tence to the ambitious and ill-deſigning to " graſp at every prerogative, which had been " granted at any time to the virtuous, till " the ſame power, which would ſave a coun- " try in good hands, oppreſſes it at laſt in " bad."

Midd. p. 128.

We ſhall hereafter ſee, that this is the very argument made uſe of by *Julius Cæſar* againſt *Cicero*'s diſpenſing with the Laws, in virtue of his unconſtitutional, and (in thoſe times, when very few of the nobles were better men than *Catiline* himſelf) moſt dangerous powers from the Senate: Powers, with which, in all probability, *Cicero* would have been very unwilling to ſee any man of the popular party inveſted, though even for the cruſhing of *Catiline*'s conſpiracy. But the argument, perhaps, is of no force in the mouth of *Cæſar*, becauſe he was not of the number of *Cicero*'s *honeſt men*.

What *Cicero*'s *Engliſh* hiſtorian has hazarded concerning *Cæſar*, when ſitting as Judge on the *Sicarii*, I ſhall take notice of in the hiſtory of *Catiline*; and likewiſe of the *ſuſpicions* entertained of *Cæſar*'s being engaged in *Catiline*'s firſt plot. [The concern which *Cæſar* had in the affair of *Rabirius* has been already conſidered.]

Vid. ſupr. p. 295. Note (a)

To

he makes his appearance upon the ſtage in the great ſcenes of action.

To endeavour to blaſt the character of *Cæſar as a Citizen of Rome*, before any mention of facts, by him committed, that really diſhonour him as ſuch, is not peculiar to *Cicero*'s *Engliſh* hiſtorian. M. *Crevier* having mentioned what *Sylla* anſwered to *Cæſar*'s friends and advocates, *In that boy I ſee many Marius*'s, thus proceeds. *Never was prediction more exactly verified; and it proves that* Sylla *had great penetration, and knew mankind extremely well.* How was this prediction verified? In what did *Cæſar* reſemble *Marius*, except in military ſkill, courage, activity and fortitude? Did *Cæſar* reſemble him in cruelty and abuſe of Power? *Cæſar*, in making himſelf *monarch* of the State, was more like *Sylla* than *Marius*, but he reſembled neither of them in their bad qualities. And *Sylla*'s *ſecond ſight* ſeems to amount to no more than a diſcovery, that *Cæſar* had too much ſpirit and honour to divorce his wife, meerly becauſe ſuch a monſter as *Sylla* hated her as *Cinna*'s daughter.

Crev. Vol. X. p. 465.

Vell. ſup. p. 151.

Again, "As ſoon as *Cæſar* was informed of "*Sylla*'s death, he returned ſuddenly to *Rome*, "*principally from the hope of ſeeing new diſturbances, and to take advantage of the commotions raiſed by* Lepidus----his inclination "for that [the popular] faction manifeſted itſelf by the *ardour with which he laboured to "obtain an amneſty for thoſe who had been engaged in it* (and were in exile.) Every "thing being quiet in the Commonwealth, "*Cæſar, who had not yet ſufficient power to "excite commotions in it*, &c.

Crev. Vol. X. p. 473.

Ib. p. 478, 479.

"*The ambitious deſigns he* then *revolved in "his mind* more eaſily eſcaped the penetration "of the moſt diſcerning, as he was a man of "pleaſure, or more properly ſpeaking, abandoned to debauchery----People could not "conceive, that he could unite ſo ſerious and "ſo arduous a deſign, as that of changing the "form of the Commonwealth, with a life "that ſeemed entirely engroſſed by ſ llies "and voluptuouſneſs. *Cicero* himſelf, whoſe "penetration was ſo great, and who foreſaw "events at ſo great a diſtance [or rather was "one of the moſt ſhort-ſighted of mankind, "as will appear hereafter] was at a loſs in reſpect of *Cæſar*. *I diſcovered*, ſaid he, *in all "his enterpriſes, and his whole conduct, a plan "continually purſued for raiſing himſelf to the tyranny*. But when *I obſerved how curiouſly and "ſkilfully his locks were adjuſted, and ſaw him "ſcratching his head with one finger, it could "not enter into my imagination, that ſuch a man "was capable of forming, and executing, the deſign of ſubverting the* Roman *Commonwealth.*" [N. B. *Plutarch* adds, *but this was not ſaid till a long time after*; ſo that *Cicero* foretold an event after it was paſt.]

"*It is not to be doubted, but he had that object in view from his earlieſt years*: For we "find no ſtep of his, that does not tend there"to, and this determinately and directly." How does this appear? Why, "He always "ſhews himſelf intent upon reanimating the "*faction of the people*, reviving the *Marian* "party, and oppoſing that of *Sylla*. The "firſt office, which he obtained by the ſuf"frages of the People, was the *Tribuneſhip of "the ſoldiers*; and, in that poſt, he *ſupported "with all his credit thoſe, who were for reſtoring to the Tribunes of the People all the "right and authority, of which* Sylla *had deprived them.*" [And which *Pompey* did actually reſtore to them; herein doing well and wiſely in the judgment of *Cicero*.]

"*On arriving in* Italy [*from* Spain] *he ſeized the firſt occaſion that offered for raiſing "diſturbances*; and as he knew, that the States "of *Gallia Tranſpadana*, who enjoyed only "the privileges of *Latium*, ardently deſired "to obtain the freedom of *Rome*, *he made a "tour through their country, to exhort them to "act, and would have made them riſe and take "arms, if the Conſuls had not kept in* Italy *the "troops that were to have been ſent againſt* "Mithridates. *Thus this attempt of* Cæſar's "*proved abortive*, &c." This attempt, which has neither *motive* nor *conſequence apparent*, is imputed to *Cæſar* upon the authority of *Suetonius* alone; who ſpeaks of ſome *Roman colonies*, without mentioning *Gallia Tranſpadana*, or any other country; and tells us, not any evil that *Cæſar* did, but what *he would have done, if*, &c.

Speaking of *Labienus*'s proſecution of *Rabirius*,—— "*Cæſar* ſet him to work; and "being always intent upon depreſſing the "authority of the Senate, and exalting the "faction of the People, *made no ſcruple to "employ the moſt odious means for attaining his "ends.*" Vol. XI. p. 445.

LUCIUS SERGIUS CATILINA [u], of an illuſtrious family, (from which *Conſuls*, and *Military Tribunes with Conſular power*, had frequently been taken to govern the State) was a man of ſingular ſtrength both of body and mind, but of a diſpoſition extremely vicious. He had a head to contrive, a tongue to perſuade, and a hand to execute, the hardieſt attempt. From his youth up, he took pleaſure in civil broils, civil wars, rapine, and maſſacres. He was wonderfully conſtituted for enduring cold, hunger, and want of reſt; of a ſpirit daring, and inſidious; expert in all the arts of diſguiſe and diſſimulation; greedily covetous of other mens wealth, laviſh of his own; violent in his paſſions, eloquent enough, but not endowed with much wiſdom. His boundleſs ambition hurried him into extravagant and romantic projects, making him aſpire to things greatly beyond the reach of his abilities. Sallu. & Cic.

Salluſt reports, that *Catiline*, when a very young man, had been engaged in many ſcandalous intrigues; that he had debauched a young lady of illuſtrious birth, and even a Veſtal Nun: and that at laſt (*poſtremo*, i. e. not long before his conſpiracy) he fell in love with *Aurelia Creſtilla*, in whom no good man ever ſaw any thing to commend but her beauty; and finding her indiſpoſed to marry him, becauſe he had a ſon grown to man's eſtate, whom ſhe did not like for a *ſon-in-law*, he murdered him (at leaſt it was confidently ſo believed) to facilitate the wicked nuptials. *And this* (ſays the hiſtorian) *in my opinion, was what hurried him to the execution of his atrocious enterprize. For his polluted ſoul, full of rage againſt both Gods and Men, could find no reſt either waking or ſleeping, ſo inceſſantly did a guilty conſcience torment him.* Hence his face pale, his countenance ghaſtly, his gait and motion unequal, now quick, then ſlow; in a word, his appearance was that of a man out of his ſenſes.

He had probably been Quæſtor in the year 676, or 677, and after the expiration of his Quæſtorſhip, Lieutenant to *Scribonius Curio*, Proconſul of *Macedon*, A. U. 678: and he was Prætor at *Rome* in 686. Vid. Pigh.

At the Conſular election, which was held in the ſummer of 687, *P. Autronius Pætus* and *P. Cornelius Sylla* were declared Conſuls: But their election was no ſooner publiſhed, than they were accuſed of bribery and corruption by the *Calpurnian Law*, and being brought to trial, and found guilty before their entrance into office, their accuſers and competitors, *L. Manlius Torquatus* and *L. Aurelius Cotta*, were proclaimed Conſuls elect. *Some little time after this*, Catiline, who, on the expiration of his *Prætorſhip*, had obtained * the province of *Afric*, came to *Rome* to ſue for the Conſulſhip; but, being accuſed of extortion Salluſt. * Cic. pro Cæl.

[u] *Catiline* was great grandſon to *Marcus Sergius Silus*, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery on many occaſions, in the war of *Hannibal*.

and

and rapine in that government, was not permitted to purſue his pretenſions [w].

Dio, lib. xxxvi. Vid. Pigh. ad ann. 687.

At this time *Cn. Piſo*, a young nobleman, extremely bold, indigent, and factious, was inſtigated by his poverty, and depraved morals, to raiſe diſturbances in the State: with him *Catiline* and *Autronius* entered

[w] *Te vero, Catilina, conſulatum ſperare aut cogitare non prodigium atque portentum eſt? a quibus enim petis? a principibus civitatis, qui tibi cùm L. Volcatius Coſ. in Conſilio fuiſſet*, ne petendi quidem poteſtatem eſſe voluerunt? *In Tog. Cand.*

Cicero's *Engliſh* hiſtorian imagines, that *Catiline* came from *Afric* to ſtand candidate at the *Conſular election* held *this year*. His words are "*came to* Rome this year *to appear*
Vol. XI. p. 362. "*a candidate at the election.*" And M. *Crevier* writes, ſeemingly, to the ſame effect.---"The *Africans* ſent deputies to *Rome* to com-"plain of the oppreſſions and violences of "their governor *(Catiline)* and many very "ſevere cenſures were paſſed upon him in the "Senate." *(Catilina ex prætura Africam provinciam obtinuit, quam cùm graviter vexaſſet, legati Afri in Senatu tum abſente illo quæſti ſunt, multæque graves ſententiæ in Senatu de eo dictæ ſunt.* Aſcon. in Tog. Cand.) "This, "however, did not hinder him from return-"ing to the City——when *Lepidus* and *Vol-"catius* were Conſuls (*i. e.* in 687.) to ſtand "for the Conſulſhip. But he no ſooner arri-"ved, than he was accuſed of extortion by "*Clodius*.——This accuſation hindred his ap-"pearing among the candidates.---The elec-"tion of the Conſuls excited a great commo-"tion.---*P. Sylla* and *P. Autronius* had been "nominated: but two of their competitors, "*L. Cotta* and *L. Torquatus*, having accuſed "them of bribery, and proved the charge "againſt them, they were deprived of their "office, and their accuſers nominated in their "ſtead."

Father *Catrou*, after enumerating the *Crimes* of *Catiline*, writes thus:

Tom. 15. p. 557, 558. "Such was the villain who appeared in a "*white robe* in the preſence of the People, to "*diſpute the Conſulate with Torquatus* and "*Cotta*." The father does not ſuppoſe, that *Catiline* came to *Rome* time enough to be competitor with *Autronius* and *Sylla*; but arrived after they, being convicted of bribery and corruption, were declared diſqualified for the office: and the father ſuppoſes, that the People went to a *new election*, at which *Catiline* would have ſtood candidate, but was not ſuffered ſo to do, becauſe of the complaints brought againſt him from *Africa*, and becauſe his trial was not over till after the Comitia, where *Torquatus* and *Cotta* were choſen Conſuls; and this accords better with *Salluſt*'s account, than what is ſaid by the two other writers: For it is plain, from the words of the *Latin* hiſtorian, that the decree, which prohibited *Catiline*'s ſuing for the Conſulſhip, was not till after the election of *Autronius* and *Sylla* to that Magiſtracy, and after their diſgrace. *L. Tullo M. Lepido coſſ. P. Autronius & P. Sulla, deſignati conſules, legibus ambitus interrogati, pœnas dederant.* Poſt paullo *Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum* reus *prohibitus erat petere conſulatum, quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverit.* And may we not underſtand the words *petere conſulatum* to mean no more here than *ambire magiſtratum in toga candida?* It would ſeem that *Catiline*'s coming to *Rome*, in 687, was not in the hope of being choſen Conſul at the election of *that year*, but to make intereſt, and ſecure friends, againſt the Conſular election of the *next year* [688.] For, as Mr. *Kennet* obſerves, thoſe, who aſpired to that office, generally declared their pretenſions *about a year before the election*, all which time they ſpent in making circuits round the City to ſolicit votes. And ſo Dr. *Middleton* himſelf, in ſpeaking of *Cicero*'s ſuing for the Conſulſhip, tells us, that "there were *two years neceſſarily* Midd. "to intervene between the Prætorſhip and p. 133. "Conſulſhip, the FIRST of which was *uſually* "ſpent in forming a general intereſt, and ſoli-"citing for it, as it were, *in a private manner*" (that is, as he explains himſelf afterwards, mixing with the croud, careſſing and ſaluting the Citizens by name, when the whole City was aſſembled in the field of *Mars:*) The SECOND *in ſuing for it openly in the proper form and habit of a candidate.* And this latter ſeems to have been *Catiline*'s purpoſe: He came

entered into a combination, about the fifth of *December*, to aſſaſſinate the Conſuls *Torquatus* and *Cotta*, in the Capitol, on the firſt of *January*; which done, *Autronius* and *Cataline* were to ſeize the Conſulſhip, and ſend *Piſo* with an army to take poſſeſſion of both *Spains*. But their project ſome-how getting air, they deferred the intended aſſaſſination to the fifth of *February*; at which time they propoſed to murder not only the Conſuls, but moſt of the Senators. And if *Catiline* had not been ſo haſty as to give the ſignal, when not a ſufficient number of his aſſociates were yet aſſembled before the door of the Senate-houſe (which fruſtrated the deſign,) on that day had been perpetrated the moſt wicked deed that *Rome* had ever beheld ſince the foundation of the City. Sallust.

Not long after this diſappointment, *Piſo*, though he had no higher office than that of *Quæſtor*, was ſent into further *Spain* with the authority of *Prætor*. He obtained the commiſſion by the intereſt of *Craſſus*, who, knowing him to be a bitter enemy of *Pompey*, favoured him for that reaſon: nor indeed was the Senate backward to grant him the province; thinking it an advantage to keep ſo troubleſome a Citizen at a great diſtance from *Rome*; and beſides, there were many who thought he might prove a good defence againſt the power of *Pompey*, which was become formidable. But *Piſo*, in the way to his province, was murdered by ſome *Spaniſh* horſe of his own army. The hiſtorian adds, "Some ſay, this was owing "to his unjuſt, haughty, cruel behaviour in command, which the Barba- "rians were not able to endure. Others pretend, that thoſe troopers "were ſome old truſty clients of *Pompey* and that by him they were inſti- "gated to the murder[a]."

In

at the proper time to ſolicit and ſecure friends to ſupport him at the next Conſular election; which would be in 688. If he had ſtood candidate, and had been choſen this year, 687, there would have been but *one* year between his *Prætorſhip* and *Conſulſhip*; and he could not have ſpent more time in ſolicitation, than the ſhort interval between the condemnation of *Autronius* and *Sylla*, and the nomination of *Torquatus* and *Cotta* in their place. Add to this, that as *Catiline*, notwithſtanding his eagerneſs to get the Conſulſhip, did not ſtand candidate at the election of 688, we may reaſonably preſume, that he was barred from it by the accuſation brought againſt him of extortion and oppreſſion in his government.

Midd. p. 131.

[a] This is *Salluſt*'s account. *Cicero*'s *Engliſh* hiſtorian has choſen to add ſome particulars out of *Suetonius*. "This diſgrace of men "ſo powerful and deſperate, [*Autronius*, *Sylla*, "and *Catiline*], engaged them preſently *in a* "*conſpiracy againſt the State*," in which it was reſolved to *kill the new Conſuls*, with ſeveral others of the Senate, and ſhare the government among themſelves: But the effect of it was prevented by ſome information given of the deſign, which was too precipitately laid for execution. *Cn. Piſo*, an audacious, needy, factious young nobleman, was privy to it; and, as *Suetonius* ſays, (upon the authority of a rabble of writers, *Tanucius Geminus*, *Auctorius Naſo*, &c.) two more of much greater weight, *M. Craſſus* and *J. Cæſar*; the firſt of whom was to be created Dictator, the ſecond his maſter of the horſe. But *Craſſus*'s heart failing him, either through fear or repentance, he did not appear at the appointed time, ſo that *Cæſar* would not give the ſignal agreed upon, of letting his robe drop from his ſhoulder. The Senate was particularly

In the Conſulſhip of *L. Torquatus* and *L. Cotta* [A. U. 688 [b]] *Catiline* was brought to a trial *for his oppreſſions in* Afric. Of his guilt nobody doubted. *Cicero*, in a letter written ſome time before the trial, ſays to *Atticus*, *If it ſhall be judged that at noon day it is not light, I ſhall certainly have* Catiline *for a competitor* [c]. Nevertheleſs, the criminal had, for his advocate, even the Conſul *Torquatus*; who, though not unacquainted (if we may believe *Cicero*) with the rumour of his client's having entered into a treaſonable conſpiracy, gave no credit to it at that time [d]: nor did the illuſtrious advocate find any great difficulty in getting his client acquitted: For *P. Clodius*, the proſecutor, a young nobleman as profligate as *Catiline* himſelf, agreed for a ſum of money to betray the cauſe, by ſuffering the criminal to have, in reality, the nomination of the Judges [e].

And the very next year (689) when *Cicero* was a candidate, *in form*, for the Conſulſhip, *Catiline*, being then free, ſtood againſt him for the ſame dignity. It has been mentioned, that, during that competition, in order to give a check to the open and ſhameful practice of bribery and

jealous of *Piſo*, and hoping to cure his diſaffection by making him eaſy in his fortunes, or to remove him, at leaſt, from the cabals of his aſſociates, gave him the government of *Spain*, at the inſtance of *Craſſus*, who ſtrenuouſly ſupported him as a determined enemy to *Pompey*. But, before his ſetting out, *Cæſar* and he *are ſaid* ſaid to have entered into a new and ſeparate engagement, that the one ſhould begin ſome diſturbance abroad, while the other was to prepare and inflame matters at home: But this plot alſo was defeated, by the unexpected death of *Piſo*; who was aſſaſſinated by the *Spaniards*, as ſome ſay, for his cruelty, or, as others, by *Pompey*'s clients, and at the inſtigation of *Pompey* himſelf.

Tome XI. p. 364. M. *Crevier*, though not over favourable to *Cæſar*, writes thus: "I cannot readily believe that *Cæſar*, whoſe diſpoſition was always far from cruel, could have a part in ſo horrid a deſign, [the maſſacre of the Conſuls and Senators.] I might ſay almoſt as much for *Craſſus*."

Neither the authority of *Suetonius*, nor that of *Dio*, ought to be of great weight with us on this head, ſeeing they charge *Sylla* with the ſame confidence that they charge *Autronius*; yet *Sylla* is not once mentioned by *Salluſt*, as either guilty, or even ſuſpected of the preſent conſpiracy; and, being afterwards accuſed of it, was defended by *Hortenſius*, and acquitted: and *Cicero* warmly aſſerts his innocence.

b It was in this year, as *Cicero* tells us, that thoſe prodigies happened, which were interpreted to portend *the great dangers and plots that were now hatching againſt the State, and broke out two years after in* Cicero's *Conſulſhip*; *when the turrets of the Capitol, the ſtatues of the Gods, and the brazen image of the infant* Romulus *ſucking the wolf, were ſtruck down by lightening*. In Catil. iii. 8. Midd. p. 140.

c Catilina, ſi judicatum erit meridie non lucere, certus erit competitor. *Lib.* I. *Ep.* i. *ad Attic.*

d Quin etiam parens tuus, *Torquate* Conſul reo de pecuniis repetundis, *Catilinæ* fuit advocatus—cui cùm atfuit poſt delatam ad eum primam illam conjurationem, indicavit ſe audiſſe aliquid, non credidiſſe. *Orat. pro Sylla*, 29. N. B. *Torquatus*, *Sylla*'s accuſer, to whom *Cicero* addreſſes himſelf, was the ſon of that *Torquatus*, who, when Conſul, had defended *Catiline*.

e A Catilina pecuniam accepit, ut turpiſſimè prævaricaretur. *De Haruſp. Reſp.* 20.

Hoc judicio abſolutus eſt Catilina, infamia judicum. Ut & Clodius infamis fuerit, quippe qui prævaricatus eſt. Nam & *rejectio judicum ad arbitrium rei videbatur eſſe facta*. Aſcon. in Tog. Cand.

corruption

corruption of *Antonius* and *Catiline*, a new and more rigorous Law, than any in force was propoſed, but did not paſs; becauſe the Tribune *Mucius Oreſtinus* put his negative upon it. "This Tribune had been "*Cicero*'s client, and defended by him in an impeachment of plunder "and robbery; but, having now ſold himſelf to his enemies, made "it the ſubject of all his harangues to ridicule his birth and character "as unworthy of the Conſulſhip: In the debate, therefore, which aroſe "in the Senate upon the merit of his negative, *Cicero*, provoked to find "ſo deſperate a confederacy againſt him, roſe up, and, after ſome raillery "and expoſtulation with *Mucius*, made a moſt ſevere invective on the "flagitious lives and practices of *his two competitors*, in a ſpeech uſually "called *In Toga Candida*, becauſe it was delivered *in a white gown*, the "proper habit *of all candidates*, and from which the name itſelf was de-"rived." Midd. p. 142. Aſcon. in Tog. Cand.

In this ſpeech *Cicero* reproaches *Catiline* with all his crimes and vices, and particularly with his inceſtuous wickedneſs [f]; his late plotting with *Piſo* to cut off the chiefs of the Senate [g]; and his grievous *oppreſſions* of the *Africans* [h]: and he intimates to him in a kind of menace, that, though, through the iniquity of the Judges, he had been acquitted

[f] Hanc tu habes dignitatem, quâ fretus me contemnis & deſpicis? an eam quam reliquâ vitâ es conſecutus? cum ita vixiſti ut non eſſet locus tam ſanctus, quo non adventus tuus, etiam cùm culpa nulla ſubeſſet, crimen adferret. *In Tog. Cand.*

Fabio virgo veſtalis cauſam inceſti dixerat, cùm ei Catilina objiceretur. Eratque abſoluta hæc Fabia, quia ſoror erat Terentiæ Ciceronis, ideo ſic dixit *etiam ſi culpa nulla ſubeſſet*; ita & *ſuis pepercit, & nihilo levius inimico ſummi opprobrii turpitudinem objecit.* Aſcon. in loc.

Cùm deprehendebare in adulteriis; cùm deprehendebas adulteros ipſe; cùm ex eodem ſtupro tibi & uxorem & filiam inveniſti. *In Tog. Cand.*

Dicitur Catilinam adulterium commiſiſſe cum eâ, quæ ei poſtea ſocrus fuit; eo ſtupro duxiſſe uxorem cum filia ejus eſſet. Hæc Luceius *quoque* Catilinæ *objicit in orationibus, quas in eum ſcripſit.* Aſcon. in loc.

[g] Prætereo illum nefarium conatum tuum & pene acerbum & luctuoſum populo Romano diem, cum, Cn. Piſone ſocio, neque alio nemine cædem optimatum facere voluiſti. *In Tog. Cand.*

N. B. *Cicero* ſpeaks here of this plot as a fact known: yet, in his *Orat. pro Sylla*, he ſays, it was not known at the time of *Catiline*'s trial in 688, nor known at the time of his ſecond trial when all the *Conſulars* appeared for him.

[h] Te vero, Catilina, conſulatum ſperare aut cogitare non prodigium atque portentum eſt? a quibus enim petis? – a principibus civitatis? qui tibi cùm L. Volcatius Conſul in Conſilio fuiſſet, ne petendi quidem poteſtatem eſſe voluerunt: – a ſenatoribus? qui te auctoritate ſuâ, ſpoliatum ornamentis omnibus, vinctum pene Africanis oratoribus tradiderunt.

Ne ſe jam tum reſpexit cum graviſſimis veſtris decretis abſens notatus eſt.

In judiciis quanta vis eſſet, didicit, cum eſt abſolutus, ſi aut illud judicium, aut illa abſolutio nominanda eſt —— diripuit ſocios, leges, quæſtionis judicia violavit; — quid ego ut violaveris provinciam prædicem? nam ut te illic geſſeris non audeo dicere, quoniam abſolutus es. Mentitos eſſe equites Romanos, falſas eſſe tabellas honeſtiſſimæ civitatis exiſtimo: mentitum Q. Metellum Pium, mentitam Africam; vidiſſe puto neſcio quid illos judices, qui te innocentem judicarunt: *Oh miſer! qui non ſentias illo judicio te non abſolutum, verùm ad aliquod ſeverius judicium ac majus ſupplicium reſervatum.* In Tog. Cand.

on his trial for *extortion* and *rapine* in *Afric*, he would *be brought into judgment again*; *and, for his cruel murder of* Marius Gratidianus [b] (a man dear to the People) *and others, proſcribed by* Sylla (crimes which he could not have the impudence to deny) *would be condemned to a ſeverer puniſhment than could have been inflicted on him for his male-adminiſtration in* Afric, *had he been convicted of it.* And we find, that *Catiline*, in the very year when *Cicero* pronounced this invective, was tried for thoſe murders before the Judges who ſat upon the *Sicarii*, and who, though they condemned *Bellienus*, *Catiline*'s uncle, for killing *Ofella* *, and condemned *Luſcius*, and other ſatellites of *Sylla*, for killing Citizens by him proſcribed, acquitted *Catiline*, than whom none was more notoriouſly, or more odiouſly guilty. *Aſconius* [c] ſays, that this trial was after *Catiline*'s repulſe from the Conſulſhip; which indeed is ſufficiently ſupported by *Cicero*'s now threatening him with it as a danger to which he remained expoſed [d].

He was killed by a centurion, according to Plutarch.

But what ſeems here the moſt worthy of remark is, that the cruel murders with which *Cicero*, in his invective, reproaches *Catiline*, murders notorious, facts confeſſed, and which the Orator has, in ſeveral parts of his writings, painted in the moſt ſhocking colours [e], are the very crimes from the puniſhment of which he once reſolved to defend the

[b] Quem amicum habere poteſt is, qui tot cives trucidavit? [*Conſulatum petis*] ab equeſtri ordine? quem trucidâſti.

A Plebe?—cui ſpectaculum ejuſmodi tua crudelitas præbuit, ut nemo ſine luctu aſpicere, ſine gemitu recordari poſſit. Ibid.

Ejuſdem illius Marii Gratidiani quod caput geſtarit, objicit quo loco dicit Catilinam caput M. Marii geſtaſſe, quod caput etiam tum plenum animæ & ſpiritus ad Sullam uſque ab Janiculo ad ædem Apollinis manibus ipſe ſuis detulit. Aſcon. in loc.

Populum vero, cùm inſpectante populo collum ſecuit hominis maxime popularis, quanti facerit, oſtendit. *In Tog. Cand.*

Quid tu potes in defenſione tua dicere, quod illi [Luſcius & Bellienus] non dixerunt? Quæ tibi dicere non licebit.--Denique ille negare potuerunt, & negaverunt: tu tibi ne inficiandi quidem impudentiæ locum reliquiſti. Quare præclara dicentur judicia tuliſſe, ſi, qui inficiantem *Luſcium* condemnarunt, *Catilinam* abſolverint confitentem. *In Tog. Cand.*

[c] The ſame *Aſconius* tells us, that *Antonius* and *Catiline*, in their anſwer to this invective, dwelt wholly on the obſcurity of the Orator's birth, his being a *new-man*. Aſcon. in Tog. Cand.

[d] Hujus autem criminis periculum, quod objicit Cicero, paucos poſt menſes Catilina ſubiit, poſt effecta enim comitia conſularia & Catilinæ repulſam, fecit eum reum inter Sicarios L. Lucullus [Luceius] paratus erudituſque, qui poſtea conſulatum quoque petiit. Ibid.

[e] *Quintus Cicero*, in his letter to his brother *Marcus*, *De Petit. Conſulat.* mentions the ſhocking barbarity of *Catiline*. Quid ego nunc dicam petere eum conſulatum, qui hominem cariſſimum Populo Rom. M. Marium inſpectante Populo Rom. vitibus per totam urbem ceciderit? ad buſtum egerit [Q. Catuli] ibi *omni cruciatu vivum lacerarit?* Stanti collum gladio ſua dextra ſecuerit, cùm ſiniſtra capillum ejus a vertice teneret? Caput ſua manu tulerit, cùm inter digitos ejus rivi ſanguinis fluerunt? [*Quintus* adds, with regard to *Catiline*'s general courſe of life] Qui poſtea cum hiſtrionibus & cum gladiatoribus ita vixit, ut alteros libidinis, alteros facinoris adjutores haberet? Qui nullum in locum tam ſanctum, ac tam religioſum acceſſit, in quo non, etſi in aliis culpa non eſſet, tamen ex ſua nequitia *dedecoris ſuſpicionem* relinquerit?

criminal,

criminal, for the ſake of making him his friend; and unqueſtionably would have defended, had *Catiline* been accuſed in form, and brought to trial *before* the Conſular elections of 689; and provided he would have condeſcended to be the Orator's partner and aſſociate in canvaſſing for the Conſulſhip at that election. It ſeems very plain, that *all the Conſulars* did appear for *Catiline* (when brought to trial *after* his repulſe) thoſe Senators whom *Cicero* calls *good and honeſt men, and friends of the Republic:* It is no wonder therefore that he was acquitted.

In juſtice to the reader it ought to be here confeſſed, that the foregoing account of the *two trials of* Catiline, the one for *oppreſſions*, the other for *murder*, does not accord with what is ſaid of them, by certain modern writers, who, with great reaſon, are much eſteemed. Two letters from *Cicero* to *Atticus*, in each of which mention is made of ſome accuſation on which *Catiline* was to be tried, have occaſioned a deal of perplexity to the *commentators* upon thoſe letters, and to the *tranſlators* of them, and to *modern compilers* of *Roman* hiſtory, who cannot agree concerning the date of the *ſecond* of thoſe letters, nor the *time* when *Catiline* was tried for *extortion:* Nor is it ſtrange, that the moderns ſhould differ on theſe articles, ſeeing *Aſconius* and *Feneſtella*, cotemporaries, and both living in the reign of *Auguſtus*, differ upon the queſtion, whether *Cicero* did actually defend *Catiline*, or not.

The reader will, I hope, excuſe the digreſſion, if I ſtep a little aſide to examine into theſe matters; which I am diſpoſed to do, not merely for the ſake of aſcertaining the facts (which, alone, can hardly be thought worth the trouble) but in order to be better acquainted with *Cicero*, from whoſe writings our modern *Hiſtories of his Times* are chiefly extracted. I ſhall begin with inſerting ſuch parts of the two letters, as regard the buſineſs in hand.

Book I. Ep. I. *Cicero* to *Atticus.*

" I ſend you the beſt account, which conjecture enables me to give you, " of the competitors I ſhall have for the Conſulſhip. *Galba* is the only " man who has *declared* his purpoſe of ſtanding,—[yet] it ſeems certain, " that not only he, but *Antonius* and *Cornificius* will be candidates.—Some " talk of *Cæſonius.*—Aquilius *I don't believe has any ſuch intention.* But " *I* SHALL *certainly have* Catiline *for a competitor, if the Judges will declare* " *that it is not light at noon day.*"

Cicero Attico ſal.

" *Petitionis noſtræ, quam tibi ſummæ curæ eſſe ſcio hujuſmodi ratio eſt, quod* " *adhuc conjectura providere poſſit.* Prenſat *unus* P. Galba.—*Competitores,* " *qui certi eſſe videantur,* Galba & Antonius & Q. Cornificius—*Sunt qui* " *etiam* Cæſonium *putant.* Aquilium *non arbitramur, qui denegat.—Catilina,* " ſi judicatum erit meridie non lucere, certus erit competitor."

Ep.

Ep. II. *Cicero* to *Atticus.*

" In the Conſulſhip of *Lucius Julius Cæſar* and *Caius Marcius Figulus.* " My wife is ſafely delived of a ſon.—I formerly gave you a full ac- " count how things ſtood with regard to my ſuit for the Conſulſhip. *At* " *this time I am thinking to defend my competitor* Catiline; we have Judges " to our mind, yet ſuch as the *accuſer* himſelf is pleaſed with: I hope, if " he be acquitted, that he will be the more ready to ſerve me in our com- " mon petition; but if it fall out otherwiſe, I ſhall bear it with patience. " It is of great importance to me to have you here as ſoon as poſſible: " For there is a general perſuaſion, that certain nobles of your acquaint- " ance will be againſt me; and you, I know, could be of the greateſt ſer- " vice in gaining them over. Wherefore don't fail to be here in *January*, " as you intended."

Cicero Attico ſal.

" L. Julio Cæſare, C. Marcio Figulo Coſſ. *filiolo me auctum ſcito, ſalva* " *Terentia. Ego de meis ad te rationibus ſcripſi antea diligenter.*—Hoc tem- " pore *Catilinam*, competitorem noſtrum, defendere cogitamus. *Judices* " *habemus quos voluimus, ſumma* accuſatoris *voluntate. Spero, ſi abſolutus erit,* " *conjunctiorem illum nobis fore in ratione petitionis: ſin aliter acciderit huma-* " *niter feremus. Tuo adventu nobis opus eſt maturo. Nam prorſus ſumma ho-* " *minum eſt opinio, tuos familiares, nobiles homines, adverſarios honori noſtro* " *fore. Ad eorum voluntatem mihi conciliandam maximo te mihi uſui fore video.* " *Quare Januario menſe, ut conſtituiſti, cura ut Romæ ſis.*"

[L. Julio Cæſare, C. Marcio Figulo Coſſ.] *Sous le conſulat de L. Julius Cæſar, & C. Marcius Figulus.* On theſe words M. l'Abbeé de St. *Real* makes the following remark. " *Il y a des difficultés extraordinaires à dater cette* " *lettre, & les commentateurs s'y ſont epuiſés. Par ces Conſuls qui y ſont nom-* " *més il ſemble qu'elle ſoit de* 689, *qui eſt leur année. Cependant* cela paroit " comme impoſſible par le dernier article, où Ciceron exhorte *Atticus* à " venir paſſer à Rome * le mois de Janvier: *car il ne peut entendre que le* " *Janvier de cette meme année, puiſque c'etoit pour l'aider à obtenir le conſulat* " *de la ſuivante, ce qui ſe devoit decider, ſuivant la coutume au commence-* " *ment d'Août, pour le plus tard. Or quand meme ſon fils ſeroit né, & cette* " *lettre ecrite le premier jour de cette année* 689, *le tems ſeroit bien court pour* " *l'envoyer en Grece, & pour faire arriver Atticus à Rome, dans le meme mois.* " *Cette conſideration jointe à ce que la plupart des vieilles editions mettent* Ja- " nuario ineunte, *au lieu de* Januario menſe, *comme il y a dans les plus cor-* " *rectes des nouvelles editions, a fait croire à pluſieurs commentateurs, qu'elle eſt* " *de l'année precedente* 688, *& que Ciceron a ſeulement entendu en nommant les* " *Conſuls qu'il y nomme, qu'ils venoient d'etre elus pour l'année ſuivante, & non* " *pas qu'ils fuſſent deja en exercice.*

Probably, there is here an error of the preſs.

" *Mais puiſque cette maniere de dater eſt ſi hors d'uſage, que ces commenta-* " *teurs n'en ont pû trouver un ſeul exemple, dans toute l'Antiquité Romaine, pour*

" *appuyer leur opinion, il me ſemble qu'il y a bien moins d'inconvenient à croire*
" *que cette lettre eſt effectivement de l'année qu'elle marque. Car il n'eſt pas*
" *impoſſible, que Ciceron crût qu'Atticus ſeroit deja eu chemin quand il l'ecrivoit.*
" *Peut-être auſſi ne comptoit-il pas qu'Atticus pût arriver dans tout Janvier,*
" *quoiqu'il le lui ecrivit pour le preſſer davantage. Que ſi la naiſſance d'un pre-*
" *mier fils eſt un evenement de nature à etre daté plus particulierement, que*
" *par l'année dans laquelle il eſt arrivé, en l'ecrivant à ſon meilleur ami, n'eſt-il*
" *pas à preſumer que Ciceron entendoit quelque jour particulier de cette même*
" *année, quoiqu'il ne l'ait point exprimé? Que ſic cela eſt, quel jour peut-il*
" *avoir entendu naturellement, en diſant ſeulement que ſon fils eſt né ſous tels*
" *Conſuls, que le premier jour de leur conſulat? comme nous entendons le pre-*
" *mier jour de l'année en diſant ſeulement le* jour de l'an. *Voilà, ce me ſemble,*
" *de quelle maniere on peut ſe hazarder raiſonnablement à deviner, pour ſe deter-*
" *miner dans les difficultés de cette nature, & non pas, comme la plupart des com-*
" *mentateurs, par des ſubtilités de Grammaire.*"

Cicero's *Engliſh hiſtorian* agrees with M. *de St. Real*, concerning the year in which this letter was written. Midd. Life of Cic. vol. I. p. 146.

" It is certain, that *his ſon* [*Cicero*'s ſon] *was born* in this ſame year
" (689) as he expreſsly tells us, *in the Conſulſhip* of *L. Julius Cæſar*, and
" *C. Marcius Figulus. L. Julio Cæſare & C. Marcio Figulo Coſſ. filiolo me*
" *auctum ſcito, ſalva Terentia.*" Ad. Attic. l. i. ep. 2.

And *Cicero*'s *French hiſtorian* is of M. *de St. Real*'s opinion as to the *day*, as well as *year*, when *Cicero* wrote the letter in queſtion.—La naiſſance du fils de Ciceron,—ſe trouve fixée *au premier jour de* 689, dans une lettre que le meme Ciceron ecrivoit à Atticus pour le preſſer d'arriver inceſſament, par la raiſon du beſoin qu'il avoit de lui auprés de quelques perſonnes puiſſantes qui paroiſſoient vouloir le traverſer dans ſa demande. Morabin, Hiſt. de Cic. p. 92.

M. *Mongault*, in an anſwer to M. *de St. Real*, has given reaſons for adhering to the opinion of the old commentators. But, it ſeems, his reaſons were of no weight with either of the ſaid hiſtorians, who could not be ignorant of what he has ſaid on this head. M. *Mongault* writes thus: Cette lettre [the letter beginning with the words *L. Julio Cæſare*, &c.] a été ecrite peu de tems aprés la precedente, comme M. de St. Real l'a reconnu lui meme ſans y penſer lorſqu'il a traduit *Ego de meis ad te rationibus ſcripſi antea diligenter*, par *je vous ai ecrit, il n'y a guéres, fort particulierement ſur ma pretention*, ce qui a un rapport viſible à la lettre precedente: or elle *a éte certainement ecrite vers* le *dix-ſeptieme de Juillet*, donc celle-ci a dû l'etre *avant le premier Janvier ſuivant.* Mongault's Remarks on Cic. Letters to Atticus, tome I. p. 89.

Mais voici quelque choſe de plus *deciſif.* Ciceron dit qu'il penſoit à plaider pour Catilina ſon competiteur: or *l'affair de Catilina, dont Ciceron parle ici, fut jugée ſous le conſulat de* Cotta *& de* Torquatus (688) Cæſar & Figulus n'etant encore que *Conſuls deſignés.*

We ſee that all the four writers above cited take for granted, that the trial of *Catiline*, on the accuſation brought againſt him by *Clodius*, for

Y. R. 690. Bef Chr. 62. 381 Conſ.

for male-adminiſtration in *Afric*, is the trial concerning which *Cicero* ſays, in the firſt letter, "*If* Catiline *be acquitted, I ſhall certainly have him for a competitor*;" and concerning which he ſays in the ſecond letter, "*I am thinking to defend my competitor* Catiline."

Prepoſſeſſed with this perſuaſion, M. *de St. Real* and M. *Morabin*, to reconcile it with the date of the ſecond letter, *L. Julio Cæſare* and *C. Marcio Figulo Coſſ.* put off the trial to the year 689, when *Cæſar* and *Figulus* were actually in the Conſulſhip; contrary to the expreſs teſtimony of *Cicero* himſelf, who tells us, that the Conſul *Torquatus, with all the ornaments of his Magiſtracy* appeared at that trial, and was *Catiline*'s *advocate*[a].

M. *Mongault* too, prepoſſeſſed with the perſuaſion, that both the letters ſpeak of one and the ſame accuſation (*viz.* that of *Catiline*'s *male-adminiſtration in* Afric) in order, I ſuppoſe, to reconcile this perſuaſion with *Cicero*'s teſtimony concerning the time when *Catiline* was tried on that accuſation, will by all means have *L. Julio Cæſare* and *C. Marcio Figulo Coſſ.* to mean *when* Cæſar *and* Figulus *were* CONSULS ELECT; but he ſtands alone in this particular.

Cicero's *Engliſh hiſtorian*, through a ſtrange degree of inattention, has repreſented *Cicero* preparing in 689, a defence of *Catiline*, in a cauſe which, according to the ſaid hiſtorian's own account, had been tried and determined the year before[b].

That the trial of *Catiline* for his male-adminiſtration in *Afric* was not the trial of which *Cicero* ſpeaks in the ſecond letter to *Atticus*, is ſufficiently manifeſt from comparing the two letters together. In the firſt, *Cicero* ſays, *Nobody but* Galba *has declared himſelf.*— *If* Catiline *ſhould happen to be* ACQUITTED, *I ſhall certainly have him for a* COMPETITOR. In the ſecond, he ſays, *I am thinking to defend my* COMPETITOR *Catiline.* The trial, therefore, referred to in the firſt letter, was now over, and *Catiline* had been *acquitted*; he being actually at this time one of *Cicero*'s *Competitors.*

If this be not ſatisfactory, what follows will, I imagine, remove all doubt; and may perhaps evince, that ſome modern hiſtorians, who treat profeſſedly of the times in which *Cicero* lived, are not to be read without the ſame caution, which *Cicero*'s *Engliſh hiſtorian* adviſes us to uſe, in reading the *Greek* hiſtorians *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Dio*, *who*, he ſays, *were ſubject to prejudices in their relation of* Roman *affairs.*

Midd. Pref. p. xxiv.

Catiline was twice tried upon criminal accuſations, and twice acquitted: *bis abſolutum eſſe Lentulum, bis Catilinam.* That his firſt trial was in the Conſulſhip of *Torquatus* and *Cotta*, for oppreſſions and exactions in *Africa*, cannot be queſtionened by any body who has attended to what *Cicero* ſays in his oration for *Sylla*, and in that for *Cælius.*

Ad. Attic. lib. i. ep. 16.

[a] Orat. pro Sylla, 29. & pro Cœl. 4.

[b] See *Middleton*'s Life of Cicero, p. 138. compared with p. 146.

But

But another queſtion ariſes—*Whether* Cicero *pleaded for* Catiline *or not at that trial?* "*This queſtion is not decided* (ſays M. *Mongault,*) Aſconius "*maintains the negative againſt* Fenestella:" And M. *Mongault*[c], in ſupport of *Aſconius*'s opinion, adds, "*There is no fragment remaining of* Cicero's *oration, nor any citation from it*;" An argument in which there ſeems but little force; becauſe as *Cicero* in his poſterior ſpeeches and letters reproached *Catiline* ſo often, and ſo bitterly, with all his crimes, it is not likely the orator would preſerve and publiſh a ſpeech, wherein he had employed his eloquence to defend him.

Cicero's *French hiſtorian* is of opinion, that *Catiline* having found means to bribe both his Accuſer and the Judges, *did not* make application to *Cicero* to defend him, though the Orator was well diſpoſed to do it. He imagines, that *Catiline* being aware of *Cicero*'s views, which did not coincide with his own, choſe rather with money to purchaſe an acquittal, than owe it in any meaſure to a man with whom he ſo little agreed in ſentiment[d].

Cicero's *Engliſh hiſtorian* is poſitive, that *Cicero did not defend* Catiline, but imagines a different reaſon for his declining that taſk. He writes thus: Midd. p. 139.

"*Catiline* was brought to a trial for *his oppreſſions in* Afric: He had "been ſoliciting *Cicero* to undertake his defence; who at one time was "much inclined, or determined rather, to do it, for the ſake of obliging "*the nobles*, eſpecially *Cæſar* and *Craſſus*, or of making *Catiline* at leaſt "his friend, as he ſignifies in a letter to *Atticus*: *I deſign* (ſays he) Ad Attic. "*at preſent to defend my competitor* Catiline, *we have Judges to our mind,* i. 2. "*and yet ſuch as the* ACCUSER *himſelf is pleaſed with: I hope, if he* "*be acquitted, that he will be more ready to ſerve me in our common pe-* "*tition; but if it fall out otherwiſe, I ſhall bear it with patience.* But Cice- "ro *changed his mind*, and *did not defend him*; upon a nearer view,

[c] M. *Mongault* thinks it highly probable, that *Cicero*, if he had defended *Catiline*, would in his ſpeech *in Tog. Cand.* have reproached him with ingratitude, as he did the Tribune *Mucius*, whom he had formerly defended, when accuſed of robbery.

[d] *Catilina*, qui quoiqu'accuſe de concuſſion & par conſequent exclus de droit de toutes les charges, lui paroiſſoit le pretendant le plus formidable. En effet l'argent qu'il diſtribua à P. Clodius Pulcher ſon accuſateur & à ſes juges eux-memes lava dans le tems cet obſtacle & il ne fut point obligé de recourir à Ciceron, qui s'etoit attendu à le defendre & qui en avoit au moins eu la volonté. Il s'etoit flatté qu'en ſe le conciliant par ce bon office ils s'entendroient mieux dans leur pourſuite commune, & que Catilina le préfereroit à tout autre pour ſon collegue: en cela je n'ai garde de vouloir juſtifier Ciceron; ſur tout apres avoir appris de lui que Catilina étoit ſi manifeſtement coupable, qu'on auroit auſſitot nié qu'il fût jour en plein midi, que de detruire les preuves des ſon crime.

Catilina preſſentit ſes vues: & comme elles ne quadroient en rien avec les ſiennes, il aima mieux acheter ſon abſolution à prix d'argent, que de s'engager à des retours, s'il arrivoit qu'il la dût à l'eloquence d'un homme avec qui il ſympathiſoit ſi peu. *Morabin. Hiſt. de Cic.* p. 91.

" perhaps, of his deſigns and traiterous practices; to which he ſeems to
" allude, when, deſcribing the art and diſſimulation of *Catiline*, he de-
Pro Cœl. " clares, *that he himſelf was once almoſt deceived by him, ſo as to take him*
" *for a good citizen, a lover of honeſt men, a firm and faithful friend*, &c
" But it is not ſtrange, that a candidate for the Conſulſhip, in the career
" of his ambition, ſhould think of defending a man of the firſt rank and
" intereſt in the City, when *all the Conſular Senators*, and even *the Conſul*
" *himſelf, Torquatus*, appeared with him at the trial, and gave teſtimony
" in his favour. Whom *Cicero* excuſed, when they were afterwards re-
" proached with it, by obſerving, *that they had no notion of his treaſons,*
" *nor ſuſpicion at that time of his conſpiracy; but out of mere humanity and*
Pro Syll. 29. " *compaſſion defended a friend in diſtreſs, and in that criſis of his danger*
" *overlooked the infamy of his life.*

" His proſecutor was *P. Clodius*, a young nobleman as profligate as
" himſelf; ſo that it was not difficult to make up matters with ſuch an
" accuſer, who for a ſum of money agreed to betray the cauſe, and ſuffer
Vid. infr. 323. " him to eſcape: which gave occaſion to what *Cicero* ſaid afterwards in
" a ſpeech againſt him in the Senate, while they were ſuing together for
Orat. in Tog. Cand. " the Conſulſhip: *Wretch! not to ſee that thou art not acquitted, but re-*
" *ſerved to a ſeverer trial, and heavier puniſhment.*"

There are, to my apprehenſion, not a few infirmities in this paſſage of the celebrated hiſtorian's work. For,

1. The ſecond letter to *Atticus*, to which reference is made, ſays not a word of *Ceſar*, or of *Craſſus*, or of *Cicero*'s being determined to defend *Catiline, for the ſake of obliging the nobles*, but for the ſake only of making *Catiline* his friend.

2. In the next place, the hiſtorian cites the authority of *Aſconius*, for ſaying that *Cicero did not defend* Catiline; yet *Aſconius* delivers that only as his opinion, in oppoſition to the aſſertion of *Feneſtella*, and gives reaſons which are of very little weight. By the way, it ſhould be remembered, that the queſtion upon which *Aſconius* and *Feneſtella* differ is, whether *Cicero* defended *Catiline* at his trial in 688, for *extortion?* Nobody ſuppoſes that *Cicero*, after making that *invective* called *Orat. in Toga Candida*, and after *Catiline*'s *repulſe from the Conſulſhip* in 689, did actually defend him at his *trial for murder*; though this was moſt certainly the trial at which *Cicero* once *purpoſed* to defend him; it being apprehended, at the time when *Cicero* wrote the ſecond letter to *Atticus*, that *Catiline* would, before the Conſular elections of that year 689, be brought into judgment on the accuſation of *killing the proſcribed.*

3. The hiſtorian thinks it not improbable, that *Cicero*'s change of mind proceeded from his having (in 688) a nearer view of *Catiline*'s deſigns and traiterous practices; whereas we ſhall preſently ſee, that *in the latter part of the year* 689, thoſe traiterous practices were (according to *Cicero*)

Cicero), an abſolute ſecret to *the Conſulars*, who all appeared for him at the trial which he then underwent.

4. The hiſtorian relates, as if it were a thing not only *credible*, but certainly *true*, that *Cicero*, who ſpeaks ſo often of the *notoriety* of *Catiline*'s many and moſt atrocious crimes anterior to his conſpiracy, and has repreſented his whole life as an uninterrupted ſeries of uncommon wickedneſs, *took him*, nevertheleſs, or, at leaſt, *was once almoſt deceived by him, ſo as to take him for a good citizen, a lover of honeſt men, a firm and faithful friend.*

5. There is no evidence, that *all the Conſular Senators appeared* (as the hiſtorian pretends) *for* Catiline *in* 688, *at his trial for oppreſſions and rapine.* But we learn from a paſſage, in *Orat. pro* * *Sylla*, that *all the Conſulars* did appear for *Catiline* at a poſterior trial which he underwent. And when *Cicero*, in his ſpeech *in Tog. Cand.* ſaid to him, *Wretch! not to ſee that thou art not acquitted, but reſerved only to a ſeverer trial, and heavier puniſhment*, it is not more plain, that this menacing prediction related to a trial, which he had ſtill to undergo, than it is that this future trial would be *for having killed ſome of the proſcribed, and particularly* Marius Gratidianus; a fact which *Catiline could not have the impudence to deny.*

* C. 19.

Vid. ſup. P. 322.

Vid. ſupra. P. 316. note (b)

From the *paſſage* in *Cicero*'s ſpeech for *P. Sylla*, to which I here refer, and which will preſently be given at length, it is very evident that *Torquatus*, the proſecutor, apprehenſive leſt the *advocation* in *Cicero*, and the *patronage* of the CONSULARS, who had all been zealous in the meaſures taken to cruſh *Catiline*, might be conſidered, as a preſumptive proof of *Sylla*'s being entirely innocent of *Catiline*'s conſpiracy, had therefore reminded the Judges of the *appearing of all the Conſulars for* Catiline *himſelf*, when brought into judgment upon a criminal accuſation.——"Yes" (anſwers *Ciceco*) "it is very true, they did appear for him: and your "father, when Conſul, was *Catiline*'s advocate, at his trial for *oppreſſions* "*and rapine*; but your father was *then* ignorant of his traiterous plots: "nor did your father afterwards, when he had received ſome intimation "of thoſe plots, appear for him at his *ſecond* trial, though all the other "Conſulars did; they being *then* as ignorant of his treaſonable practices, "as your father was at the time of the *firſt trial.* But when thoſe men "[c] who had been *really accomplices of* Catiline *in the conſpiracy* were "brought into judgment for it, none of the *Conſulars* appeared for *them*, "or gave them the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance." And the orator ſeems, on this occaſion, to intimate, that treaſons againſt the Senate was the only crime, from the puniſhment of which a man might not honourably defend the

[c] Thoſe of the conſpirators, who, after *Catiline*'s defeat and death, were tried in form, found guilty and puniſhed.

* *P. Sylla* was, at the ſame time, accuſed by the younger *Torquatus*, and defended by *Cicero*.

guilty: [yet he had formerly cenſured *Hortenſius* with ſome ſeverity for defending *Verres.*]

Vid. ſupr. p. 207.

Accuſati ſunt uno nomine CONSULARES.—*Affuerunt*, inquit, Catilinæ, *illumque laudarunt.* Nulla tum patebat, *nulla erat cognita conjuratio:* defendebant amicum, aderant ſupplici, *vitæ ejus turpitudinem in ſummis ejus periculis non inſequebantur.* Quin etiam *parens tuus*, TORQUATE, CONSUL, *reo de pecuniis repetundis* Catilinæ *fuit advocatus:*—At idem *non adfuit* ALIO IN JUDICIO, CUM ADESSENT CETERI. Si POSTEA *cognorat ipſe aliquid, quod* IN CONSULATU *ignoraſſet: ignoſcendum eſt* IIS, *qui* POSTEA *nihil audierunt.* Sin *illa res de pecuniis repetundis* PRIMA valuit: non *inveterata*, quàm *recens*, debuit eſſe gravior. Sed ſi tuus parens etiam in illa ſuſpicione periculi fui, tamen humanitate adductus advocationem hominis improbiſſimi Sella curuli, atque ornamentis & ſuis, & conſulatus honeſtavit; quid eſt quamobrem CONSULARES, qui *Catilinæ adfuerunt*, reprehendantur? At iidem iis, qui † ante hunc [Syllam] cauſam de conjuratione dixerunt, non adfuerint. TANTO SCELERE adſtrictis hominibus ſtatuerunt nihil a ſe adjumenti, nihil opis, nihil auxilii ferri oportere. *Orat. pro Sylla*, 29.

† Lege. Plautia de Vi interrogati. Vid. Cic. pro Cœl. 29.

M. *Crevier*, being fully perſuaded, I ſuppoſe, that the ſecond letter to *Atticus* was written in the Conſulſhip of *L. Cæſar* and *C. Figulus* [A. U. 689,] and therefore that *Cicero*'s determination, there mentioned, to defend *Catiline*, could not relate to his trial for *oppreſſions*, which was over, writes thus:

Tome XI. p. 409.

" *Cicero the year before*, when he was preparing to ſtand *this year* " (689) for the Conſulſhip, had ſaid, upon ſeeing *Catiline* accuſed of " extortion, *we ſhall certainly have him for a competitor, if it be judged* " *that it is not light at noon-day. Catiline* was tried and acquitted; and " being afterwards accuſed either of *inceſtuous commerce with the Veſtal* " Fabia[f], or of *the murder of the proſcribed*, applied himſelf to *Cicero*, " to

[f] " For the inceſt, which *Catiline* commit- " ted with the Veſtal *Fabia*, a criminal proſe- " cution, in form, (ſays M. *Crevier*, Tom. IX. " p. 361.) was commenced againſt him. But " *Fabia* was *Cicero*'s wife's ſiſter, and *Catiline* " was protected by *Catulus*. Favour pre- " vailed, and the criminals were acquitted. " It will perhaps appear ſurpriſing, that *Ca-* " *tulus, a man of worth, and a good citizen,* " ſhould intereſt himſelf for *Catiline*." [N.B. It is the character here given of *Catulus*, which, being ſuppoſed his due, occaſions the ſurprize at his appearing in favour of *Catiline*; but the wonder ceaſes at once, when we call to mind that *Catulus* was one of *Sylla*'s creatures, and a brother ſatellite of *Catiline*, and his zealous defender, when tried for the murder of the *proſcribed*; by the confiſcation of whoſe eſtates, *Catulus*, *Hortenſius*, *Metellus Pius*, and the reſt of the murderous crew, were become rich.] M. *Crevier*, for the fact of *Catiline*'s being tried for the affair of the *Veſtal*, cites *Aſcon. in Or. Cic. in Toga Cand.* and *Oroſius*, l. vi. c. 3. But *Aſconius* does not ſay it, but ſeems rather to intimate, that *Fabia* only was tried. *Vid. ſupr.* p. 315. note [f]. What *Oroſius* ſays, is this: *Eodem anno* [683] *apud Romam Catilina inceſti accuſatus, quod cum Fabia virgine Veſtali commiſiſſe arguebatur*, Catuli *gratia fultus evaſit.* Without

" to be his defender. It is not certainly known, whether *Cicero* pleaded " ſo bad a cauſe; but it is certain, that he was not averſe to the under- " taking, and that he reaſoned thus. *Either I ſhall get him acquitted, in* " *which caſe I may count upon his hearty concurrence with me in our common* " *ſuit for the Conſulſhip; or he will be condemned, and in that caſe I ſhall* " *not be entirely diſconſolate.*"

Now if *Cicero* defended, or deſigned to defend, *Catiline*, in a trial which he underwent in the year 689, it could be no other, than that for *killing the proſcribed*; for it does not appear, that he was ever tried upon the affair of the Veſtal.

" *Catiline*, ſays *Cicero*'s *Engliſh hiſtorian*, was *ſuſpected* alſo at the ſame " time [in 689] of another heinous and capital crime, an inceſtuous com- " merce with *Fabia*, *one of the Veſtal virgins* and ſiſter to *Cicero*'s wife. " This was *charged upon him ſo loudly by common fame*, and gave ſuch ſcan- " dal to the City, that *Fabia was brought to a trial for it*; but, either through " her innocence, or the authority of her brother *Cicero*, ſhe was readily " acquitted: which gave occaſion to *Cicero* to ſay, among other reproaches " on his flagitious life, *That there was no place ſo ſacred, whither his very* " *viſits did not carry pollution, and leave the imputation of guilt, where there* " *was no real crime ſubſiſting.*"

Though the learned hiſtorian ſpeaks here of the affair of the Veſtal as in the year 689, [*Catiline* was alſo *ſuſpected at the ſame time*, &c.] yet, according to *Oroſius*, the only writer (and he was of the fifth century) who reports that *Catiline* was tried on that accuſation, the trial was about the year 683; and, according to *Salluſt*, who is our beſt authority, the inceſt was committed when *Catiline* was a young man, or, at moſt, not old enough to ſtand for the Conſulſhip: He was *adoleſcens*.

Nor is it credible, that *Cicero* would threaten *Catiline* with a trial for that crime, of which the Orator believed, or pretended, at leaſt, to believe him innocent.

It may fairly be concluded, therefore, that the cauſe in queſtion was the impeachment of *Catiline* for killing ſome of the *proſcribed*; and that at this trial *Catulus*, and *all the other worthy Conſulars*, with whom *Catiline* lived in ſtrict friendſhip, appeared in his defence, gave him an excellent character [*illum laudârunt*] and got him acquitted. *Catulus* indeed was particularly intereſted in this affair, on account of the great honour which, by one of the murders in queſtion, had been done to his father; to whoſe manes, and at whoſe tomb, *Marius Gratidianus* was, by *Catiline*, moſt devoutly and moſt bloodily ſacrificed. Vid. ſupr. p. 161.

Without debating whether theſe words of *Oroſius*, (from which, if what the writer ſays be true, it would follow that *Catiline* underwent *three* trials in all] be any force againſt *Cicero*'s *bis abſolutum Catilinam*, I ſhall only obſerve, that the *time*, in which *Oroſius* places this trial, proves that it could not be the ſame trial at which *Cicero*, in the ſecond letter to *Attic s*, declares his deſign to defend the criminal.

And

And now, that I may purſue the purpoſe of this digreſſion, Does it not indicate an extreme and moſt unreaſonable prejudice againſt *Cæſar*, to impute, without any heſitation, to him principally the acquittal of *Catiline*, and give this acquittal as one proof, among many (equally cogent) of *Cæſar*'s pernicious deſigns againſt his country?

For thus proceeds *Cicero*'s *Engliſh hiſtorian*, after mentioning *Cæſar*'s being one of the Aſſiſtant Judges to the Prætor who was to ſit upon the *Sicarii*:— "This gave him an opportunity of citing before him as criminals, and condemning by the Law of Aſſaſſinate, all thoſe, who in "*Sylla*'s *proſcription had been known to kill, or receive money for killing* "*a proſcribed citizen*; which money *Cato* alſo, when he was *Quæſtor* the "year before, *had made them refund to the treaſury. Cæſar*'s view was "[not to execute juſtice upon thoſe murderers, whom *Cato* had in effect "already condemned as murderers, but] to *mortify the Senate, and ingra-* "*tiate himſelf with the People, by reviving the* Marian *cauſe*, which had "always been popular, and of which he was naturally the head, on ac- "count of his near relation to old *Marius*. For which purpoſe he had "the hardineſs likewiſe [when Ædile in 688] *to replace in the Capitol* "*thoſe trophies and ſtatues of* Marius, *which* Sylla *had ordered to be* "*thrown down and broken to pieces.* But *while he was proſecuting with* "*ſuch ſeverity the agents of* Sylla's *cruelty, he not only ſpared, but fa-* "*voured* Catiline, *who was one of the moſt cruel in ſpilling the blood of* "*the proſcribed*; *having butchered with his own hands, and in a manner* "*the moſt brutal*, C. Marius Gratidianus, *a favourite of the People, nearly* "*related both to* Marius *and* Cicero; *whoſe head he carried in triumph* "*through the ſtreets to make a preſent of it to* Sylla. But *Cæſar*'s zeal "provoked *L. Paullus*[g] [*L. Luccius*] to bring *Catiline* alſo under the laſh "of the ſame Law, and to accuſe him in form, *after his repulſe from the* "*Conſulſhip* [conſequently after *Midſummer* 689,] of the murder of many "Citizens in *Sylla*'s proſcriptions, of which, though he was notoriouſly "guilty, yet, contrary to all expectation, he was acquitted." [*Bis abſolutum Catilinam.* Ad Att. i. 16. Salluſt. 31. Dio, l. xxxvi. p. 34.]

[g] *L. Paullus* was not the accuſer of *Catiline* in this cauſe, nor in this year 689; but towards the end of the year 690, upon the *Plautian* Law of treaſon: and no trial enſued. See *Salluſt.*—*Aſconius* writes thus: *Catilina eſt abſolutus quem poſt repulſam in petitione Conſulâs* L. Lucullus, *qui poſtea quoque eundem honorem petiit, lege de Sicariis poſt daverat.* On which words *Freinſhemius* makes the following comment. Haud facile eſt ſtatuere, quis ſit hic *Lucullus*. Aſconius, ex quo hæc deſumpta ſunt, paulo poſt mentionem facit orationum *Luceii* in *Catilinam*. *Hinc nobis veriſimile videtur hic legendum eſſe* Luceius, *pro* L. Lucullus. *Pulcrè enim omnia conveniunt. Hic accuſator* Catilinæ *dicitur ab Aſconio fuiſſe* paratus erudituſque: Luceii *eruditio nota eſt ex epiſtolis ad eum* Ciceronis. *Idem qui Catilinam nunc accuſat, conſulatum poſtea petiit nec conſecutus eſt.* Luceius *conſulatum cum* Cæſare & Bibulo *fruſtra petiit.*

M. *Crevier*

M. *Crevier* is not ſo *poſitive*, as to *Cæſar*'s *partiality* in this affair; he ventures no farther than *conjecture*.

" The ſeverity with which *Cato* had made the *murderers of the pro-*
" *ſcribed* refund the money they had received out of the treaſury, cleared
" the way for *Cæſar*'s condemnation of them as guilty of murder. It
" is perhaps the only public affair, wherein *Cato* and *Cæſar* were of one
" mind. *Cæſar*, on the expiration of his Ædileſhip, accepted a commiſ-
" ſion for trying Homicides. He was then what the *Romans* called *Ju-*
" *dex Quæſtionis*; that is, a commiſſioner appointed to preſide in the
" place of a Prætor, at the trial of cauſes within a certain juriſdiction.
" He *probably* contrived to get this employment, in order to bring into
" judgment, and to puniſh, as murderers, thoſe who had killed the
" proſcribed, though they were excepted by name in *Sylla*'s Laws.
" They had been already condemned, in ſome manner, by *Cato*; and
" when they were brought before *Cæſar*'s Tribunal, the People had the
" ſatisfaction of ſeeing them puniſhed for thoſe very crimes, which they
" had before been rewarded for perpetrating. The cataſtrophe of thoſe
" villains was matter of public rejoicing. Among the condemned was a
" centurion, called *L. Luſcius*, whom *Sylla*'s victory had ſo enriched,
" that he was at this time worth ten millions of ſeſterces. *Bellienus*,
" *Catiline*'s uncle, who had killed *Lucretius Ofella*, was alſo con-
" demned. But *Catiline*, the moſt criminal of them all, was, upon
" trial, acquitted. Hiſtory does not tell us the reaſon of this inequality
" in the ſentences of the Judges, where the cauſes were ſo ſimilar. We
" may CONJECTURE, that Cæſar *was too much* Catiline's *friend, to be*
" *willing to deſtroy him.* In conſequence of this acquittal, *Catiline*,
" loaded with crimes, a conſpirator againſt the State, *thrice* brought into
" judgment upon heavy accuſations, and as often acquitted (without ceaſ-
" ſing to be thought criminal) *was now* [*in* 689] *in a condition to ſtand for*
" *the Conſulſhip.*"

The reader may obſerve, that *Catiline* is almoſt as troubleſome to the commentators in *their* way, as he was to *Cicero* in *his* way.

M. *de St. Real*, and M. *Morabin*, to get rid of their difficulties, have contradicted *Cicero* in relation to the TIME when *Catiline* was tried for *extortion*.

M *Mongault* has been conſtrained to make *L. Cæſare, C. Figulo Conſ.* mean *the year when* Cæſar *and* Figulus *were* CONSULS ELECT: And, with regard to the *time*[a], when *Catiline* was tried for *killing the proſcribed*,

[a] Upon the words *bis abſolutum eſſe Lentulum, bis Catilinam* (in *Cicero*'s 16th letter to *Atticus*, (lib. i.) written in 692, M. *Mongault* makes the following remark.

" *Que Lentulus & Catilina avoient été abſous chacun eux fois.*" — Catilina avoit été
" mis en juſtice LA PREMIERE FOIS *pour*
" *avoir fait mourir inhumainement du tems de*
" *Sylla, Marcus Gratidianus*, cousin germain
" du pere de Ciceron, & qui avoit été adopté
par

ſcribed, to contradict every writer, ancient and modern, who has mentioned that trial.

Vid. ſupr. p. 320. *Cicero*'s *Engliſh hiſtorian*, as I obſerved before, has, through inattention, fallen into an abſurdity like that of *yeſterday we ſhall go into the country.*

M. *Crevier*, though avoiding the miſtakes of the other four, has, contrary to the teſtimony of *Aſconius*, and the evidence of *Cicero*'s own words, in his invective *in Toga Candida*, repreſented the trial of *Catiline* for murder, as *prior* to *his repulſe from the Conſulſhip*, and prior to that *invective*. And he ſpeaks of *Catiline* as having been *thrice* tried and acquitted before his ſtanding for the Conſulſhip, whereas in fact he had been but *once* brought into judgment; which was for male-adminiſtration in *Afric*.

And when M. *Crevier* ſays, "Hiſtory does not tell us the reaſon why "the judgments of the court were ſo unlike, when the cauſes were ſo "ſimilar," it is plain, that he has overlooked what *Cicero* himſelf (M. *Crevier*'s principal hiſtorian for theſe times) confeſſes, that *all the Conſular* Senators (except *Torquatus*) appeared for *Catiline* at his trial,

Vid. ſupr. p. 324. Orat. pro Sylla, 29. poſterior to that for *oppreſſions*, conſequently his trial for *murdering the proſcribed.*

With regard to this trial of *Catiline* for *murder*, I further obſerve, that though his acquital be imputed, by ſome modern writers, to *Cæſar*, as if he were the ſole judge at the trial, yet it is evident, that more Judges than one ſat upon the cauſe, and it is not clear, that *Cæſar* was of the number. *We have*, ſays *Cicero*, (who then purpoſed to be *Catiline*'s advocate) *Judges to our mind, yet ſuch as the accuſer himſelf is perfectly content with.* Judices habemus quos voluimus, ſumma accuſatoris voluntate. And if *Luceius*, *Cicero*'s particular [b] friend and great admirer, was the *accuſer*, (which ſeems highly probable) have we not good ground to ſuſpect that the whole tranſaction was colluſive? After *Cato* had forced the aſſaſſins to refund the pecuniary rewards of their villainies, and after *Cæſar* had ſet on foot proſecutions againſt them *as murderers*, it was hardly poſſible for *Catiline* to avoid a trial. The buſineſs therefore of the *Optimates*, the intimate friends of *Catiline*, was to provide a *proſecutor* and an *advocate*, and *judges*, through whoſe *prevarication*, *eloquence*, and *iniquity*, he might be ſure to eſcape; eſpecially as the moſt eminent *Patriots*, the *Conſulars*, the *Chiefs of the* HONEST, were to appear to his character, and

Vid. ſupr. p. 326. not. (g)

par le grand Marius; & il fut *accuſé* DEPUIS "*de concuſſion*, comme on a vu dans les let- "tres x & xi. de ce livre, Catilina avoit en- "core été accuſé d'avoir eu commerce avec "une Veſtale; mais Ciceron ne parle point "de cette accuſation, parceque cette Veſtale "etoit ſœur de ſa femme, & qu'il ſuppoſe "qu'elle avoit été accuſée ſans fonde- "ment."

[b] This is the eminently learned man, who, at *Cicero*'s requeſt, undertook to write the hiſtory of *Cicero*'s Conſulſhip, and to praiſe his conduct beyond its merit. *Ep. Fam.* 12. *Ad Att.* iv. 6.

make

make his panegyric. It is a great pity, that we have not the oration which *Cicero* had prepared in defence of *Catiline*'s hacking to pieces *Marius Gratidianus*, the Orator's near kinſman, and carrying the bloody head, *plenum animæ & ſpiritus*, through the ſtreets, to make a preſent of it to *Sylla*. The fact being confeſſed *, the Orator's taſk was only to ſhew, that it was a glorious action, and highly beneficial to the Republic,

* Vid. ſup. p. 316. note (c.)

I paſs now to the examination of that charge againſt *Cæſar*, which is ſo often repeated by modern writers of *Roman* hiſtory. He is repreſented as forming projects, even from his early youth, to *overturn the Commonwealth, invade the liberties of his fellow-citizens, enſlave his country*, and to do, nobody knows what! "Cæſar's *whole life*," ſays *Cicero*'s Engliſh hiſtorian, "*made it probable that there could hardly be any plot in which he had not ſome* "*ſhare.*" Yet of his evil diſpoſitions before *Cicero*'s Conſulſhip, or even at that time, there is not the leaſt ſhadow of evidence produced: But, inſtead of proper proof, we have *his ſpeaking honourably of his aunt and of his wife at their funerals*; *his erecting*, when Ædile, *the ſtatue of* Marius, and *his eſpouſing the popular party*, againſt the faction of *Sylla*'s cut-throats, and the creatures of his uſurped deſpotiſm. Midd. p. 225.

In order to ſet this matter in a true light, let us conſider the import of the words *Republic*, *Free-State*, *Conſtitution*, when they are uſed in relating the hiſtory of *theſe times*.

Cicero's Engliſh hiſtorian, in a *treatiſe* which he publiſhed *on the* Roman *Senate*, contends, that, "by *the original Conſtitution* of the government, "even under the kings, the collective body of the People was the real "ſovereign of *Rome*, and the dernier reſort in all caſes."----And that even in the moſt outrageous "inſults on the authority of the Senate, "though the *honeſt* of all ranks loudly inveighed againſt them, and de- "teſted the authors of them as men of dangerous views, who aſpired to "powers that threatened the liberty of the City; *yet none ever pretended to* "*ſay, that the acts themſelves were illegal, or that the* PEOPLE *had not a* "*clear right, by the very Conſtitution of the Republic, to command and enact* "*whatever they thought expedient.*" p. 33. & 110. p. 123.

And the ſame writer tells us, that, before *Cicero*'s Conſulſhip, this *Democracy* had been changed by *Sylla* into an *Ariſtocracy*.

"*Sylla* having ſubdued all who were in arms againſt him, was now "at leiſure to take his full revenge on their friends and adherents; in "which, by the deteſtable method of a *proſcription*, *of which he was the* "*firſt inventor*, he exerciſed a more infamous cruelty than had ever been "practiſed in cold blood, in that, or, perhaps, any other City. The "proſcription was not confined to *Rome*, but carried through all the "towns of *Italy*, where, beſides the crime of party, which was pardoned "to none, it was fatal to be poſſeſſed of money, lands, or a pleaſant "ſeat; all manner of licence being indulged to an inſolent army, of "carving Midd. Life of Cic. p. 31. Salluſt. xv. Plut. in Syll.

Plut. in Syll. p. 32. " carving for themſelves what fortunes they pleaſed.—As ſoon as the " proſcriptions were over, and the ſcene grown a little calm, *L. Flaccus*, " being choſen Inter-rex, decla ed *Sylla Dictator for ſettling the ſtate of* " *the Republic*, without any limitation of time, and ratified *whatever he* " *had done, or ſhould do, by a ſpecial Law, that impowered him to put* " *any Citizen to death, without hearing or trial. This office of* DICTATOR, " which in early times had oft been of ſingular ſervice to the Repub- " lic in cafes of difficulty and diſtreſs, *was now grown odious and ſuſpected* " *in the preſent ſtate of its wealth and power, as dangerous to the public* " *liberty*, and for that reaſon had been wholly diſuſed, and laid aſide,
Vell. Pat. ii. 28. " for *one hundred and twenty years*; ſo that *Flaccus*'s Law was the pure " effect of force and terror; and though pretended to be made by the " People, was utterly deteſted by them. *Sylla*, however, being inveſted " by it with abſolute authority, *made many uſeful regulations* for the better " order of the government; and, by the plenitude of his power *changed* " *in great meaſure the whole conſtitution of it, from a* democratical *to an* " ariſtocratical *form*, by advancing the prerogative of the Senate, and " depreſſing that of the People. *He took from the Equeſtrian order the* " *judgment of all cauſes, which they had enjoyed from the time of the* Gracchi, " *and reſtored it to the Senate*; deprived the People of the right of *chuſing* " *the prieſts*, and replaced it *in the colleges of prieſts*; but *above all, he* " *abridged the immoderate power of the Tribunes*, which had been *the chief*[c] " *ſource of all their civil diſſentions*; *for he made them incapable of any other* " *Magiſtracy after the Tribunate*; *reſtrained the liberty of appealing to them*; " *took from them their capital privilege, of propoſing Laws to the People*; " *and left them nothing but their negative*; or, as *Cicero* ſays, *the power* " *only of helping, not of hurting any one.* But that he might not be ſuſ- " pected of aiming at a perpetual tyranny, and a total ſubverſion of the " Republic, he ſuffered the Conſuls to be choſen in a regular manner, and " to govern, as uſual, in all the ordinary affairs of the City: whilſt he " employed himſelf in reforming the diſorders of the State, by putting " his new Laws in execution; and in *diſtributing the confiſcated lands of the* " *adverſe party among his Legions:* So that the REPUBLIC ſeemed to be " once more SETTLED on a LEGAL BASIS, and the Laws and judicial pro- " ceedings began to flouriſh in the Forum."

After giving this account of *Sylla*'s uſurpation and tyranny, and after relating his end, the hiſtorian has theſe very curious paſſages:

[c] The hiſtorian, when he ſays, that *the immoderate power of the Tribunes* had been *the chief ſource* of all the civil diſſenſions at *Rome*, ſeems to have forgot that the ſame immoderate power had likewiſe been *the only ſource* of the real *liberty, the public virtue, the conqueſts*, and *the glory* of the Republic; and that the ABUSE of the *Tribunitian Authority* had been wholly occaſioned by the ambition, avarice, and uſurpations of the Ariſtocratic faction, *Cicero*'s *honeſt* men, his *good Citizens*. See *Introduction to the fourth book of this hiſtory*; *and Introduction to the ſeventh book.*

" *Sylla*

" *Sylla* had *one felicity peculiar to himſelf*, of being the only man in hiſto- Midd. p.
" ry, in whom the *odium of the moſt barbarous* [d] *cruelties was extinguiſhed* 50.
" *by the glory of his* great acts. *Cicero*, though he had a good opinion of
" his cauſe, yet *deteſted the inhumanity of his victory, and never ſpeaks of him* De Fin.
" *with reſpect, nor of his government, but as a proper tyranny*; calling him 3. 2.
" *a maſter of three moſt peſtilent vices, luxury, avarice, and cruelty.*" De Off. ii. 8.

Notwithſtanding the *peculiar felicity* abovementioned, *Cicero*, we ſee, *remembers* Sylla's *inhumanity*, and never ſpeaks of him with reſpect; and
" *As ſoon as* Sylla *was dead*, the old diſſenſions, that had been ſmo- Midd. p.
" thered a while by the terror of his power, burſt out again into a flame, 50.
" between the two factions, ſupported ſeverally by the two Conſuls, Q.
" *Catulus* and *M. Lepidus*, who were wholly oppoſite to each other in
" party and politics. *Lepidus* reſolved at all adventures, *to reſcind the*
" *acts of* Sylla, *and recal the exiled* Marians; and began openly to ſolicit
" the People to ſupport him in that reſolution: but *his attempt, though*
" *plauſible, was factious and unſeaſonable, tending to overturn* THE PRESENT
" SETTLEMENT *of the* REPUBLIC, *which*, after its late wounds and
" loſs of civil blood, *wanted nothing ſo much as reſt and quiet, to recover*
" *a tolerable degree of ſtrength.*" That is to ſay, *Sylla*'s gang of robbers and murderers wanted nothing ſo much as public peace and quiet, that they might have no diſturbance in the enjoyment of their plunder and depredations. And *Catulus*, the collegue of *Lepidus*, being one of that gang, and being aided by the reſt, diſappointed all his deſigns, though, " he had with him ſeveral of the chief Magiſtrates, and the
" good wiſhes of all the Tribunes," and of all the popular party; in whoſe minds *the odium of* Sylla's *cruelties was not extinguiſhed by the glory of his great acts.*

But whoever might diſlike *Sylla*'s eſtabliſhment, *it was factious* (in the opinion of the hiſtorian above cited) to *ſolicit the People to make any alteration in it.*

The very ingenious M. *Crevier* is of the ſame opinion. Speaking of that *wiſe* ſentence pronounced by *Catulus*, on occaſion of *Cæſar*'s erect- Vid. ſup.
ing the ſtatue of *Marius* — *Cæſar no longer undermines, but openly attacks* p. 305.

[d] M de l'Abbé *de St. Real* ſpeaks to the ſame effect; only he imputes the *oblivion*, into which *Sylla*'s cruelties were caſt, to his ABDICATION alone.

Sylla, par un retour ineſperé ennuyé de vengeance, de pouvoir, de ſang & de commandement; moins peut-être par moderation, & par grandeur d'ame, comme on l'a toujours publié, que par inquiétude; s'aviſa de quitter ſa Dictature & l'Empire, & de remettre le commandement entre les mains des Conſuls: Changement prodigieux, qui rendit dés ce jour Sylla l'Idole des Romains. *On oublia tout le ſang de la proſcription; pour ne ſe reſſouvenir que de la liberté rendue*; & on vit en lui l'exemple d'un uſurpateur le plus violent, & le plus ſanguinaire, mort paiſiblement dans ſon lit, *aimé, adoré de* TOUS LES CITOYENS. [Theſe laſt words are mere romance, as the whole ſequel of the hiſtory evinces.] SI SYLLA avoit toujours été bon Republicain, on l'auroit moi même, que quand, après avoir ſubjugué ſa patrie, il lui a plu de lui rendre la liberté. *Tome* iii. p. 61.

Tome XI. p. 265. *the Republic.*---" The reflection was juſt. *The government was at that time* " *founded upon the Laws and Inſtitutions of* Sylla, and it was not poſſible to " revive the party of *Marius* [*i. e.* the *popular party*] without introdu- " cing a general ſubverſion of all things."

Again, " We have ſeen, that *Sylla* had deprived them [the ſons of the " proſcribed] of the capacity of holding dignities, and of being admitted p. 323. " into the Senate. This was very hard: but *Sylla's Inſtitutions were then* " *the baſis of the government*, and it was impoſſible to infringe him, with- " out putting the whole State into confuſion. The Conſul [*Cicero*] was " therefore obliged to oppoſe their demand, how equitably however it " ſeemed."

The learned writer will, I hope, excuſe me, if I ſay, that the *reaſon* he aſſigns for thinking that *Catulus* ſpoke wiſely, and *Cicero* acted juſtly in the inſtances mentioned, could have no place in the minds of *Catulus* and *Cicero*: becauſe, in fact, the Laws and Inſtitutions of *Sylla*, were not *the baſis of the government*, when *Catulus* uttered his wiſdom in 688; nor when *Cicero* oppoſed the demand made by the ſons of the proſcribed, in 690.

The principal Laws and Inſtitutions of *Sylla*, thoſe that concerned the conſtitution of the government, had been abrogated ſome years be- p. 211. fore. The TRIBUNES had been reinſtated in the ancient privileges of the Tribunate: to the PEOPLE had been reſtored the prerogative of *electing* p. 306. *the prieſts*; and the SENATORS had been deprived of *the ſole right of judi-* p. 210. *cature.*

Except the practice of chuſing annually twenty Quæſtors, inſtead of Eight, to ſupply the numerous vacancies in the Senate, whoſe complement of members *Sylla* had much enlarged, ſcarce any thing remained of his innovations, but the *new Senators, whom he had made powerful by making* * See p. 329 *them rich, in the manner deſcribed* * *above.*

Theſe ruffians and their creatures were *Cicero*'s REPUBLIC, and their ſettlement in the poſſeſſion of all the power of the State was the *ſettlement*, which he was ſo zealous to maintain and preſerve; and which the ſons of the *proſcribed*, had they been reſtored (as equity required) to a capacity of holding public dignities, and of being admitted into the Senate, might poſſibly have endangered. As *Cæſar* had no zeal for the preſervation of *this ſettlement*, but was for reinſtating the children of the proſcribed in the *rights and privileges* they were born to, we ſee in what ſenſe he was, *at this time, an enemy to the* REPUBLIC.

I ſhall here add M. *Vertot*'s account of the State of *Rome*, when *Cicero* was Conſul.

Vert. Rev. Rom. I. xiii. " Debauchery, luxury, and their natural conſequence, poverty, gave " birth to *Catiline*'s conſpiracy: the exceſſive ambition of ſome private " men ſtrengthened it, at a time when *Rome had ſcarce any thing left of* " *a Republican government, beſides the bare name.* The great ones alone " reigned

" reigned with abſolute authority, The whole adminiſtration was centered " in a few families, who handed the Conſular dignity about from one to " another [g]. A ſmall number of Citizens, by turns, diſpoſed of the " command of the armies, as alſo the government and revenues of the " provinces. They being arbiters of peace and war, and accuſtomed to " the homages and honours that go along with ſovereign power, it hap- " pened very ſeldom, that any of them, at the quitting of their great " places, could eaſily reſolve to return to a private life, becauſe this " would put them again upon a level with their Fellow-Citizens. Some " gained the affection of their ſoldiers, either by a remiſſneſs in military " diſcipline, or by ſelf-intereſted liberalities. Others bought with large " ſums the votes of the people, *to raiſe themſelves*, or *their creatures*, *to* " *the chief poſts*. Thoſe that were out-bribed, and loſt the day, eaſed " their envy, by endeavouring to render the power of their rivals ſuſ- " pected, and caſt about to promote their ruin at the expence of the pub- " lic peace. [h]."

If this be a true account of the *Roman* Government and Adminiſtration in the time of *Cicero*, can this *nominal* REPUBLIC be called *Rome in its Free-State?* the REPUBLIC *in its ancient Form and Conſtitution?* Yet this is that REPUBLIC, of which, as if it were in its perfect * ſtate, *Cicero*'s *Engliſh hiſtorian*, in giving the character of his hero, thus writes: *Vid. ſup. p. 3.

" As to his public conduct, no man was ever a more determined " PATRIOT, or a warmer lover of his country than he. His whole cha- " racter, natural temper, choice of life and principles, made its true " intereſt inſeparable from his own. His *general* view, therefore, was al- " ways one and the ſame, to ſupport the peace and liberty of *the Republic*, " *in that Form and Conſtitution of it which their anceſtors had delivered down* " *to them*. He looked upon *that* as the *only foundation* on which it could be " ſupported." Vol. II. p. 562.

We have ſeen, that he was not of this mind when he ſpoke againſt *Rullus*'s Agrarian Law, nor when he rejected the petition of the ſons of the proſcribed; for then he thought *Sylla*'s *Laws* and Inſtitutions were the *only baſis* upon which the government could ſtand. Vid. ſup. p. 289, 290, 291.

That *Cicero*, to the time of his attaining the Conſulſhip, never had any view in his *public conduct*, but *his own intereſt* and *elevation*, is abundantly manifeſt from ſo much of his hiſtory as has been given in the fore-

[g] *Cicero's election to the Conſulſhip*, who was a *New-man*, and whoſe promotion is wholly aſcribed to his merit, might ſeem to oppoſe what is here ſaid, if *Salluſt* had not made us known, that the elevation of the Orator to that dignity, was but an exception from a general rule, and chiefly owing to the public's being alarmed with the rumour of a dreaful conſpiracy ready to break out, of which the courtezan *Fulvia* had, to many perſons, given hints and intimations.

[h] See a citation in p. 205, from *Middleton's Life of Cicero.*

going

going pages. What his views were in his *public conduct* during his Magiſtracy, and after the expiration of it, we ſhall know by impartially conſidering his conduct. But the ſecret of all his politics and patriotiſm is ſufficiently divulged by his panegyriſt, where he ſays, " It is certain there " was not a man in the *Republic* ſo particularly engaged, both by principle " and intereſt to wiſh well to its liberty," [i. e. *to its being abſolutely governed by the* SENATE, *under the influence of* Cicero] " or who had ſo much " to loſe by the ſubverſion of it: For he was undoubtedly the *Firſt Citizen* " in it; had the *Chief Influence* in the SENATE, the chief authority with " the People,—as long as it was governed by civil methods, and ſtood " upon the foundation of its Laws:" With which Laws * the SENATE *frequently* diſpenſed; as did *Cicero* himſelf, *during his Conſulſhip*, as we ſhall preſently ſee: And there is hardly an *aſſaſſin* mentioned in the *Roman* ſtory, whoſe merit, if he killed a *popular* man, is not extolled by *Cicero* for the heroic deed. But none have a larger ſhare of the Orator's praiſes than *Scipio Naſica* and *Opimius*, the murderers of the two *Gracchi*; the two beſt Citizens perhaps that *Rome* could ever boaſt.

Midd. vol. II. p. 139.

* See Midd. Treat. on the Rom. Senate, p. 116.

Thus much it was thought proper to obſerve concerning *Cicero* and his politics, that we may thence collect the degree of credit which is due to thoſe parts of the *Roman* hiſtory, which have been received upon the authority of *Cicero* alone, particularly men's characters, and the motives from which they acted.

Pref. xix. xx.

" As to the nature of my work," ſays *Cicero*'s *Engliſh* hiſtorian, " tho' " the title of it carries nothing more than *the hiſtory of* Cicero's *Life*; yet it " might properly enough be called *the hiſtory of* Cicero's *Times*: ſince from " his firſt advancement to the public magiſtracies, there was not any thing " of moment tranſacted in the State, in which he did not bear an eminent " part: ſo that, to make the whole work of a piece, I have given a ſummary account of the *Roman* affairs during the time even of his minority; " and agreeably to what I promiſed in my propoſals, have carried on a " ſeries of hiſtory, through *a period of above ſixty years*, [that is, from " A. U. 647, when *Cicero* was born, to 710,] which for the importance " of the events, and the dignity of the perſons concerned in them, is by " far the moſt intereſting of any in the annals of *Rome*.

" In the execution of this deſign, I have purſued, as cloſely as I could, " that very PLAN, which *Cicero* himſelf had ſketched out, for the model of a complete hiſtory, where he lays it down as a fundamental " law, *That the writers ſhould not dare to affirm what was falſe, or to " ſuppreſs what was true; nor give any ſuſpicion, either of favour or diſ- " affection: That, in the relation of facts, he ſhould obſerve the order of " time, and ſometimes add the deſcription of places; ſhould firſt explain the " counſels; then the acts; and, laſtly, the events of things: That in the coun- " ſels, he ſhould interpoſe his own judgment on the merit of them; in the acts, " relate not only what was done, but how it was done; in the events, ſhew " what ſhare chance, or raſhneſs, or prudence, had in them: that he ſhould " deſcribe*

" *deſcribed likewiſe the particular characters of all the great perſons, who bear*
" *any conſiderable part in the ſtory; and ſhould dreſs up the whole in a clear*
" *and equable ſtile, without affecting any ornaments, or ſeeking any other praiſe,*
" *but of perſpicuity.*

" As I have borrowed my PLAN, ſo *I have drawn my materials alſo from*
" Cicero; *whoſe works are the moſt authentic monuments that remain to us,*
" *of all the great tranſactions of that age: being the original accounts of one,*
" *who himſelf was not only a ſpectator, but a principal actor in them.* There
" is not a ſingle part of his writings, which does not give ſome light as
" well into his own hiſtory, as into that of the Republic: But *his familiar*
" *letters*, and, *above all, thoſe to* Atticus, *may juſtly be called the memoirs of*
" *the times*; for they contain not only a diſtinct account of every memorable
" event, *but lay open the ſprings and motives, whence each of them proceeded*;
" ſo that as a polite writer, who lived in that very age, and perfectly knew
" the merit of thoſe letters, ſays, *the man who reads them, will have no oc-*
" *caſion for any other hiſtory of thoſe times* [1]."

Vid ſup. 276 and 277.

Corn. Nep. in Vit. Attic. 16.

Another polite writer, *Thuanus*, is of opinion, that we have no hiſtories, upon the truth of which we can depend, but ſuch as have been written of tranſactions, wherein the hiſtorians themſelves were principal actors, and have been *ſincere enough to ſpeak the truth of their own motives and purpoſes.* Whether *Cicero* had this ſincerity, and likewiſe a due degree of candour in ſpeaking of *the motives and purpoſes of the Chiefs of the oppoſite party*, the reader will judge occaſionally.

Salluſt, after relating the univerſal prevalency, at *Rome*, of thoſe vices that are the ruin of States, *rapacious covetouſneſs, ſhameleſs venality*, and *boundleſs luxury*, adds, that *Catiline* had collected, which, in ſuch

CATILINE'S CONSPIRACY.

[1] The hiſtorian, however, has made ſome uſe of other helps. — " After I had gone " through my review of *Cicero*'s writings, my " next recourſe was to the other ancients, " both *Greeks* and *Romans*, who had touched " upon the affairs of that age. Thoſe ſerved " me chiefly to fill up the interſtices of gene- " ral hiſtory, and to illuſtrate ſeveral paſſa- " ges, which were but ſlightly mentioned by " *Cicero*; as well as to add ſome ſtories and " circumſtances, which tradition had pre- " ſerved, concerning *Cicero* himſelf, or any " of the chief actors, whoſe characters I had " delineated.

Pref. p. xxii.

" But the *Greek* hiſtorians, who treat pro- " feſſedly of theſe times, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, " *Dio*, though they are all very uſeful for " illuſtrating many important facts of ancient " hiſtory, which would otherwiſe have been " loſt, or imperfectly tranſmitted to us, are " yet *not to be read without ſome caution*, as " being *ſtrangers to the language, and cuſtoms* " *of* Rome, and *liable to frequent miſtakes*, as " well as *ſubject to prejudices in their relation* " *of* Roman *affairs*."

[*N. B.* We are not to underſtand this as ſaid of *all* the *Greek* hiſtorians, who have treated of *Roman* affairs, but of thoſe *Greek* hiſtorians who have written of *theſe times*, [and who do not ſpeak ſo advantageouſly of *Cicero*, as his *Engliſh* hiſtorian could wiſh:] For with regard to *other times*, [in which *Cicero* is not concerned, and when we have a favourite hypotheſis to ſupport,] *one* Greek *hiſtorian ought to be of greater authority with us than all the* Latin *writers together*. Middleton's Treatiſe of the Roman Senate, p. 20. See Obſervations, &c. p. 80.]

a City

a City it was not difficult to, a band of needy profligates, who attended him as guards to his perſon: that he had been very aſſiduous in ſeeking intimacies with young perſons chiefly, whoſe minds being ſoft and pliable were eaſily moulded to what faſhion he pleaſed: that ſome of theſe he provided with harlots; others with horſes and dogs; and ſpared no coſt to gratify the favourite paſſions, whatever they were, of his followers. The young men, thus ſeduced, and made indigent by ſquandering their fortunes, he trained up to every kind of wickedneſs; with fearleſs impudence to become falſe witneſſes; forged deeds; and not to ſtick even at murder; which they ſometimes committed without provocation, without temptation, and merely to keep their hands in exerciſe[k].

Depending on the aid of theſe his friends and aſſociates, he formed a deſign to overturn the government, and raiſe himſelf to ſupreme power. And it is ſaid, that his ſcheme was not without a foundation of probability; *Italy* being drained in a manner of regular forces; *Pompey* at a great diſtance, with the beſt army of the empire; all things quiet at home; the Senate in a careleſs ſecurity; and he himſelf in great hopes of obtaining the Conſulſhip. But it was chiefly from the ſupport of *Sylla*'s veteran ſoldiers, whoſe cauſe he had always eſpouſed, and among whom he had been bred, that he promiſed himſelf ſucceſs in his enterprize. Theſe, to the number of about 100,000, had been ſettled in the ſeveral colonies and diſtricts of *Italy*, in the poſſeſſion of lands aſſigned to them by *Sylla*, which the generality had ſince waſted by their vices and luxury; ſo that they wanted another civil war to repair their ſhattered fortunes.

Cic. pro Mur. xxiii.

About the Beginning of *June* (689) in the Conſulſhip of *L. Cæſar* and *C. Figulus*, *Catiline* began to open his project to his confidents; to each of them at firſt alone: and having ſounded them ſufficiently, ſo as to perceive their ſeveral tempers and diſpoſitions, he called together all thoſe who were the moſt diſtreſſed in their affairs, and the moſt deſperately bold; judging it now adviſeable to ſpeak to them in a body. In this aſſembly, there were, of Senatorian rank, *P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura*, *P. Autronius*, *L. Caſſius Longinus*, *C. Cethegus*, *P. Sylla* and *S. Sylla*, (the ſons of *Servius Sylla*) *L. Vargunteius*, *Q. Annius*, *M. Porcius Lecca*, *L. Beſtia*, and

Salluſt.

[k] *N. B.* We are to ſuppoſe that *Catiline* had the ſkill to do all this, and to perpetrate numberleſs other crimes (during a courſe of more than twenty years profligacy) in ſuch a way, as did not render him, in appearance, unworthy of the friendſhip of the HONEST, *Catulus*, and the CONSULARS, *&c.*—For *Cicero* himſelf, with all his penetration, was once almoſt deceived by him, ſo as to take him for *a good Citizen, a lover of honeſt men, a firm and faithful friend.* Me ipſum, me inquam, quondam ille pene decepit, *cum & civis mihi bonus & optimi, cujuſque cupidus, & firmus amicus & fidelis videretur.* Cujus ego facinora oculis prius quàm opinione, manibus antè, quam ſuſpicione, deprehendi. Cujus in magnis cate.vis amicorum, ſi fuit etiam *Cælius*, magis eſt, ut ipſe moleſtè ferat erraſſe ſe, ſicut *nonnunquàm in eodem homine me quoque erroris mei pœnitet*, quàm ut iſtius amicitiæ crimen reformidet. *Pro Cælio*, 6. One of the articles in the charge againſt *Cælius*, was, that he had lived in friendſhip with *Catiline*.

Q. Curius: Of the Equeſtrian order, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *L. Statilius*, *P. Gabinius Capito*, and *C. Cornelius*.

Lentulus was deſcended from a Patrician branch of the *Cornelian* family, one of the moſt numerous, as well as the moſt ſplendid, in *Rome*. His grandfather had borne the title of *prince of the Senate*, and was the moſt active in the purſuit and deſtruction of *C. Gracchus*, in which he received a dangerous wound. The grandſon, by the favour of his noble birth, had been advanced to the Conſulſhip about eight years before, but was turned out of the Senate ſoon after by the Cenſors, for the notorious infamy of his life, till by obtaining the Prætorſhip a ſecond time, which he now actually enjoyed, he recovered his former place and rank in that ſupreme council. His parts were but moderate, or rather ſlow; yet the comelineſs of his perſon, the gracefulneſs and propriety of his action, the ſtrength and ſweetneſs of his voice, procured him ſome reputation as a ſpeaker. He was lazy, luxurious, and profligately wicked; yet ſo vain and ambitious, as to expect, from the overthrow of the government, to be the firſt man in the Republic; in which fancy he was ſtrongly flattered by ſome *crafty ſoothſayers*, who aſſured him from the *Sibylline books*, that *there were three* Cornelius's *deſtined to the dominion of* Rome; that *Cinna* and *Sylla* had already poſſeſſed it, and the prophecy wanted to be completed in him. With theſe views he entered freely into the conſpiracy, truſting to *Catiline*'s vigour for the execution, and hoping to reap the chief fruit from its ſucceſs.

Midd. p. 172. Cic. Phil. viii. 4. In Cat. iv. 6. Flor. iv. 1. Dio, p. 43. Plut. in Cic. Cic. in Brut. 350. Cic. in Cat. 3. 4. ii. 4. 6.

Cethegus, of an extraction equally noble (being of the *Cornelian* family) was of a temper fierce, impetuous, and daring, to a degree even of *fury*. He had been warmly engaged in the cauſe of *Marius*, with whom he was driven out of *Rome*; but when *Sylla*'s affairs became proſperous, he preſently changed ſides, and throwing himſelf at *Sylla*'s feet, and promiſing great ſervices, was reſtored to the City. After *Sylla*'s death, by intrigues and faction he acquired ſo great an influence, that, while *Pompey* was abroad, he governed all things at home; procured for *Antonius*, that command over the coaſt of the *Mediterranean*, and for *Lucullus*, the management of the *Mithridatic* war. In the height of this power he made an incurſion into *Spain*, to raiſe contributions in that province, where, meeting with ſome oppoſition to his violences, he had the hardineſs to inſult, and even wound the Proconſul *Q. Metellus Pius*. But the inſolence of his conduct, and the infamy of his life, gradually diminiſhed, and at laſt deſtroyed his credit; when, finding himſelf controuled by the Magiſtrates, and the particular vigilance of *Cicero*, he entered eagerly into *Catiline*'s plot, and was entruſted, as we ſhall ſee preſently, with the moſt bloody and deſperate part of it, the taſk of maſſacring their enemies within the City. The reſt of the conſpirators were not leſs illuſtrious for their birth. The two *Syllas* were nephews to the *Dictator* of that name, *Autronius* had obtained the Conſulſhip,

Juv. Sat. viii. 231. App. 399. Aſcon. in Verr. 2. 3. Hor. in Luc. Dio Sylla, 25. Flor. l. iv. 1.

but was deprived for bribery; and *Caſſius* was a competitor for it with *Cicero* himſelf. In ſhort, they were all of the ſame ſtamp and character; men whom diſappointments, ruined fortunes, flagitious lives, had prepared for any deſign againſt the State; and all whoſe hopes of eaſe and advancement depended on a change of affairs, and the ſubverſion of the Republic. [*i. e.* Of the preſent *Ariſtocracy* or *Oligarchy.*]

Salluſt. With theſe were joined many from the colonies and principle towns of *Italy*, men of family and intereſt in their ſeveral countries. There were likewiſe ſeveral other noblemen engaged in this conſpiracy, but with more caution and ſecrecy: Men, excited to it, not by want, or diſtreſs, of any ſort, but by the hopes of lawleſs power[f].

Catiline having aſſembled at his own houſe thoſe firſt-rate heroes above-named, led them into a private part of it, and there, in a ſpirited harangue, repreſented to them, "that the government was fallen entirely "into the hands of *a few*; that *theſe* held kings and princes their "tributaries; that whole nations paid taxes to *theſe*, while all the reſt of the "*Roman* Citizens, how worthy, or brave ſoever, remained without inte-"reſt or authority, and were looked upon as a contemptible mob, the "ſlaves of thoſe, to whom they ought to be a terror:—*Would it not* "*be better to die in a brave attempt, than to live the ſport of ſuch men's* "*inſolence?—We have poverty at home and debts abroad; our condition is* "*bad, our expectations worſe. Rouſe then to action. I call the Gods to* "*witneſs, that ſucceſs is in our hands. Nothing is wanting but to make* "*the attempt. All that you have ſo long wiſhed for is now within your* "*reach*, Liberty, Riches, Honours; *theſe will be the ſure rewards of an* "*eaſy victory.*"

His aſſociates, though (being extremely wretched, deſtitute of all things, even of every honeſt hope) they were pleaſed with the deſign, in general, of throwing the State into confuſion, as imagining that this muſt ſome how or other turn to their benefit; yet deſired that he would be a little more particular concerning the terms on which they were to engage in the enterprize, the aſſiſtance on which they might depend for carrying it on, and the advantages they were to expect from it. *Catiline* promiſed them *an abolition of their debts*; the *proſcription of their particular enemies*, and *of the rich*; *plunder* in abundance; in ſhort, every advantage that conqueſt and uncontrouled power could give. He told them, that *Piſo*, with an army in *Hither Spain*, and *P. Sitius Nucerinus*, with another in *Mauritania*, were both engaged in the undertaking: That *C. Antonius*, whom he hoped to have for his collegue in the Conſulſhip, was

[f] Some perſons there were at that time, who believed *Craſſus* not unacquainted with the deſign; and that to reduce the power of *Pompey*, whom he hated, and who was then at the head of a great army, he would willingly have promoted any ſcheme whatſoever and that he hoped, in caſe the conſpiracy ſucceeded, to make himſelf, without much difficulty, head of the conſpirators. *Salluſt.*

his intimate friend, and deſperately diſtreſſed in his affairs; and that, in conjunction with him, he would, as ſoon as they ſhould enter upon their office, begin the execution of the great deſign. He reminded them of the rich fruits, which ſome there preſent had reaped from *Sylla*'s victory—And when he perceived that his diſcourſe had raiſed the ſpirits of the whole company, and filled their minds with pleaſing hopes, he preſſed them to be active in promoting his intereſt at the approaching election, and then diſmiſſed the Aſſembly [s].

In this conſpiracy was *Q. Curius*, a man of no mean family, but who, for his ſcandalous conduct, had been expelled the Senate by the Cenſors. Deſperately audacious he was, yet had not more boldneſs than levity; for whatever he heard he diſcloſed; he could not conceal even his own crimes; in a word, he conſidered neither what he ſaid, nor what he did. There had been, for a long time, a criminal intercourſe between him and *Fulvia*, a lady of quality. He had ruined his fortune by the exceſs of his liberality to her; and ſo ſoon as ſhe perceived that he was poor, he found himſelf deſpiſed. Impatient under this diſgrace, he began now to talk big, and to boaſt of mountains of gold, which he ſhould ſoon be maſter of; and, ſometimes, inſtead of the humble ſuitor, the ſubmiſſive lover, he put on the fierce tyrant, threatening to ſtab her, if ſhe would not be obſequious to his pleaſure. This change of ſtyle made her curious to know the ground of it. She very ſoon got the ſecret out of him; and whether ſhe made ſmall account of the promiſes of a ruined lover, or had no opinion of an enterprize managed by debauchees, and giddy, thoughtleſs young men, or had too much of common humanity to approve of the deteſtable deſign, ſhe diſcloſed what ſhe had learnt to ſeveral perſons of diſtinction; but without mentioning her author. The rumour of a dreadful plot, ready to break out, produced a forward diſpoſition, univerſally, to confer the Conſulſhip on *Cicero*, his abilities being well known, and he being then one of the candidates. For before this, almoſt all the nobles ſtormed through envy, and thought that the Conſular dignity would in a manner be profaned, if he, deſerving as he was, yet being a *new man*, ſhould be inveſted with it: But when impending dangers threatened, pride and envy ſubſided.

Vid. ſupra. p. 285.

[s] Some have ſaid that *Catiline* did not impart to his aſſociates his whole purpoſe, till he had firſt ſworn them to ſecrecy; and that, before he tendered them the oath, he cauſed a bowl of wine, mixed with human blood, *to be handed round from one to another* (after the manner uſed at ſolemn ſacrifices,) of which, when they had all participated, he let them know that his deſign in this execrable ceremony was to bind them the more ſtrictly to mutual faith, as being privy to each other's guilt in ſo abominable an act.

Others have thought that this and many other particulars were the inventions of *Cicero*'s friends, who, by aggravating the crimes of the conſpirators, ſought to allay the odium which fell upon him for putting them to death without trial. "*For my part* (adds *Salluſt*) *I could* "*never meet with any proof of the fact, proportioned to the unlikelihood of it.*"

V. R. 690. Ref. Chr. 63. 389 Conſ.

Accordingly, the *Centuries*, with one voice, proclaimed *M. Tullius Cicero* the firſt Conſul (giving him *C. Antonius* for a Collegue;) a heavy blow, which very much ſhocked the generality of the Conſpirators. *Catiline*'s fury, however, abated not in the leaſt; he exerted himſelf every day more and more: provided magazines of arms in all the moſt commodious places of *Italy*; borrowed money either on his own credit, or that of his friends, and tranſmitted it to *Feſulæ*, in *Etruria*, to one *Manlius*, a bold and experienced centurion, who, having enrolled a conſiderable body of men, waited only his orders to take the field.

It is ſaid, that, about this time, *Catiline* gained to his intereſt a great number of men of all ranks; and ſome women too, who had once been able to ſupport a vaſt expence by proſtitution, but who, when age had put an end to their gains without leſſening their luxury, had contracted heavy debts: By their means he hoped to engage the City ſlaves to ſet the City on fire. Theſe women were likewiſe to draw their huſbands into the plot or to kill them.

Catiline, notwithſtanding theſe meaſures taken for war, declared himſelf a candidate for the next year's Conſulſhip; and renewed his efforts with greater vigour than ever to obtain it; hoping, if he ſhould be choſen, to govern *Antonius* as he pleaſed. He purſued his pretenſion by ſuch open methods of *bribery*, that *Cicero* publiſhed *a new law* againſt it, with *the additional penalty of a ten year's exile*, prohibiting likewiſe *all ſhews of* gladiators, *within two years from the time of ſuing for any Magiſtracy, unleſs they were ordered by the will of a perſon deceaſed, and on a certain day therein ſpecified. Catiline*, who knew the law to be levelled at him principally, formed a deſign to kill *Cicero*, with ſome other chiefs of the Senate, on the day of election; but *Cicero* gave information of it to the Senate the day before, upon which the election was deferred, that they might have time to deliberate on an affair of ſo great importance: and the day following, in a full houſe, *he called upon* Catiline to clear himſelf of this charge; where, without denying or excuſing it, he bluntly told them that *there were two bodies in the Republic*, meaning the Senate and the People, *the one of them infirm with a weak head, the other firm without a head; which laſt had ſo well deſerved of him, that it ſhould never want a head while he lived.* He had made a declaration of the ſame kind, and in the ſame place, a few days before, when, upon *Cato*'s *threatening him with an impeachment*, he fiercely replied, *that if any flame ſhould be excited in his fortunes, he would extinguiſh it, not with water, but a general ruin.*

Middl. p. 167.

Pro Muræna 23. In Vatin. 15.

Dio, l. xxxvii. 43.

Plut. in Cic. Pro Muræn. 25.

At the Conſular Election, which came on preſently after this, *Cicero* apprehending, there would be an attempt to aſſaſſinate him in the Field of *Mars*, took care *to throw back his gown, and let the People ſee a ſhining breaſt-plate*, which he wore under it: a precaution which deeply imprinting on the Multitude a ſenſe of the common danger, prevented, as

he

he told *Catiline* afterwards to his face, his design of killing *not only him*, but *D. Junius Silanus*, and *L. Licinius Muræna*, who were declared Consuls elect. Y. R. 690. Bef. Chr. 62. 389 Conf.

Catiline, thus a second time repulsed, and breathing nothing but revenge, was now eager and impatient to execute his grand plot. With this view he dispatched *C. Manlius*, then at *Rome*, to *Fesulæ*, and the adjacent parts of *Etruria*; *Septimius* to the territory of *Picenum*; *C. Julius* into *Apulia*; and others to different places, where he thought they might be most serviceable to his design. At the same time, he was busily employed in contriving the most effectual means to murder the Consul, and set fire to the City. He posted armed men in convenient places; was himself always armed; ordered his followers to be so too; was ever pressing them to be upon their guard, and prepared for action: Day and night he passed without sleep, and in a hurry; and yet was unwearied with his never-ceasing toils.

Of all these measures for war, massacres, and conflagrations, *Cicero* received intelligence from *Crassus*, who, with *M. Marcellus* and *Metellus Scipio*, came to his house at midnight, and having caused him to be waked, put into his hand a pacquet of letters, which had been left with *Crassus*'s porter by a person unknown. Among these letters was one directed to *Crassus* himself, but without the name of the writer: the rest were directed to other Senators. *Crassus* opened his own, and finding in it an exhortation to him to quit *Rome*, because *Catiline* was soon to make great havock there, he immediately carried all the letters to the Consul; who thereupon convened the Senate, and delivered them, each according to its Direction. Being read aloud to the Assembly, they were found to contain advices of the same import as those to *Crassus*; and it was at this time, (the 21st of *October*) and upon this occasion that the Senate, by a decree, ordered the Consuls *to take care that the Republic received no Detriment*. *Catiline*, nevertheless, on the sixth of *November*, summoned the principal Conspirators to meet him in the dead of night, at the house of *M. Porcius Lecca*. Plut. in Cic. & in Craff.

At this meeting it was resolved, that *Catiline* should put himself at the head of the troops in *Etruria*, that *Rome* should be fired in many places at once, and a massacre[h] begun at the same time; that in the consternation of the fire and massacre, *Catiline* should be ready with his *Tuscan* army, to take the benefit of the public confusion, and make himself master of the City; where *Lentulus*, in the mean while, as first in dignity, was to preside in their general councils; *Cassius* to manage the affair of firing it; *Cethegus* to direct the massacre. But the vigilance of *Cicero* being the chief obstacle to all their hopes, *Catiline* Mod. p. 175. Cic. pro Sull. 19. Plut. in Cic.

[h] *Plutarch*, in a most romantic strain, writes, that in this massacre the *whole Senate* was to be cut off, and *all the Citizens*, except the sons of *Pompey*, who were to be kept as hostages to procure a peace and reconciliation with the father.

Y. R. 690. Bef Chr. 62. 389 Conſ.

was very deſirous to ſee him taken off before he left *Rome*; upon which *L. Vargunteius* and *C. Cornelius*, both *Roman* Knights (the firſt a Senator) undertook to kill him the next morning in his bed, in an early viſit on pretence of buſineſs. They were both of his acquaintance, and uſed to frequent his houſe; and knowing his cuſtom of giving free acceſs to all, made no doubt of being readily admitted, as *C. Cornelius*, one of the two, afterwards confeſſed.

Cic. in Cat. i. 4. Salluſt. xxviii. Cic. pro Syll. 18.

No ſooner was the meeting over, than *Cicero* had information of all that paſſed in it; for *Curius* ſent *Fulvia* to him, with a punctual account of their deliberations. He preſently imparted his intelligence to ſome of the chiefs of the City, who were aſſembled that evening, as uſual, at his houſe, *informing them not only of the deſign, but naming the men who were to execute it, and the very hour when they would be at his gate*; all which fell out exactly as he foretold; for the *two Knights* came before break of day, but had the mortification to find *the houſe well guarded, and all admittance refuſed to them*[i].

Cic. in Cat. i 4.

The meeting of the conſpirators was on the ſixth of *November*, in the evening; and on the ſeventh he ſummoned the Senate to the *Temple of* Jupiter *in the Capitol*, where it was not uſually held, but in times of *public alarm*. There had been ſeveral debates before this on the ſame ſubject of *Catiline*'s treaſons, and his deſign of killing the Conſul, and a decree had paſſed, at the motion of *Cicero*, to offer a public reward to the firſt diſcoverer of the plot; if a ſlave, his liberty, and eight hundred pounds; if a Citizen, his pardon, and ſixteen hundred. Yet *Catiline* by a profund diſſimulation, and the conſtant profeſſions of his innocence, ſtill deceived many of all ranks, repreſenting the whole as the fiction of his enemy *Cicero*, and offering to give ſecurity for his behaviour, and to deliver himſelf to the cuſtody of any whom the Senate would name; *of* M. Lepidus, *of the Prætor* Metellus, *or of* Cicero *himſelf:* But none would receive him; and *Cicero* plainly told him, *That he ſhould never think himſelf ſafe in the ſame houſe, when he was in danger by living in the ſame City with him.* Yet he ſtill kept on the maſk, and, though he ſtood actually impeached by *L. Paullus*, upon the *Plautian*[k]

In Cat. i. 1.

Salluſt. xxx.

In Cat. i. 8.

[i] *Catiline* was diſappointed likewiſe in another affair of no leſs moment before he quitted the City; a deſign *to ſurprize the town of* Præneſte, one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in *Italy*, within twenty-five miles of *Rome*; which would have been of ſingular uſe to him in the war, and a ſure retreat in all events: But *Cicero* was before-hand with him, and from the apprehenſions of ſuch an attempt had previouſly ſent orders to the place to keep a ſpecial guard; ſo that when *Catiline came in the night* of 1ſt *November* to make an aſſault, he found them ſo well provided, that he durſt not venture upon the experiment.

Cic. in Cat. i. 3. Vell. Pat. ii. 26.

[k] The *Plautian Law de Vi* was paſſed by the Tribune *P. Plautius*, in the Conſulſhip of *M. Lepidus* and *Q. Catulus* (A. U. 675.) It regarded thoſe who attempted any force againſt the State or Senate; or uſed any violence to the Magiſtrates, or appeared armed in public upon any ill deſign, or forcibly expelled any perſon from his lawful poſſeſſion. The puniſhment aſſigned to the convicted was *Aquæ & ignis interdictio.* Suet. in Jul. 3. Dio, lib. xxxix. Cic. pro Sext. & pro Mil.

Law,

Law, he had the confidence to come to this very meeting in the *Capitol*; which ſo ſhocked the whole Aſſembly, *that none even of his acquaintance durſt venture to ſalute him*; *and the Conſular Senators quitted that part of the Houſe where he ſat, and left the whole bench clear to him.* *Cicero* was ſo provoked by his impudence, that, inſtead of entering upon any buſineſs, as he deſigned, addreſſing himſelf directly to *Catiline*, he broke out into a moſt ſevere invective againſt him; and with all the fire and force of an incenſed eloquence, laid open the whole courſe of his villanies, and of his treaſons. Y. R. 690. Bef. Chr. 62. 389 Conſ.

"TO what degree then, do you purpoſe, *Catilina*, to abuſe our pa- In Cat. i. 1.
"tience? How long imagine with your frantic treaſons to inſult us?
"When ſtop your precipitate career of unbridled audacity? Perceive you
"not by the nightly guard on the *Palatine*, by the watch kept throughout
"the City, by the general conſternation, by the aſſembling of the SENATE in
"this fortified place, by the looks of the Senators: Perceive you not, I ſay,
"that your dark deſigns are brought to light? Which of us, think you,
"is ignorant of what you did laſt night and the night before? *where*
"and *with whom* you held counſel, and what reſolutions you took? The
"Senate knows all this, the Conſul knows all, and yet — Oh! degenerate
"times! corrupted manners! the traitor lives; lives, did I ſay? he mixes
"with the Senate, he ſurveys us, and with his eyes marks out every one
"whom he has deſtined for ſlaughter: whilſt we, magnanimous counſel-
"lors of State, judge that we diſcharge our duty to the Commonwealth,
"if we eſcape his fury and his ſword. *Catilina*, the Conſul ſhould, be-
"fore this, have ordered thee away to execution. Did the excellent *Pub-*
"*lius Scipio*, the High-Prieſt, did he, a private Citizen, inveſted with no
"Magiſtracy, kill *Tiberius Gracchus*, for only cauſing ſome little diſtur-
"bance in the government? and ſhall we, the Conſuls, the ſupreme Ma-
"giſtrates, ſuffer *Catilina* to live; a traitor bent to lay waſte the world,
"by ſlaughter and conflagration? I paſs over, as too remote, the example
"of *Quintus Servilius Ahala*, who, with his own hand, ſlew *Spurius Mælius*,
"for attempting a revolution in the State. There once was; I ſay, there
"once was, in this our Commonwealth, ſuch patriot virtue, that men were
"animated with a keener reſentment againſt a peſtilent Citizen, than againſt
"the moſt implacable foreign enemy. *Catilina*, we have a weighty and
"awful decree of the Senate againſt thee; the State wants not wiſdom,
"nor this Aſſembly due authority, we only, we the Conſuls, I ſpeak it
"aloud, are wanting in our duty.

"Formerly, when the Senate had ordered the Conſul *Lucius Opimius*
"to *take care that the Commonwealth ſuffered no detriment*, not a day inter-
"vened between that order and the death of *Caius Gracchus*, who
"was fallen only under the ſuſpicion of ſeditious deſigns; though *Grac-*
"*chus* was deſcended of a father, grand-father, and remoter anceſtors,

"all

Y. R. 690. Bef. Chr. 62. 389 Conſ.

" all diſtinguiſhed for their ſervices to the State: *Marcus Fulvius* too, " a perſon of Conſular dignity, ſhared the ſame fate, he and his ſons. " When, by a like decree, the care of the State was committed to the " Conſuls *C. Marius*, and *L. Valerius*, did not *L. Saturninus*, Tribune of " the People, and *C. Servilius*, the Prætor, fall a ſacrifice to the juſtice of " their country, without the intervention of a ſingle day? But we, for the " ſpace of twenty days, have ſuffered the Senate's authority to remain un- " active in our hands, as if it were imperfect: For we too are armed with " a like decree, but it reſts among the records like a ſword in its ſcabbard; " a decree, *Catilina*, by which you were doomed to immediate death: yet " ſtill you live; you live, not to lay aſide your guilty audaciouſneſs, but " to harden yourſelf in it.

Eighteen days only from 21 Octoſter.

" Mercy, Conſcript Fathers, is what I am heartily diſpoſed to, but my " conſcience condemns me for inactivity and negligence, at a time when " ſuch terrible dangers threaten my country. An army formed againſt " the Republic is already encamped in *Italy*, on the borders of *Hetruria*: " their numbers daily encreaſe; their leader we behold within our walls. " Should I order thee, *Catilina*, inſtantly to be ſeized and dragged to " execution, there is reaſon to fear that all good men would cenſure me, " not as too cruel, but as too ſlow. But I have been with-held by a " certain reaſon, which ſtill with-holds me. Thou ſhalt then be put to " death, when there is not a man to be found ſo wicked, ſo deſperate, ſo " like to thyſelf, who will deny it to be done juſtly: So long as there is one " who dares to defend thee, thou ſhalt live; but live as thou now doſt, " ſurrounded by the guards which I have placed about thee; the eyes and " ears of many ſhall watch thee, as they have hitherto done, when thou " little thoughteſt of it.

" What is it, *Catilina*, you can now have in view, when neither the " ſhades of night can conceal your traiterous aſſemblies; not the walls of " your houſe hinder the voice of your treaſon from being heard?"

Middl. p. 178---181.

He then goes on to give a detail of all that had been concerted by the conſpirators at their ſeveral meetings, to let him ſee, " that he was per- " fectly informed of every ſtep which he had taken, or deſigned to take;" and obſerves, " that he ſaw ſeveral, at that time in the Senate, who had " aſſiſted at thoſe meetings.——He preſſes him therefore to quit the " City, and ſince all his counſels were detected, to drop the thoughts of " fires and maſſacres;—That the gates were open, and no body ſhould " ſtop him." Then running over the flagitious enormities of his life, and the ſeries of his traiterous practices, " he exhorts, urges, commands him " to depart, and, if he would be adviſed by him, to go into a volun- " tary exile, and free them from their fears, that, if they were juſt ones, " they might be ſafer; if groundleſs, the quieter: that though he would " not put the queſtion to the houſe, whether they would order him into " baniſhment

" baniſhment, or not, yet he would let him ſee their ſenſe upon it by their Y.R. 690.
" manner of behaving while he was urging him to it; for, ſhould he bid Bef. Chr. 62.
" any other Senator of credit, *P. Sextius* or *M. Marcellus*, to go into exile, 389 Conſ.
" they would all riſe up againſt him at once, and lay violent hands on their
" Conſul: yet, when he ſaid it to him, by their ſilence, they approved it;
" by their ſuffering it, decreed it; by ſaying nothing, proclaimed their con-
" ſent. That he would anſwer likewiſe for the *Knights*, who were then
" guarding the avenues of the Senate, and were hardly reſtrained from
" doing him violence; that, if he would conſent to go, they would all
" quietly attend him to the gates.——Yet, after all, if, in virtue of his
" command, he ſhould really go into baniſhment, he foreſaw what an odium
" he ſhould draw by it upon himſelf; but he did not value that, if by his
" own calamity, he could avert the dangers of the Republic: But there was
" no hope that *Catilina* could ever be induced to yield to the occaſions of
" the State, or moved with a ſenſe of his crimes, or reclaimed by ſhame,
" or fear, or reaſon, from his madneſs. He exhorts him, therefore, if he
" would not go into exile, to go, at leaſt where he was expected, into
" *Manlius*'s camp, and begin the war; provided only that he would carry
" out with him all the reſt of his crew.——That there he might riot
" and exult at his full eaſe, without the mortification of ſeeing one honeſt
" man about him.——There he might practiſe all that diſcipline to
" which he had been trained, of lying upon the ground, not only in
" purſuit of his lewd amours, but of bold and hardy enterprizes: There
" he might exert all that boaſted patience of hunger, cold, and want, by
" which, however, he would ſhortly find himſelf undone." He then introduces an expoſtulation of the Republic with himſelf, for his too great lenity, in ſuffering ſuch a traitor to eſcape, inſtead of hurrying him to immediate death; and he anſwers——" If I had thought it the moſt
" adviſable to put *Catilina* to death, I would not have allowed that Gla-
" diator the uſe of one moment's life:—— But there are ſome of this
" very order, who either do not ſee the dangers which hang over us, or elſe
" diſſemble what they ſee; who, by the ſoftneſs of their votes, cheriſh *Ca-*
" *tilina*'s hopes, and add ſtrength to the Conſpiracy by not believing it;
" whoſe authority influences many, not only of the wicked but the weak;
" who, if I had puniſhed this man as he deſerved, would not have failed
" to cry out upon me for acting the tyrant. Now, I am perſuaded, that
" when he is once gone into *Manlius*'s camp, whither he actually de-
" ſigns to go, none can be ſo ſilly as not to ſee there is a plot, none ſo
" wicked as not to acknowledge it: Whereas by taking off him alone,
" though this peſtilence would be ſomewhat checked, it would not be
" ſuppreſſed: But when he has thrown himſelf into rebellion, and car-
" ried out his friends along with him, and drawn together the profligate
" and deſperate from all parts of the empire, not only this ripened plague
" of the Republic, but the very root and ſeed of all our evils, will be

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" extirpated with him at once." Then applying himſelf again to *Cataline*, he preſſes him once more to leave *Rome*, and go to *Manlius*'s army.

When the Conſul had finiſhed his vehement diſcourſe, *Catiline*, who was a perfect maſter of the art of diſſimulation, with downcaſt looks and ſuppliant voice, *begged of the Fathers not to believe too haſtily what had been ſaid againſt him: that ſuch was his family, and ſuch had been the tenour of his whole life from his youth up, as might encourage him to hope for every honour he could aſpire to: And it was not to be imagined, that he, a Patrician, whoſe anceſtors, as well as himſelf, had given many proofs of their affection to the* Roman *people, ſhould wiſh to overturn the government*; *while* Cicero, *a ſtranger, a tenant only of a houſe he had lately hired in* Rome, *was zealous for its preſervation.* But, as he was going on to give harſh and abuſive language, the Senate interrupted him by a general outcry, calling him *Paricide*, and *Enemy to his Country*. Urged to fury and deſpiration by this treatment, he repeated, with a loud and menacing voice, what he had ſaid before to *Cato*, *Since I am circumvented, and driven headlong by my enemies, the flame that is raiſed about me I will extinguiſh by the common ruin*; and ſo ruſhed out of the Aſſembly.

Salluſt.

And now, perceiving it in vain to diſſemble any longer, he reſolved to enter into action immediately, before the troops of the Republic were increaſed; and accordingly he left *Rome* that very night with a ſmall retinue, to make the beſt of his way towards *Etruria*. But, before he went off, had a ſhort conference with *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and others, the boldeſt of the conſpirators, in which he preſſed them earneſtly to neglect no means of augmenting their number, get rid of *Cicero* as ſoon as poſſible, and prepare for a maſſacre, and the firing of the City; and he aſſured them, that he would ſpeedily return at the head of a ſtrong army.

He no ſooner diſappeared, than his friends gave out *that he was gone into a voluntary exile at* Marſeilles. *Cicero* entertained no doubt of his going directly to *Manlius*'s camp, knowing that he had already ſent thither a quantity of arms, *and all the enſigns of military command, and particularly a* ſilver eagle, *for which he had a ſuperſtitious regard, becauſe* C. Marius *had made uſe of it in his expedition againſt the* Cimbri. However, leſt the report ſhould gain belief in the City, and it ſhould be ſaid that the Conſul had driven an innocent man into baniſhment, without any previous trial, he called the People together into the Forum, to give them an account of what had paſſed in the Senate the day before, and of the immediate conſequence of it, *Catiline*'s haſty departure from *Rome*: He began, by " congratulating with them on the Conſpirator's flight, as on a certain vic-
In Cat. 2. " tory; ſince the driving him from his ſecret plots, and inſidious attempts " on their lives and fortunes, into open rebellion, was in effect to conquer " him: That the Parricide himſelf was ſenſible of it; whoſe chief regret, " in his retreat, was not for leaving the City, but for leaving it ſtanding. ——But *if there be any here who blame me for what I am boaſting of, that*

" *I did*

" *I did not rather ſeize than ſend away ſo capital an enemy: I muſt anſwer,* Y. R. 690.
" *that the fault is not mine; no,* Romans; *it is the fault of the times.* Ca- Bef. Chr. 62.
" tilina, *in juſtice, ought, long ago, to have ſuffered the laſt puniſhment; the* 389 Conſ.
" *cuſtom of our anceſtors, the diſcipline of the empire, and the intereſt of the*
" *Republic required it: But, had I put* Catilina *to death, I ſhould have drawn*
" *upon myſelf ſuch an odium, as would have rendered me unable to proſecute*
" *his accomplices, and extirpate the remains of the conſpiracy; but, ſo far from*
" *being afraid of him now, I am only ſorry he went off with ſo few to attend*
" *him: His forces are contemptible, if compared with thoſe of the Republic;*
" *they are a miſerable, needy crew, who have waſted their ſubſtance, forfeited*
" *their bails, and who are ſo far from having the courage to face an armed ene-*
" *my, that they would run away at the ſight of a Prætor's writ. Thoſe of his*
" *accomplices who have ſtaid behind, and whom I ſee ſauntering about in the*
" *Forum, are more to be dreaded than the army itſelf; and the more ſo, be-*
" *cauſe they know me to be informed of all their deſigns, yet remain cool and*
" *unconcerned. Yeſterday I laid open all their councils in the Senate, upon*
" *which* Catilina *was ſo diſheartned, that he immediately fled. I cannot gueſs*
" *what the reſt mean: If they imagine that I ſhall always uſe the ſame lenity,*
" *they are much deceived: For I have now gained what I was hitherto waiting*
" *for, Proof, which might convince all people that a conſpiracy there actually is.*
" *There remains no longer, therefore, any room for clemency; the caſe itſelf re-*
" *quires ſeverity: Yet I ſhall ſtill grant them one thing----Permiſſion to quit the*
" *City, and follow* Catilina; *nay, I will tell them the way: It is the* Aure-
" lian *road, if they will make haſte, they may overtake him before night.*

" Happy *Rome*, could it be drained of its impurities!

" To me the abſence of *Catilina* alone ſeems to have given the City
" freſh bloom and beauty. What is the villainy, what is the crime, that
" can enter into the heart of man, which did not enter into his? In all
" *Italy*, what *Poiſoner*, what *Gladiator*, what *Robber*, what *Cut-throat*,
" what *Parricide*, what *Forger*, what *Ruffian*, what *Debauchee*, what
" *Adulterer*, what *Strumpet* has there been amongſt the corrupters, or the
" corrupted, of our youth, who did not live in an intimate familiarity
" with *Catilina?* For theſe many years, has there been a murder to
" which he was not an acceſſary? an infamous rape, and he not an ac-
" complice? Had ever any man ſuch talents for debauching youth as he;
" who indulged himſelf in a criminal flame for others, and others in an
" infamous paſſion for himſelf? To ſome he promiſed the objects of
" their luſt, to ſome *the death of their parents*[1], &c."------Then, after Middl. p. 185.
deſcribing the profligate lives of his accomplices, he declared it " inſuffer-

[1] *N. B.* This is the man, *whoſe friendſhip*, a few months before, *Cicero courted*, and (had *Catiline* been diſpoſed to ſtrike the bargain) would have purchaſed, at the price of defending him, when brought in judgment for murdering, with the moſt brutal cruelty, a man who had been the People's great benefactor, and was the orator's near kinſman. Vid. ſupr. p. 216, 217, & ſeq.

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" ably impudent for ſuch men to pretend to plot; the lazy againſt the " active, the fooliſh againſt the prudent, the drunken againſt the ſober, " the drowſy againſt the vigilant, *&c.*" He added, "*If my Conſulſhip,* " *ſince it cannot cure, ſhould cut off all theſe, it would add no ſhort period to the* " *duration of the Republic: For there is no nation which we have reaſon to* " *fear, no King who can make war againſt the* Roman *people; all diſturbances* " *abroad, both by land and ſea, are quelled* by virtue of ONE MAN; *but a* " *domeſtic war ſtill remains; the treaſon, the danger, the enemy is within; we* " *are to combat with luxury, with madneſs, with villainy: In this war I profeſs* " *myſelf your leader, and take upon myſelf all the animoſity of the deſperate:* " *Whatever can poſſibly be healed, I will heal; but what ought to be cut off,* " *I will never ſuffer to ſpread to the ruin of the City. But it ſeems* Catilina, " *poor man! has by my threats been ſo terrified, as to baniſh himſelf! There* " *is not one of thoſe who make this complaint, and who talk of his going to* " Marſeilles, *but would be ſorry for it if it were true. By ſuch a change in* " *his deſign, much odium would unqueſtionably fall upon me; I ſhould be accu-* " *ſed of having perſecuted an unfortunate man, innocent, uncondemned, never* " *brought to trial.* Romans, *no concern for my own eaſe or character can* " *make me wiſh that you may hear of* Catilina's *being at the head of an army;* " *but this you will certainly hear in three days time.*"

Midd. 187. He then directed them " to keep a watch only in their private houſes, " for he had taken care to ſecure the public without any tumult; that " he had given notice to all the colonies and great towns of *Catiline*'s " retreat, ſo as to be upon their guard againſt him: And as to the body " of gladiators, whom *Catiline* always depended upon as the beſt and " ſureſt band, they were taken care of in ſuch a manner as to be in the " power of the Republic; though, to ſay the truth, even theſe were bet- " ter affected than ſome part of the Patricians: That he had ſent *Q. Me-* " *tellus* the Prætor into *Gaul* and the diſtrict of *Piceneum*, to oppoſe all " *Catiline*'s motions on that ſide; and, for ſettling all matters at home, " had ſummoned the Senate to meet again that morning, which, as they " ſaw, was then aſſembling. As for thoſe therefore who were left behind " in the City, though they were now enemies, yet, ſince they were born " citizens, he admoniſhed them again and again, that his lenity had been " waiting only for an opportunity of demonſtrating the certainty of the " plot: That, for the reſt, he ſhould never forget that this was his coun- " try, he their Conſul, who thought it his duty either to live with them, " or die for them." He added, " *There is no guard upon the gates, none* " *to watch the roads; if any one has a mind to withdraw himſelf, he may go* " *wherever he pleaſes; but if he makes the leaſt ſtir within the City, ſo as to* " *be caught in any overt-act againſt the Republic, he ſhall know, that there* " *are in it vigilant Conſuls, excellent Magiſtrates, a ſtout Senate; that there* " *are arms, and a priſon, which our anceſtors provided as the avenger of*

" *manifeſt*

" *manifeſt crimes; and all this ſhall be tranſacted in ſuch a manner, Citizens,* Y.R. 690.
" *that the greateſt diſorders ſhall be quelled without the leaſt hurry; the greateſt* Bef. Chr.
" *dangers without any tumult; a domeſtic war, the moſt deſperate of any in our* 62.
" *memory, by me your only leader and General, in my gown; I will manage ſo,* 389 Conſ.
" *that, as far as it is poſſible, no one even of the guilty ſhall ſuffer puniſhment*
" *in the City: But if their audaciouſneſs and my country's danger ſhould neceſ-*
" *ſarily drive me from this mild reſolution, yet I will effect, what in ſo cruel*
" *and treacherous a war could hardly be hoped for, that not one honeſt man ſhall*
" *fall, but all of you be ſafe by the puniſhment of a few. This I promiſe, Ci-*
" *tizens, not from any confidence in my own prudence, or from any human*
" *counſels, but from the many evident declarations of the* Gods, by whoſe Im-
" pulſe I am led into this perſuaſion; *who aſſiſt us, not, as they uſed to do,*
" *at a diſtance, againſt foreign and remote enemies; but by their preſent help*
" *and protection defend their temples and our houſes,* &c."

We have no account of this day's debate in the Senate, which met while *Cicero* was ſpeaking to the People, and were waiting his coming to them from the *Roſtra:* But as to *Catiline*, after ſtaying a few days upon the road to raiſe and arm the country through which he paſſed, and which his agents had already been diſpoſing to his intereſts, *He marched directly to* Manlius's *camp, with the faſces and all the enſigns of military command diſplayed before him.* Upon this news the Senate declared both him and *Manlius public enemies, with offers of pardon to all his followers, who were not condemned of capital crimes, if they returned to their duty by a certain day; and ordered the Conſuls to make new levies, and that* Antonius *ſhould follow* Catiline *with the army,* Cicero *ſtay at home to guard the City.* Midd. p. 189. Salluſt.

In the midſt of all his hurry, and ſoon after *Catiline*'s flight, *Cicero* found leiſure to defend *L. Muræna, one of the Conſuls elect,* who was now brought to a trial *for bribery and corruption. Cato* had declared in the Senate, *that he would try the force of* Cicero's *late law upon one of the conſular candidates:* And ſince *Catiline* was out of his reach, he reſolved to fall upon *Muræna*; yet (if we may believe *Plutarch*) connived at the other Conſul elect, *Silanus, (who had married his ſiſter)* though equally guilty with his collegue: *Cato* was joined in the accuſation by one of the diſappointed candidates, *S. Sulpicius*, a perſon of diſtinguiſhed worth and character, and the moſt celebrated lawyer of the age, for whoſe ſervice, and at whoſe influence, *Cicero*'s Law *againſt bribery* had been chiefly provided. Midd. p. 190--195. Pro Mur. 30. Plut. in Catone.

Muræna was bred a ſoldier, and had acquired great fame in the *Mithridatic war*, as Lieutenant to *Lucullus*; and was now defended by three the greateſt men, as well as the greateſt orators, at *Rome, Craſſus, Hortenſius*, and *Cicero:* So that there had ſeldom been a trial of more expectation, on account of the dignity of the parties concerned. The character of the accuſers makes it reaſonable to believe, that there was clear proof of ſome illegal practices: yet, from *Cicero*'s ſpeech, which, though imperfect, Pro Mur. 9.

is

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is the only remaining monument of the tranſaction, it ſeems probable, that they were ſuch only as, though heinous in the eyes of a *Cato, or an angry competitor*, were uſually overlooked by the Magiſtrates, and expected by the People.

The accuſation conſiſted of three heads; *the ſcandal of* Muræna's *life, the want of dignity in his character and family, and bribery in the late election.* As to the firſt, the greateſt crime which *Cato* charged him with was *dancing*; to which *Cicero*'s defence was ſomewhat remarkable: "He admoniſhes *Cato*

Pro Mur. "not to throw out ſuch a calumny ſo inconſiderately, or to call the Conſul of *Rome* a dancer; but to conſider how many other crimes a man "muſt needs be guilty of before that of dancing can be objected to him; "ſince no body ever danced, even in ſolitude, or a private meeting of "friends, who was not either drunk or mad; for dancing was always the "laſt act of rioting, banquetings, gay places, and much jollity: That *Cato* "charged him therefore with what was the effect of many vices, yet with "none of thoſe without which that vice could not poſſibly ſubſiſt; with no "ſcandalous feaſts, no amours, no nightly revels, no lewdneſs, no extravagant expences, *&c.*"

As to the ſecond article, *the want of dignity*, it was urged chiefly by *Sulpicius*, who, being noble, and a *Patrician*, was the more mortified to be defeated by a *Plebeian*, whoſe character he contemned. But "*Cicero* "ridicules the vanity of thinking no family good but a Patrician: obſerves "that *Muræna*'s grandfather and great grandfather had been Prætors; "and that his father alſo from the ſame dignity had obtained the honour "of a triumph: That *Sulpicius*'s nobility was better known to the antiquaries than to the People; ſince his grandfather had never borne any "of the principal offices, nor his father ever mounted higher than the equeſtrian rank. He adds, that, when a Conſul, of an ancient and illuſtrious deſcent, was defended by a Conſul, the ſon of a Knight, he never "imagined that the accuſers would venture to ſay a word about the novelty of a family: That he himſelf had two Patrician competitors; the "one a profligate and audacious, the other an excellent and modeſt man; "yet that he outdid *Catiline* in dignity, *Galba* in intereſt; and if that

Ibid. 7, 8. "had been a crime in a *new man*, he ſhould not have wanted enemies to "object it to him." He then ſhews, "that the ſcience of arms, in which "*Muræna* excelled, had much more dignity and ſplendor in it than the "ſcience of the law, [upon the forms of which he caſts a great deal of ridi-

Ibid. 9, 10, 11. "cule] being that which firſt gave a name to the *Roman* people, brought "glory to their City, and ſubdued the world to their empire: That martial "virtue had ever been the means of conciliating the favour of the People, "and recommending to the honours of the State; and it was but reaſonable that it ſhould hold the firſt place in that City, which was raiſed by "it to be the head of all other cities in the world."

As

As to the laſt and heavieſt part of the charge, *the crime of bribery*, *Cicero* makes very ſlight of it, and declares himſelf "more afraid of the "authority than the accuſation of *Cato:*" and, to obviate the influence which the reputation of *Cato*'s *integrity* might have in the cauſe, he obſerves, "that the people in general, and all wiſe judges, had ever been "jealous of the power and intereſt of an accuſer: leſt the criminal ſhould "be borne down, not by the weight of his crimes, but the ſuperior force of "his adverſary. *Let the authority of the great prevail for the ſafety of the* "*innocent, the protection of the helpleſs, the relief of the miſerable; but let its* "*influence be repelled from the dangers and deſtruction of Citizens: For if any* "*one ſhould ſay, that* Cato *would not have taken the pains to accuſe if he had* "*not been aſſured of the crime, he eſtabliſhes a very unjuſt law to men in di-* "*ſtreſs, by making the judgment of an accuſer to be conſidered as a prejudice,* "*or previous condemnation of the criminal*[m]. He exhorts *Cato* not to be ſo "ſevere on what ancient cuſtom and the Republic itſelf had found uſeful; "not to deprive the people of their plays, gladiators[n], and feaſts, which "their anceſtors had approved, nor to take from candidates an opportuni- "ty of obliging by a method of expence, which indicated their generoſity, "rather than an intention to corrupt."

Y. R. 690. Bef. Chr. 62. 389 Conſ.

Pro Mur. 28.

But, whatever *Muræna*'s crime might be, the circumſtance which chiefly favoured him was the difficulty of the times, and a rebellion actually on foot, which made it neither ſafe nor prudent *to deprive the City of a Conſul, who by a military education was the beſt qualified to defend it in ſo dangerous a criſis.*——"*If it be aſked, what reaſon I have to fear* Catilina? "*---None at all; and I have taken care that nobody elſe need fear him: Yet I ſay* "*that we have cauſe to fear thoſe troops of his, which I ſee in this very place.* "*Nor is his army ſo much to be dreaded as thoſe who are ſaid to have* "*deſerted it: For in truth they have not deſerted it, but are left as ſpies upon* "*us, and placed as it were in ambuſh to deſtroy us the more ſecurely: All theſe* "*want to ſee a worthy Conſul, an experienced General, a man both by nature* "*and fortune attached to the intereſts of the Republic, driven by your ſentence*

Vid. infr. p. 358.

[m] After this he makes high compliments to *Cato* on his eminent virtues; but rallies him on his Stoic Philoſophy; according to which *all ſins are equal; all deviations from right equally wicked; to kill a dunghill-cock without reaſon not leſs criminal than to kill a parent; a wiſe man can never forgive; never be moved by anger, favour, or pity; never be deceived; never repent, never change his mind.---Theſe are the principles* (adds the Orator, addreſſing himſelf to the Judges) *which* Marcus Cato *has brought from the ſchool of* Zeno, *not as ſubjects for exerciſe and argument only, but to ſerve him as* a rule of life. *The conſequence is* —— Cato *having once ſaid in the Senate, that he would impeach a Conſular Candidate, he muſt do it: ſhould he be exorable or compaſſionate, or even himſelf miſtaken as to the facts, he would forfeit the character of* a wiſe man. *Plutarch* tells us, that the wit and humour with which *Cicero* raillied *the profeſſion of* Sulpicius *as trifling and contemptible, the principles of* Cato, *as abſurd and impracticable,* made the whole audience merry, and forced *Cato* himſelf to cry out, *What a facetious Conſul have we!*

[n] *All ſhews of gladiators,* within two years from the time of ſuing for any magiſtracy, were expreſly forbid by *Cicero*'s new law. Vid. ſupra, p. 340.

Y. R. 690. Bef. Chr. 62. 389 Conſ.

" *from the guard and cuſtody of the City----But this is no time to throw away*
" *any of the helps which we have, but by all means poſſible to acquire more.*
" *The enemy is not on the banks of the* Anio, *which was thought ſo terrible in*
" *the* Punic *war, but in the City and in the Forum. Good Gods!* (I can-
" not ſpeak it without a ſigh) there are ſome enemies in the very Sanctuary,
" ſome, I ſay, even in the Senate! *What will become of us, if, entering into*
" *the new year, with theſe dangers around us, we ſhould have but one Conſul*
" *in the Republic, and he ſhould be employed, not in proſecuting the war, but in*
" *providing a collegue?* This conſideration, ſo forcibly urged, *of the neceſſity*
" *of having two Conſuls for the guard of the City at the opening of the new*
" *year*, had ſuch weight with the Judges, that, without any deliberation,
" they unanimouſly acquitted *Muræna*, and *would not*, as *Cicero* ſays, *ſo*
Pro Flacc. 39. " *much as hear the accuſation of men the moſt eminent and illuſtrious.*"

Not long before the trial of *Muræna*, *Cicero* had pleaded another cauſe in the defence of *C. Piſo*, who was accuſed by *Cæſar* of having, when Prætor of *Gallia Tranſpadana*, illegally puniſhed a man of that country. It is highly probable that *Piſo* was guilty of the charge, *Cicero* aſſigning no other reaſon for his being acquitted, but that he had behaved himſelf well in his *Conſulſhip*, A. U. 686.

Sall. 49.

Pro Flacc. 39.

To return to the affair of the conſpiracy.

A few days after the *Senate*'s decree (which inveſted the Conſuls with Dictatorial power) and before *Catiline*'s flight, *L. Senius*, a member of that body, read a letter in the Houſe, which, he ſaid, came from *Feſulæ*; importing that *C. Manlius* had taken up arms about the latter end of *October*, and was at the head of a great multitude of people. It was rumoured at the ſame time that the ſlaves were arming in *Capua* and in *Apulia*. Hereupon the Senate ordered *Q. Marcius Rex* to *Feſulæ*, and *Q. Metellus Creticus* to *Apulia* and the adjacent country. [Theſe two commanders, with their armies, were then waiting near the City, to be decreed the honour of a triumph, the grant of which had hitherto been obſtructed by the malicious calumnies of a FEW MEN, who made ſale of every thing, honourable and diſhonourable.] On the approach of *Marcius Rex*, *Manlius* deputed ſome of his officers to meet him in the way, and addreſs him in words to the following effect:

Salluſt.

" We call the Gods to witneſs, GENERAL, that we have not taken
" up arms either againſt our country, or with a view to hurt any particular
" perſon, but to defend ourſelves from injuries, wretched and needy as
" we are, through the violence and cruelty of uſurers; moſt of us baniſhed
" from our country, and all deprived of our reputations and fortunes;
" nor were any of us allowed the benefit of the laws made by our fore-
" fathers to ſecure the liberty of our perſons, when nothing elſe is left us;
" ſuch has been the cruelty of our creditors and the Prætors. We neither
" deſire power nor riches, for the ſake of which all the wars and conteſts
" among men are commenced and carried on. Liberty is our ſole aim,

" that liberty which no brave man will loſe but with his life. Wherefore Y. R. 690. Bef. Chr. 62. 389 Conſ.
" we conjure both you and the Senate to eſpouſe the intereſts of your
" wretched Fellow-citizens; reſtore to us what the iniquity of the Prætor
" has raviſhed from us, *the protection of the Laws*, and reduce us not to
" ſo deſperate a ſtate of diſtreſs as ſhall leave us nothing to think of but
" how we may take the ampleſt revenge on our oppreſſors; and, ſince
" they will have our blood, make it as coſtly a purchaſe to them as we
" are able."

To this *Q. Marcius* anſwered, " That, if they had any thing to request
" of the Senate, they muſt quit their arms, and make their appearance at
" *Rome* in the form of humble petitioners; that ſuch had been the cle-
" mency and compaſſion of the *Roman* Senate and People on all occaſions,
" that no one had ever ſued to them in vain for relief."

Catiline in his way to *Manlius*'s camp had wrote to moſt of the *Conſulars*, and to every Senator and Citizen of the firſt rank in reputation; " That,
" being on all ſides attacked by falſe accuſations, and unable to reſiſt the
" faction of his enemies, he ſubmitted to his fate, and was going a volun-
" tary exile to *Marſeilles*, not from a conſciouſneſs of guilt, but out of re-
" gard to the public tranquillity, and to prevent any ſedition which a ſtrug-
" gle in defending his innocence might poſſibly occaſion."

But *Catulus* produced and read a letter written in a very different ſtile, and which he declared had been delivered to him as from *Catiline*. (The main purpoſe of it was to recommend his *Miſtreſs* to the protection of his *Friend.*)

" *L. Catilina* to *Q. Catulus*, health.

" Your very ſingular friendſhip to me, which I have ſo often experien-
" ced in my greateſt dangers, inſpires me with confidence to make appli-
" cation to it in my preſent diſtreſs."———

He then ſolemnly aſſerts his innocence: but frankly confeſſes, " that
" being provoked by injuries and falſe accuſations, he had, agreeably to
" his uſual practice, undertaken the common cauſe of the poor and the
" oppreſſed.———It is not that I want means to ſatisfy my creditors; for
" *my eſtate* is ſufficient [o] to diſcharge all the debts I have contracted on
" my own account; and *Oreſtilla* (ſuch is her generoſity) would clear all
" my engagements on account of others out of her own fortune and that

Cicero, in his oration for *Muræna*, repreſents *Catiline* ſpeaking to his aſſociates, of his affairs as being in a deſperate condition: He tells them, " That it was impoſſible for
" the wretched to find a faithful protector
" but in the perſon of one as wretched as
" they themſelves; that men of ruined for-
" tunes ought never to truſt to the promiſes
" of men eaſy in their circumſtances; that, conſe-
" quently, all who deſired to recruit their
" waſted ſtores, and recover what they had
" been robbed of, need only to caſt their
" eyes upon him, and conſider how much
" he was indebted, how little he poſſeſſed,
" and what he was capable of daring; that
" the leader and ſtandard-bearer of the un-
" happy ought to have very little fear, but a
" great deal of miſery." Pro Mur. 25.

Y. R. 690. Bef. Chr. 62. 389 Conſ.

" of her daughter. But, ſeeing men of no merit, raiſed to the higheſt " honours of the State, and myſelf ſlighted and rejected upon groundleſs " jealouſies, I have taken ſuch meaſures for preſerving the ſmall remains " of my dignity, as, conſidering my circumſtances, cannot but appear very " honourable. I ſhould have ſaid more to you, but I am juſt now informed " that ſome troops are in full march againſt me: In haſte therefore I con " clude with recommending *Oreſtilla* to your protection, intreating you, *by " the tenderneſs you feel for your own children, to defend her from all inju- " rious treatment. Farewell.*"

In the mean while *Lentulus* at *Rome*, conformable to *Catiline*'s inſtructions, was endeavouring, by himſelf or by his emiſſaries, to engage in the cauſe all ſuch as, from their vicious manners or neceſſitous circumſtances, he judged would be very willing to help forward a revolution; not Citizens only, but any kind of men who could be uſefully employed.

There happened to be at this time in the City certain Deputies from the *Allobroges* (*Gauls* inhabiting the countries now called *Savoy* and *Dauphiné*,) a warlike people, and ever diſaffected to the *Roman* power. Theſe Deputies were come to ſolicit the Senate for ſome relief under the burthen of thoſe debts with which the nation, as well as many private perſons, was overwhelmed, through the oppreſſive covetouſneſs of the *Roman* governors. They had met with no ſucceſs, and were about to return home much diſcontented. *Lentulus* knowing this, and thence imagining it would not be difficult to draw them into the plot, employed one *Umbrenus* to ſound them. This man, having traded in *Gaul*, was known to moſt of the leading men of that country, and was acquainted with their characters. The moment he got ſight of the Deputies in the Forum, he walked up to them, and, in friendly manner, like one who took an intereſt in their affair —— *Well, how go matters? What is like to be the iſſue of your buſineſs?* ——" Death; our calamities admit of no other remedy; ſuch is the " inſatiable covetouſneſs of the Magiſtrates, and the cruel inſenſibility of " the Senate."——*That is very hard indeed.—Have you the ſpirit to act like men?—If you have, I believe I can ſhew you a way to get entirely out of your unfortunate circumſtances.*——" Be our friend then. Take pity of our " condition. There is nothing ſo difficult or dangerous which we would " not readily undertake to deliver our nation from the heavy load of debt " that cruſhes it."

Umbrenus ſaid no more at that time, but conducted them to a houſe that ſtood near the Forum, and belonged to *D. Brutus* (then abſent,) the huſband of *Sempronia*, who was deeply engaged in the plot. To give the more weight to what he ſhould ſay, he ſent for *Gabinius*; and, as ſoon as he was come, laid open to the Deputies the whole plan of the Conſpiracy, naming all who were engaged in it, and likewiſe many innocent perſons of every degree, in order to create in the minds of the *Gauls* a better opinion of the enterprize. When, allured by the fair proſpect, they had

promiſed

promised their concurrence, and to furnish a good body of horse (which was the aid principally wanted,) he dismissed them. Y. R. 690. Ecf. Cic. 6. 289 Cons.

But no sooner did the Deputies begin cooly to reflect on what had been proposed to them, than they fell into great perplexity and irresolution. On one side were the pressure of a load of debt, and an inclination to war, and the *hope* of great advantages from victory: On the other, superior strength, safe measures, no risque; and, instead of uncertain hopes, certain reward if they discover the Conspiracy. After some fluctuation of mind, the Fortune of *Rome* (says *Sallust*) gained the ascendant. They discovered all they had learned of the plot to *Q. Fabius Sanga*, the Patron [p] of their nation, who immediately gave intelligence of it to the Consul.

Cicero thereupon directed the Deputies to feign a warm zeal for carrying on the enterprize, and to promise every thing required of them, till they had got a full insight into the extent of the plot, with distinct proofs against the particular actors in it: Accordingly when, by the means of *Gabinius*, they had procured a meeting with the rest of the Conspirators, they insisted upon an oath from *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, and *Cassius*, under their hands and seals, to shew to their Constituents, who, without such credentials, would never be induced to enter into an engagement so hazardous. Not suspecting any fraud, all complied with this proposal as reasonable, except *Cassius*, who promised he would be in their country in a very short time: and in fact he left the City before the Deputies. *Vulturcius* was appointed by *Lentulus* to go along with them, and introduce them to *Catiline* in their road, in order to confirm the agreement, and exchange assurances also with him; to whom *Lentulus* sent at the same time a particular letter, *under his own hand and seal, though without his name.* *Cicero* being punctually informed of these facts, concerted privately with the Deputies the time and manner of their leaving *Rome* in the night, and *that on the* Milvian *bridge, about a mile from the City, they should be arrested, with their papers and letters about them, by two of the Prætors,* L. Flaccus *and* C. Pontinius, *whom he had instructed for that purpose, and ordered to lie in ambush near the place, with a strong guard of Friends and soldiers:* All this was successfully executed, and the whole company brought prisoners to *Cicero*'s house by break of day. Midd. p. 199. Cic. in Cat. iii. 2.

The rumour of this accident presently drew a resort of *Cicero*'s friends about him, who advised him *to open the letters before he produced them in the Senate, lest, if nothing of moment were found in them, it might be thought rash and imprudent to raise an unnecessary terror and alarm through the City.* But he was too well informed of the contents to fear any censure of that kind; and declared, *That, in case of public danger, he thought it his duty to lay the matter entire before the public Council.* He sent therefore immediately for *Lentulus*, *Gabinius*, *Statilius*, *Cethegus*, and one *Cæparius* of Ibid. iii. 3.

[p] Every nation subjected or allied to the *Roman* State had is Patron in the Senate.

Y. R. 690. Bef. Chr. 62. 389. Conſ. *Tarracina*, who had been appointed to go into *Apulia*, and there make the ſlaves riſe. The four firſt came preſently to his houſe, ſuſpecting nothing: *Cæparius*, having got ſome notice of the diſcovery, had ſlipt out of town, but was brought back before night. The Conſul being informed alſo *of a quantity of arms provided by* Cethegus for the uſe of the Conſpiracy, he ordered *C. Sulpicius*, another of the Prætors, *to go and ſearch his houſe* where he found a great number of *ſwords and daggers, with other arms, all newly cleaned, and ready for preſent ſervice.*

Thus prepared, eſcorted by a numerous body of Citizens, and carrying with him the Deputies and the Conſpirators, he ſet out to meet the Senate in *the temple of Concord*, whither he had ſummoned them, *Lentulus* was at this time Prætor; the Conſul himſelf therefore conducted him thither, holding him by the hand all the way; the reſt were brought under a guard.

Middl. p. 200--203. After he had given the Aſſembly an account of the whole affair, *Vulturcius* was called in to be examined ſeparately; *to whom* Cicero, *by order of the Houſe, offered a pardon and reward, if he would faithfully diſcover all that he knew:* Upon which, after ſome heſitation, he confeſſed, *that he had a* Salluſt. *letter, and likewiſe verbal inſtructions, from* Lentulus *to* Catiline, *to preſs him to accept the aſſiſtance of the ſlaves, and to lead his army with all expedition* Cic. in Cat. III. 4. *towards* Rome, *to the intent that, when it ſhould be ſet on fire in different places, and the general maſſacre begun, he might be at hand to intercept thoſe who eſcaped, and join with his friends in the City.*

Ibid. v. 6. The Deputies were examined next, who declared, *that they had received letters to their nation from* Lentulus, Cethegus, *and* Statilius; *that theſe three, and* L. Caſſius *alſo, required them to ſend a body of horſe as ſoon as poſſible into* Italy, *declaring that they had no occaſion for any foot: That* Lentulus *had aſſured them from the Sibylline books, and the anſwers of Soothſayers, that he was the third* Cornelius, *who was deſtined to be maſter of* Rome, *as* Cinna *and* Sylla *had been before him; and that this was the fatal time marked out for the deſtruction of the City and Empire: That there was ſome diſpute between* Cethegus *and the reſt about the time of firing the City; for while the reſt were fixing it on the feaſt of* Saturn, *or the middle of* December, Cethegus *thought that day too remote and dilatory.*-----The letters were then produced and opened; firſt that from *Cethegus*; *and upon ſhewing him the ſeal, he allowed it to be his*; it was written *with his own hand, and addreſſed to the Senate and People of the* Allobroges, ſignifying *that he would make good what he had promiſed to their Deputies, and entreating them alſo to perform what the Deputies had undertaken for them.* He had been interrogated juſt before about the arms that were found in his houſe, to which he anſwered, *That they were provided only for his curioſity, for he had always been particularly fond of neat arms:* But, after his letter was read, he was ſo dejected and confounded, that he had nothing at all to ſay for himſelf.---*Statilius* was then brought in, *and acknowledged his hand*

and ſeal; and when his letter was read, to the ſame purpoſe with *Cethegus's, he confeſſed it to be his own.*-------Then *Lentulus*'s letter was produced, *and his ſeal* [q] *likewiſe owned by him:* The letter was of the ſame import with the other two; but, having leave to ſpeak for himſelf, *he at laſt denied the whole charge, and began to queſtion the Ambaſſadors and Vulturcius, what buſineſs they ever had with him, and on what occaſion they came to his houſe, to which they gave clear and diſtinct anſwers, ſignifying by whom and how often they had been introduced to him; and then aſked him in their turn, whether he had never mentioned any thing to them of the Sibylline oracles; upon which being confounded, or infatuated rather by the ſenſe of his guilt, he gave a remarkable proof, as Cicero* ſays, *of the great force of conſcience; for not only his uſual parts and eloquence, but his impudence too, in which he outdid all men, quite failed him; ſo that he confeſſed the crime, to the ſurprize of the whole Aſſembly.* Then *Vulturcius* deſired, that the letter to *Catiline*, which *Lentulus* had ſent by him, might be opened; where *Lentulus again, though greatly diſordered, acknowledged his hand and ſeal:* It was written without any name, but to this effect: "You "will know who I am from him whom I have ſent to you. Take care to "ſhew yourſelf a man; and recollect in what a ſituation you are, and "conſider what is now neceſſary for you. Be ſure to make uſe of the "aſſiſtance of all, even of the loweſt."----*Gabinius* was then introduced, and behaved impudently for a while; but *at laſt denied nothing of what the Deputies charged him with.*

Y. R. 690. Bef. Chr. 62. 389 Conſ.

After the criminals and witneſſes were withdrawn, the Senate came unanimouſly to the following reſolutions: That *Lentulus (after having abdicated the Prætorſhip, and diveſted himſelf of his robes) and* Cethegus, Statilius, *and* Gabinius, with their other accomplices alſo when taken, *Caparius, Furius, Chilo, Umbrenus, ſhould be committed to ſafe cuſtody*[r]; *and that a public thankſgiving ſhould be appointed in* Cicero's *name, for his having preſerved the City from a conflagration, the Citizens from a maſſacre, and* Italy *from a war. That* Flaccus *and* Pontinius, *the Prætors, ſhould be thanked for their vigorous and punctual execution of* Cicero's *orders, and that* Antonius, *the other Conſul, ſhould be praiſed for having removed from his councils all thoſe who were concerned in the Conſpiracy.*

In Cat. iii. 10.

[q] *Cicero*, perceiving the ſeal to be the head of *Lentulus*'s grandfather, could not help expoſtulating with him, *that the image of ſuch an anceſtor*, [one of the worthy accomplices of *Opimius* in that maſſacre where *Caius Gracchus*, together with 3000 *Roman* Citizens, were deſtroyed] *ſo remarkable for a ſingular love of his country, had not reclaimed him from his traiterous deſigns.*

[r] According to *Salluſt*, *Lentulus* was committed to the cuſtody of his kinſman, *P. Lentulus Spinther* (at that time *Curule Ædile*,) *Cethegus* was delivered to *Q. Cornificius*, *Statilius* to *Cæſar*, *Gabinius* to *Craſſus*, *Caparius* to *Cn. Terentius*, a Senator. Of the commitments of the priſoners reſpectively to *Cæſar*, *Craſſus*, *Cornificius*, and *Terentius*, Dr. *Middleton* takes no notice. Perhaps he did not find theſe particulars in any of *Cicero*'s writings.

And

Y. R. 690. Kalust.

And now the common people, who just before, from a natural love of change and novelty (or perhaps from their hatred of the Senate,) had wished for some intestine commotion, were no sooner made acquainted with the true design of the Conspiracy, than they began to curse *Catiline* and his devices, and to extol *Cicero* to the skies. For, while they remained ignorant of what was intended, they entertained a hope of some possible advantage from it to themselves; but when they understood that the City was to be set on fire, they were sure that this would be meer mischief, from which they could reap no benefit; but suffer the loss of their houses and goods, and all the means of their daily subsistence.

Cicero therefore was well heard when, after dismissing the Senate, he went directly into the *Rostra*, and gave the People an account of the whole proceeding in the manner as above related: observing to them, "That "the thanksgiving decreed in his name was the first that had ever been "decreed to any man in the gown: that all other thanksgivings had been "appointed for some particular services to the Republic, this alone for "saving it.——*Romans*, by the seizure of the accomplices of *Catilina*, "all his hopes are blasted at once. When I was driving him out of "the City, I foresaw that, if he was once removed, there would be "nothing to apprehend from the drowsiness of *Lentulus*, the fat of "*Cassius*, or the rashness of *Cethegus*. *Catilina* was the life of the "Conspiracy: he never took any thing to be done, because he had ordered it; but always followed, solicited, and saw it done himself. "If I had not driven him from his secret plots into open rebellion, I "could never have delivered the Republic from its dangers, or never "at least with so much ease and quiet. *Catilina* would not have named "the fatal day for your destruction so long beforehand, nor ever suffered "his hand and seal to be brought against him as the manifest proof of "his guilt; all which has been so managed in *his absence*, that no theft "in any private house was ever more clearly detected than this whole conspiracy."

Midd. p. 204. In Cat. iii. 6.

Vid. supr. p. 351.

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In Cat. iii. 8, 9.

"He added, that all this was the pure "effect of a Divine influence, as was evident, "not only for its being above the reach of "human counsel, but from the Gods having "so remarkably interposed in it as to shew "themselves almost visible. For, not to mention the nightly streams of light from the "western sky, the blazing of the heavens, "flashes of lightening, earthquakes, &c. he "could not omit what happened two years "before, when the turrets of the Capitol were "struck down with lightening; how the "Southsayers, called together from all *Etruria*, declared, that fire, slaughter, the overthrow of the laws, civil war, and the ruin "of the City, was portended, unless some "means were found out of appeasing the Gods: "for which purpose they ordered a new and "larger statue of *Jupiter* to be made, and to "be placed in a position contrary to that of "the former image, with its face turned towards the East, intimating that, if it looked "towards the rising sun, the Forum, and the "Senate-house, then all plots against the State "would be detected so evidently, that all the "world should see them.——That, upon this "answer, the Consuls of that year gave immediate orders for making and placing the "statue;

The next day (Dec. 4.) the Senate ordered public rewards to the Deputies and *Vulturcius* for their faithful diſcoveries. Y. R. 690.

The ſame day was brought before the Senate one *L. Tarquinius*, ſaid to have been taken upon the road as he was going to join *Catiline*. He offered to lay the whole of the plot before the Houſe, provided he might have the ſecurity of the public faith for his pardon: The Conſul aſſented, and bid him declare what he knew. His account was much the ſame with that of *Vulturcius*, as to the projected firing of the City, the intended maſſacre, and the march of the rebel-army to *Rome*. He added, that, when he was apprehended, he was going, by direction from *Craſſus*, to warn *Catiline* not to be diſcouraged by the ſeizure of his accomplices, *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the reſt; but to make the greater haſte for that reaſon, in order to reſcue them, and revive the ſpirits of his other friends. Salluſt.

At the name of *Craſſus* the whole Aſſembly ſeemed ſtartled: For ſome looked upon the thing as incredible; others, though they believed it true, yet judged, that a man of his high quality, immenſe wealth, and mighty ſway in the State, ſhould, at this juncture, be rather ſoothed and courted than provoked; and very many there were, who, with reſpect to their private affairs, ſtood obliged [t] to *Craſſus*, or in awe of him [probably deep in his debt] ſo that they all cried out, *A falſe witneſs! a falſe witneſs!* and would have the ſenſe of the Houſe (which was then very full) immediately taken upon what he had ſaid; *Cicero* having put the queſtion, they voted *that* Tarquinius's *evidence was falſe; and that he ſhould be committed to priſon, and there confined, till he diſcloſed at whoſe inſtigation he had forged ſo monſtrous a lie.* Some there were at that time who thought this information a contrivance of *P. Autronius*, to the end that *Craſſus*, being involved in the ſame danger with the Conſpirators, might protect them by his power. Others ſaid, that *Tarquinius* was put upon it by *Cicero*, to prevent *Craſſus* from embroiling the State, by undertaking the protection of bad Citizens, as was his cuſtom. *I myſelf* (adds *Salluſt*)

" ſtatue; but, from the ſlow progreſs of the " work, neither they nor their ſucceſſors, nor " himſelf, could get it finiſhed till that very Ibid. 3, 9. " day, on which, by *the ſpecial influence of* " Jupiter, *while the conſpirators and witneſſes* " *were carried through the Forum to the Temple* " *of* Concord, *in that very moment the Statue* " *was fixed in its place; and being turned to* " *look upon them and the Senate, both they and* " *the Senate ſaw the whole Conſpiracy detected.* " *And can any man*, ſays he, *be ſuch an enemy* " *to Truth, ſo raſh, ſo mad, as to deny, that all* " *things which we ſee, and, above all, that this* " *City is governed by the power and providence* " *of the Gods?*" He proceeds to obſerve, " That the Conſpirators muſt needs be under " a divine and judicial infatuation, and could " never have truſted affairs and letters of ſuch " moment to men barbarous and unknown to " them, if the Gods had not confounded their " ſenſes: And that the Ambaſſadors of a nation ſo diſaffected, and ſo able and willing " to make war upon them, ſhould ſlight the " hopes of dominion, and the advantageous " offer of men of Patrician rank, muſt needs " be a Divine interpoſition; eſpecially when " they might have gained their ends, not by " fighting, but, by holding their tongues."

[t] Craſſo ex negotiis privatis obnoxii. *Salluſt.*

V. R. 695. Bef. Chr. 62. *heard* Craſſus *affirm, That* Cicero *was the contriver of this affront upon him.*

389 Conſ. Yet, at this very time, *Q. Catulus* and *C. Piſo* could not, by the moſt preſſing ſolicitations, nor by any offers whatever, prevail with *Cicero* to have *Cæſar* falſely accuſed by the *Allobroges*, or by any body elſe. Theſe two Senators bore an inveterate enmity to *Cæſar*; *Piſo* on account of *Cæſar*'s having impeached him (as above related) of oppreſſive Government; and *Catulus*, becauſe *Cæſar* had ſtood in competition with him for the High-prieſthood, and, though but a young man, had carried it from him, who was advanced in years, and had filled the higheſt offices. Both theſe implacable enemies thought they had now a favourable opportunity of bringing *Cæſar* under ſuſpicion; his great liberality to private perſons, and his largeſſes to the people, having plunged him very deep in debt. Not being able to perſuade the Conſul to ſo black a villainy, they themſelves went about from Citizen to Citizen, whiſpering calumnies, and charging *Cæſar* with facts which they pretended to have learnt from *Vulturcius* and the *Allobrogian* Deputies; inſomuch that ſome of the *Roman* Knights, who were poſted about *the Temple of Concord*, as a guard to the Senate, threatened *Cæſar* with their drawn ſwords as he came out of the Aſſembly.

Vid. ſupr. p. 302.

Vid. ſupr. p. 306.

Salluſt.

And now the City was alarmed *with the rumour of freſh plots, formed by the ſlaves and dependants of* Lentulus *and* Cethegus *for the reſcue of their maſters*; which obliged *Cicero* to reinforce his guards [u]; and, for the prevention of all ſuch attempts, to put an end to the whole affair, by bringing the queſtion of their puniſhment, without farther delay, before the Senate, which he ſummoned for that purpoſe the next morning (Dec. 5.)

* Salluſt. The debate was of great delicacy and importance; to decide upon the lives of Citizens of the firſt rank. A full Senate had indeed declared * them

Midd. p. 208.

[u] The ſame night his wife *Terentia, with the Veſtal virgins and the principal matrons of* Rome, was performing at home, according to an annual cuſtom, *the myſtic rights of the Goddeſs* Bona *or the Good*, to which no male creature was ever admitted, and, till that function was over, he was excluded alſo from his own houſe, and forced to retire to a neighbour's, where, with a ſelect council of friends, he began to deliberate about puniſhing the traitors; when his wife came in all haſte *to inform him of a prodigy* which had juſt happened amongſt them; *for the ſacrifice being over, and the fire of the altar ſeemingly extinct, a bright flame iſſued ſuddenly from the aſhes, to the aſtoniſhment of the company; upon which the Veſtal virgins ſent her away, to require him to purſue what he had then in his thoughts for the good of his country, ſince the Goddeſs by this ſign had given great light to his ſafety and glory.*

It is not improbable, that this pretended prodigy was projected between *Cicero* and *Terentia*, whoſe ſiſter likewiſe was one of the *Veſtal virgins*; and, having the direction of the whole ceremony, might help to effect, without ſuſpicion, *what had been privately concerted amongſt them.* For it was of great uſe to *Cicero*, to poſſeſs the minds of the People, as ſtrongly as he could, with an apprehenſion of their danger, for the ſake of diſpoſing them the more eaſily to approve of *the reſolution, that he had already taken in his own mind, of putting the Conſpirators to death.* M. *Morabin* obſerves, that *Cicero* ſays nothing of all this. The reaſon might be, that the *private conſultation*, and *reſolutions there made*, were *illegal.*

guilty

guilty of treaſon againſt the State: But capital puniſhments were rare and ever odious in *Rome*, whoſe laws were of all others the leaſt ſanguinary; baniſhment, with confiſcation of goods, being the ordinary puniſhments for the greateſt crimes. The Senate indeed, as it has been ſaid above, in caſes of ſudden and dangerous tumults, claimed the prerogative of puniſhing the leaders with death by the authority of their own decrees; but this was looked upon as a ſtretch of power, and an infringement of the rights of the People, which nothing could excuſe but the neceſſity of times and the extremity of danger. For there was an old law of *Porcius Læca*, a Tribune, *which granted to all criminals, capitally condemned, an appeal to the People*; and a later one of *C. Gracchus to prohibit the taking away the life of any Citizen without a formal hearing before the People:* So that ſome Senators, who had concurred in all the previous debates, withdrew themſelves from this, to ſhew their diſlike of what they expected to be the iſſue of it, and *to have no hand in putting* Roman *Citizens to death by a vote of the Senate.* The Conſul having moved the queſtion, *what was to be done with the Conſpirators, Silanus*, one of the *Conſuls elect*, (being the firſt called upon to ſpeak) adviſed[w], that *thoſe who were then in cuſtody, and alſo the reſt, when taken, ſhould all* ſuffer the *laſt* or ſevereſt puniſhment, i. e. *be put to death.* To this all who ſpoke after him readily aſſented, till it came to *Julius Cæſar*, then *Prætor elect*, who treated that opinion not as cruel, but as new and illegal, and contrary to the conſtitution of the Republic.

Midd. p. 209.

Cic. pro Rab. 4.

In Cat. 4. 5.

" All men, Conſcript Fathers, when they are deliberating upon matters " of moment and of difficult determination, ought to be quite free from " love and hatred, pity and anger; becauſe theſe paſſions never fail to caſt " ſuch a cloud over the mind, as hinders the diſcernment of what is true " and what is eligible. Let us be careful that our own dignity weigh more " with us than the guilt of *Lentulus* and his aſſociates; let us conſult " our reputation more than our reſentment. Could a puniſhment be " thought of equal to their crimes, I too ſhould be for going out of the " way on this provocation; but, as that cannot be, let us go on in the " path which the laws have chalked out for us.

Sallust.

" Many of thoſe who ſpoke before me have diſplayed a great deal " of oratory in bewailing the unfortunate condition of their country; they " have enumerated all the horrors of war, and the ſufferings to which the

[w] While the priſoners were before the Senate, *Cicero deſired ſome of the Senators, who could write ſhort-hand, to take notes of every thing that was ſaid*; and when the whole examination was finiſhed, and reduced into an act, *he ſet all the clerks at work to tranſcribe copies of it*, which he diſperſed preſently through *Italy* and all the provinces, to prevent any invidious miſrepreſentation *of what was ſo clearly atteſted and confeſſed by the criminals themſelves.* And according to *Plutarch* (in Cat.) theſe writers in ſhort-hand had been taught their art by *Cicero*, and took down the ſpeeches of the members on the preſent occaſion. And to this the Hiſtorian attributes the preſervation of the ſpeech which *Cato* made in anſwer to *Cæſar*; which ſpeech, he ſays, is the only one of *Cato*'s that was preſerved: of which, however, he gives us but a ſketch.

Pro Sylla, 14, 15.

Y. R. 690. Bef. Chr. 62. 389 Conſ.

" vanquiſhed will be expoſed;—virgins raviſhed; children torn from " their mothers boſoms; matrons inſulted by a victorious ſoldiery; tem- " ples and houſes plundered; whole towns in flames; all places filled with " dead bodies, blood, and lamentation. But, in the name of the im- " mortal Gods, what does all this profuſion of eloquence aim at? Is " it to excite in your minds a deteſtation of the Conſpirators? Yes, " without queſtion. Thoſe whom a deſign ſo monſtrouſly wicked cannot " move, will be moved by a florid oration. Where is the man who " under-rates the injuries done to himſelf, and is not rather apt to exag- " gerate them beyond all reaſon? But ſome may do this with more ſafety " than others: Men in low life, if they are led too far by anger, their " exceſſes are hid in the obſcurity of their ſtate. But thoſe who are in " high ſtations have leſs liberty of acting; for what is called anger in a " private man, is cenſured as tyranny and oppreſſion in a governor. It is " my real opinion (as I juſt now ſaid) that no puniſhment, no tortures, " are adequate to the crimes of theſe men: But the temper of mankind is " ſuch that they remember beſt what happened laſt, and, in caſes of the " moſt notorious wickedneſs, are apt to forget what the guilty *did*, and " to talk only of what they *ſuffered*, eſpecially if the puniſhment inflicted " on them was, in any degree, more than commonly ſevere. I am entirely " perſuaded that *D. Silanus*, in the advice he gave, meant nothing but " the public good. I am too well acquainted with his virtue and mode- " ration, to imagine that he ſpoke from a deſire to make his court to any " body, or from enmity to the priſoners. Yet his advice ſeems to me, " I will not ſay cruel, (for what can be cruel againſt ſuch offenders?) but, " illegal, novel to our conſtitution. Certainly, *Silanus*, it muſt have " been *fear for the public*, which moved you, our *Conſul elect*, and who " are to be guardian of our laws, to propoſe a puniſhment unknown to " them. How needleſs that fear is, I need not ſay, ſince, by the wiſdom " and care of our moſt excellent Conſul, ſo conſiderable a force is pro- " vided for our ſecurity. As to the puniſhment propoſed, one may with " truth affirm, that, to the wretched, death is rather a benefit than an " evil: It is a releaſe from all the pains incident to humanity. Beyond " death there is no place either for anguiſh or delight.

" But let me aſk, why did you not add to the ſentence of death, *that* " *they ſhould be firſt beaten with rods?* Was it becauſe the *Porcian* law " forbids it? There are other laws that equally forbid puniſhing a con- " demned Citizen with death, and that permit him to go into baniſhment. " Did you ſpare the priſoners from being beaten with rods, becauſe it is " a ſeverer puniſhment than death? (What can be too ſevere for perſons " convicted of ſuch crimes?) If you look on ſcourging as a puniſhment " leſs ſevere than death, why this tenderneſs for the laws in a matter of leſs " concern, while you ſcruple not to violate them in a greater? But you " may ſay perhaps—who will cenſure us for any puniſhment we ſhall

" decree againſt traitors to the Commonweath? I anſwer, —— Time, a Y. R. 692.
" very little time, and Fortune that rules the world at pleaſure, may produce Bef. Chr.
" ſuch cenſurers. The criminals deſerve the worſt that can befal them; 389 Conſ.
" but do you, Conſcript Fathers, conſider well what you reſolve upon in ——
" this caſe: Bad precedents have, generally ſpeaking, been innocent in
" their origin. An example ſet by worthy Magiſtrates of aſſuming arbi-
" trary power, on urgent occaſions, and for good purpoſes, has been
" often pleaded by bad and ignorant men as a precedent to juſtify their
" aſſuming the ſame power, when their purpoſe was to abuſe it. The
" *Spartans*, when they had got the better of the *Athenians*, appointed
" thirty perſons for the government of the conquered State. Theſe new
" governors began with condemning to death ſeveral of the moſt pro-
" fligate and moſt deteſted Citizens without any previous trial in form.
" The multitude rejoiced at it, and applauded the diſpatch of juſtice.
" But in time theſe Governors came to treat the good and bad alike:
" they put to death whomever of the Citizens they pleaſed; and the reſt
" lived in terror of the ſame fate. The people, then finding themſelves
" enſlaved, ſuffered grievouſly for their fooliſh joy.

" In our own times, when *Sylla* had vanquiſhed *Marius*, and ordered
" *Damaſippis* and ſome others, who, like him, had enriched themſelves
" out of the ſpoils of the public, to be put to death, who was there that
" did not applaud his juſtice? But theſe executions were only a prelude to
" more bloody ſcenes. For, when any of *Sylla*'s partizans took a fancy
" to the town-houſe or the country-houſe of a *Roman* Citizen, or even
" to his garment, or to a piece of his houſhold furniture, he had nothing
" to do but to get the owner's name put into the liſt of the proſcribed.
" Thus many, who had rejoiced at the fall of *Damaſippus*, were them-
" ſelves dragged to execution; and the carnage continued till *Sylla* had
" enriched all his followers. I apprehend not indeed any thing like
" this from *Marcus Tullius*, or in theſe times. But in a mighty State,
" as ours is, there is a great variety of men and manners. In other times,
" and under another Conſul, who may likewiſe have an army as his
" devotion, ſome falſe ſtory way paſs current for a truth, and then your
" preſent decree will be a precedent for him to draw the ſword; and,
" when it is drawn, who ſhall oblige him to uſe it moderately, or to ſheathe
" it again?

" Our anceſtors, Conſcript Fathers, though wanting neither prudence
" nor bravery, were not ſo haughty as to diſdain to look into the cuſtoms
" and inſtitutions of the nations around them, and to imitate them in the
" things wherein each nation excelled. Thus they borrowed weapons of
" war from the *Samnites*, and the enſigns of our Magiſtrates from *Etruria*:
" whatever they thought uſeful, whether found among their allies or
" among their enemies, they introduced into our State. In thoſe times,
" by a cuſtom which they had borrowed from *Greece*, they ſubjected offend-

Y. R. 690. Bef. Chr. 62. 389 Conſ.

" ing Citizens to be beaten with rods, and ſuch as were capitally con-
" victed, they ſentenced to death. Afterwards, when, our State being
" vaſtly augmented, the prodigious number of its Cititizens had given
" birth to factions, and innocent men began to be circumvented, and ſuch
" like wickedneſs to be practiſed; then the *Porcian* law was provided;
" and likewiſe other laws, by which, inſtead of death, exile was to be the
" puniſhment of Citizens capitally condemned. This inſtitution of our
" fore-fathers has great weight with me; I think we ſhould be cautious
" how we break in upon it. Certainly they, who, from ſo ſmall be-
" ginnings, could raiſe this mighty Empire, muſt, in virtue and wiſdom,
" have excelled us, who have a difficulty to preſerve what they ſo worthily
" acquired.

" Are we then to releaſe theſe criminals, and ſend them away to rein-
" force the army of *Catiline?* By no means. My opinion is, *that their*
" *eſtates be confiſcated, and their perſons cloſely confined* in the ſtrongeſt of
" the municipal towns (each of the criminals in a diſtinct town) *and that*
" *no perſon hereafter move the Senate or People in their favour:* And let it
" be declared as the opinion of this Houſe, that whoever ſhall do ſo, will
" act contrary to the welfare of the Republic, and of all its members."

Salluſt. Plut. in Cat. in Cic. in Cæſ. Suet vii. Plut. in Cic.

Cæſar's diſcourſe made a great impreſſion on the Aſſembly; even *Silanus* excuſed and mitigated the ſeverity of his vote; and *Cicero*'s friends came readily into *Cæſar*'s opinion, as likely to create the leaſt trouble to *Cicero* himſelf, for whoſe peace and ſafety they now ſaw reaſon to be ſolicitous.

Salluſt.

But *Cato*, one of the new Tribunes, roſe up, and in a good deal of warmth began with obſerving, that thoſe who had ſpoken before him had all miſtaken the queſtion: That he was ſurprized to ſee any debate about the puniſhment of men who had commenced an actual war againſt their country: That the queſtion was how to ſecure themſelves againſt the Conſpirators, rather than how to puniſh them: That other crimes might be puniſhed after commiſſion; but unleſs this was prevented before its effect, it would be in vain to ſeek a remedy after: That the debate was not about the public revenues, or the oppreſſion of the allies, but about their own lives and liberties; not about the diſcipline or manners of the City, on which he had often delivered his mind in that place; nor about the greatneſs or proſperity of their Empire; but whether they or their enemies ſhould poſſeſs that Empire:

" In the name of the immortal Gods, I call upon you, who have always
" had your magnificent houſes and your villas, your ſtatues and your
" pictures, more at heart than the intereſt of the Republic*; I call upon
" you to rouſe yourſelves for once, and ſtand up in defence of your coun-

* Theſe were *Cicero's* worthies, thoſe Conſulars who had enriched themſelves by oppreſſing the provinces of which they had the government after the expiration of their magiſtracies.

" try,

" try, if you would preſerve thoſe things you are ſo fond of, and enjoy, Y. R. 690.
" without interruption, that voluptuous indolence in which you paſs your Bef. Chr. 62.
" days. Often have I ſpoke, Conſcript Fathers, and much have I com- 389 Conſ.
" plained in this Aſſembly of the rapacious covetouſneſs and prodigal
" luxury which prevail among us; and thoſe complaints have created me
" many enemies. But I, who never was diſpoſed to excuſe in myſelf even
" an inclination to evil, cannot readily pardon the evil deeds of others.
" You have long ſince loſt the true names of things: To give away other
" people's money, is called generoſity; to attempt what is criminal, forti-
" tude. If you muſt be generous, let it be from the ſpoils of the Allies;
" if merciful, to the plunderers of the Treaſury; but be not prodigal
" of the blood of Citizens; nor, by ſparing a few bad, deſtroy all the
" good. Shall any one in the preſent caſe talk to me of mildneſs and
" clemency? There is no room for mercy. *Cæſar* indeed has ſpoken well
" and gravely concerning life and death, judging, I preſume, that all we
" are told of puniſhments alloted to the wicked in the infernal regions
" is mere fiction; and he would therefore have the eſtates of the crimi-
" nals confiſcated, and their perſons cloſely confined in the municipal
" towns; from an apprehenſion, I ſuppoſe, that, if they ſhould be kept
" at *Rome*, they might be forcibly reſcued by their fellow conſpirators,
" or by a mob, hired for that purpoſe: As if villains were no where but
" in *Rome*, and not in every part of *Italy*; or as if the attempts of the
" deſperate would not be more likely to ſucceed where there is leſs ſtrength
" to reſiſt them: His propoſal has not the leaſt ſhew of reaſon, if he be
" truly afraid of them: But if, while every body elſe is in fear, he alone
" fears nothing, there is the more reaſon for us, Conſcript Fathers, to be
" afraid for ourſelves. We are not now deliberating on the fate only of
" *Lentulus* and the other priſoners, but of *Catilina*'s whole army,
" which will be animated or diſcouraged in proportion to the vigour or
" remiſſneſs of your decrees.——The flagitious lives of the criminals
" confute every argument of mercy: *Catilina* is hovering over us with
" an army, while his accomplices are within the walls and in the very
" heart of the City; ſo that whatever you determine cannot be kept ſecret,
" which makes is the more neceſſary to determine quickly. My opinion
" therefore is, *That, ſince the criminals have been convicted, both by teſtimony*
" *and their own confeſſion, of a deteſtable treaſon againſt the Republic, they*
" *ſhould ſuffer the puniſhment of death according to the cuſtom of our an-*
" *ceſtors*[y]."

The

[y] *Plutarch* reports, that, while *Cato* was ſpeaking, a ſealed letter was delivered to *Cæſar* in the Senate-houſe: that *Cato*, ſuſpecting it might contain ſome ſecret advice from the Conſpirators, inſiſted upon its being read to the Aſſembly. Whereupon *Cæſar*, who ſat near him, delivered the paper into his hands. *Cato* preſently perceived it to be a love-letter from his own ſiſter, *Servilia*, with whom *Cæſar* had long had an intrigue: the angry Stoic threw back the paper to him; *There, Sot!* and then reſumed the thread of

Plut. in Cat.

A. R. 690. Ante Chr. 62. 189. Conſ.

The leading men of the Senate, the Oligarchs, having, in concert with *Cicero*, come, to the Aſſembly, dermined[z] to put the priſoners to death, had therefore voted accordingly; but ſome, being convinced by *Cæſar*'s diſcourſe, others alarmed by it, they retracted their votes, and *Silanus* himſelf, if he did not retract, explained his vote away, pretending, that, by *the laſt puniſhment* he did not mean *death*, but the ſevereſt puniſhment that could be *legally* inflicted on a *Roman* Citizen: nevertheleſs they all turned now to their firſt opinion, being encouraged to it by *Cato*'s authority, not only as a Senator highly and univerſally revered for his virtue, but as being at this time a TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE: They extolled him to the ſkies for his reſolution, and reproached one another with cowardice. *Cato* was the only Hero. A decree, therefore, was drawn conformable to *Cato*'s opinion, and in his very words; and the greater part of the Senate, to do him honour, waited upon him home.

Vell. Pat. l. II. c. 35.

The Conſul, thus authorized, reſolved to put the decree in execution without delay. Accompanied by a great number of the principal men of the City, who ſerved him for a guard, he went and took *Lentulus* from the cuſtody of his kinſman *Lentulus Spinther*, and conveyed him through the Forum to the common priſon. The multitude, greatly aſtoniſhed, followed in ſilence; the younger ſort, eſpecially, were much terrified with this ſhocking ceremony; a thing quite new to them, and which they conſidered as a dreadful myſtery of ariſtocratical government. *Lentulus* was delivered by the Conſul to the executioners, who preſently ſtrangled him: *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, and *Gabinius*, were conducted to their execution by the Prætors, and put to death in the ſame manner, together with *Cæparius*, the only one of their accomplices who was taken after the examination.

Plut. in Cic.

As *Cicero*, in his return from theſe executions, perceived in the Forum a great many of *Catiline*'s accomplices, who had got together in cluſters,

of his diſcourſe: In which diſcourſe he addreſſed himſelf to *Cæſar* in particular, "reproaching him *with an affectation of popularity and lenity, while he was ſubverting the Commonwealth*; and *with endeavouring to intimate the Senate*, while he himſelf ought to tremble with fear, leſt he ſhould be treated as an accomplice of the Conſpirators, *for having ſo openly and ſo audaciouſly endeavoured to reſcue them out of the hands of Juſtice; confeſſing that he had no compaſſion for his country, when he ſaw it upon the very brink of deſtruction; and yet being ſo tender hearted, as almoſt to ſhed tears over villains, who ought never to have ſeen the light of heaven, and whoſe death was neceſſary for ſecuring the City from a maſſacre and a conflagration.*" If *Cato* did really ſcold in this manner, he muſt, unqueſtionably, have been prompted to it by his flaming wrath, which the billet-doux above-mentioned had ſuddenly kindled. The ſpeech which *Salluſt* aſcribes to him, though not ſo intemperate, is far from being a reaſonable anſwer to *Cæſar*'s diſcourſe.

[z] *Cicero* declares this of himſelf in a letter to *Atticus* [Lib. XII. Ep. 21.] where he complains of *Brutus* for not having done him juſtice, in a relation which *Brutus* had written of what paſſed at this time in the Senate. Me autem hic laudat, quod retulerim, non quod patefecerim, quod cohortatus ſim, QUOD DENIQUE ANTE, QUAM CONSULEREM, IPSE JUDICAVERIM.

and

and were waiting for the night, in hopes of being then able to reſcue the priſoners, he cried out to them with a loud voice, *They did live* [vixerunt;] a mode of ſpeech among the *Romans*, to avoid the diſagreeable and ominous ſound of the word *dead*. Y. R. 690. Bef. Chr. 62. 389. Conſ.

The affair thus over, the whole body of the Senate, together with the Knights, conducted the Conſul home in a kind of triumph, the ſtreets being illuminated, and the women and children at the windows, and on the tops of houſes, to ſee him paſs along through infinite acclamations of the multitude, proclaiming him the *Preſerver of his Country*, and *Second Founder of* Rome.

This was the *fifth* of *December*, thoſe celebrated *Nones*, of which *Cicero* uſed to boaſt ever after as the moſt glorious day of his life. Midd. 232.

By the ſeizure and puniſhment of *Catiline*'s aſſociates, the Senate thought the danger wholly averted; and they, accordingly, proceeded to vote thankſgivings and feſtivals, looking upon *Catiline*'s army as a crew of fugitives or banditti, whom their forces were ſure to deſtroy, whenever they could meet with them. 233.

Cicero's adminiſtration being now at an end, nothing remained but to reſign the Conſulſhip, according to cuſtom, in an Aſſembly of the People, and to take the uſual oath, *of his having diſcharged it with fidelity*. This was generally accompanied with a ſpeech from *the expiring Conſul*; and after ſuch a year, and from ſuch a Speaker, the City was in no ſmall expectation of what *Cicero* would ſay to them: But *Metellus Nepos*, one of the new Tribunes (who had entered on their office the tenth of *December*,) reſolved to diſappoint both the Orator and the Audience: For when *Cicero* had mounted the *Roſtra*, and was ready to perform this laſt act of his office, *the* Tribune *would not ſuffer*[a] *him to ſpeak, or to do any thing more than barely to take the oath*; declaring, *That he who had put Citizens to death unheard, ought not to be permitted to ſpeak for himſelf*: Upon which, *Cicero*, who was never at a loſs, inſtead of pronouncing the ordinary form of the oath, *exalting the tone of his voice*, ſwore out aloud, ſo as all the people might hear him, *that he had ſaved the Republic and the City from ruin*; which the multitude below confirmed with an univerſal ſhout, and with one voice cried out, *that what he had ſworn was true*; and thus the intended affront was turned, by his preſence of mind, to his greater honour[b]. 231. Ep. Fam. v. 2. In. Piſon. 3. Ep. Fam. v. 2.

Catiline

[a] *Plutarch* names two Tribunes, *Metellus* and *Beſtia*, as making this oppoſition; and intimates that they were inſtigated to it by *Cæſar*, then *Prætor elect*.

[b] "Before we cloſe the account of the "memorable events of this year, we muſt "not omit (ſays *Cicero*'s Engliſh hiſtorian) "the mention of one which diſtinguiſhed it "afterwards as a particular æra in the annals "of *Rome*, the birth of *Octavius* ſurnamed "*Auguſtus*, which happened on the twenty-"third of *September*. *Velleius* calls it an ac-"ceſſion of glory to *Cicero*'s Conſulſhip: [illegible] "it excites ſpeculations rather of a different "ſort; *on the inſcrutable methods of Providence, and the ſhort-ſighted policy of man*; "*that.* Midd. 230.

Y. R. 691. Bef. Chr. 61. 390 Conſ. Midd. 123. Sall. 56. *Catiline* was in a condition to make a ſtouter reſiſtance that the Senate had imagined: He had filled up his troops to the number of *two legions*, or about *twelve thouſand fighting men*, of which *a fourth part only was compleatly armed*, the reſt furniſhed with what chance offered, *darts*, *lances*, *clubs*. Truſting to the proper ſtrength of the Conſpiracy, he refuſed at firſt *to inliſt ſlaves*, who flocked to him in great numbers. He knew that he ſhould quickly have ſoldiers enough, if his friends performed their part at home: So that when the Conſul *Antonius* approached towards him with his army, he ſhifted his quarters, and made frequent motions and marches through the mountains, *ſometimes towards* Gaul, *ſometimes towards the City*, in order to avoid an engagement, till he could hear ſome news from *Rome:* But when the fatal account came, *of the death of* Lentulus *and the reſt*, the face of his affairs began preſently to change, and his army to dwindle apace, by the deſertion of thoſe, whom the hopes of victory and plunder had drawn to his camp. His firſt attempt, therefore, was by long marches and private roads though *the* Apennine, *to make his eſcape into* Gaul; but Q. *Metellus Celer*, who had been ſent thither before by *Cicero*, imagining that he would take that reſolution, had ſecured all the paſſes, and poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly with an army of *three legions*, that it was impoſſible for him to force his way on that ſide; whilſt, on the other, the Conſul *Antonius*, with a much greater force, blocked him up behind, and encloſed him within the mountains. It is ſaid that *Antonius* had no

Ibid. 57.

" *that in the moment when* Rome *was preſerved* " *from deſtruction, and its* Liberty *thought to be* " *eſtabliſhed more firmly than ever, an infant ſhould* " *be thrown into the world, who, within the* " *courſe of twenty years, affected what* Catiline " *had attempted, and deſtroyed both* Cicero *and* " *and* REPUBLIC. If *Rome* could have been " ſaved by human counſel, it would have been " ſaved by the ſkill of *Cicero*: but its deſtiny " was now approaching. For governments, " like natural bodies, have, with the prin- " ciples of their preſervation, the ſeeds of ruin " alſo eſſentially mixed in their conſtitution, " which, after a certain period, begin to operate " and exert themſelves to the diſſolution of the " vital frame. Theſe ſeeds had long been " fermenting in the bowels of the Republic; " when *Octavius* came, peculiarly formed by " nature, and inſtructed by art, to quicken " their operation, and exalt them to their " maturity."

What is here ſaid of the reſemblance of governments to natural bodies is unqueſtionably true: but for the reſt of this religiouſly grave ſpeculation, what ſolidity is there in it? *Cicero* had preſerved the City from being ſet on fire, and, perhaps, the greater part of the Senators from being maſſacred; but the *illegal method* he had taken, *without neceſſity*, to do thoſe ſervices, far from *eſtabliſhing* Liberty *more firmly than ever, or having a tendency* to reſtore Liberty (of which there was hardly a ſhadow remaining) haſtened the introduction of deſpotic *monarchy*. And the *ſpeculation* of the reverend Hiſtorian *on the inſcrutable methods of Providence*, would certainly have appeared not leſs ingenious, if it had been to this effect: *That*, during the Conſulſhip of *Cicero who, when* PRÆTOR, *had, for the ſake of his own advancement, given the firſt ſtab to the Roman* ARISTOCRACY, *by perſuading the* People *to paſs the* MANILIAN LAW: *and who, from a zeal to ſupport that* ARISTOCRACY, *when it was his private intereſt to have it ſupported, gave the ſecond ſtab to it*, when CONSUL, *by an evil Example of diſpenſing with the Laws* unneceſſarily, *an infant ſhould be thrown into the world, who, in the courſe of a few years, gave the finiſhing blow* to the *Ariſtocratic Domination*, and delivered up *Cicero*, its moſt eloquent and moſt loquacious Advocate, to the ſword of his particular and implacable enemy.

3 inclination

inclination to fight with *Catiline*, but would willingly have given him an opportunity to eſcape, had not his Quæſtor *Sextius* (who was *Cicero*'s creature) and his Lieutenant *Petreius*, *urged him on, againſt his will, to force* Catiline *to the neceſſity of a battle:* Who, ſeeing all things deſperate, and nothing left but either to die or conquer, reſolved to try his fortune againſt *Antonius*, though much the ſtronger, rather than againſt *Metellus*, in hopes (ſays *Dio*) *that out of regard to their former friendſhip and connections, the Conſul might poſſibly contrive ſome way at laſt of throwing the victory into his hands.* But *Antonius* happening to be ſeized at that very time with a fit of the *Gout*, or pretending ſo to be, the command fell of courſe to his Lieutenant *Petreius*. This officer had ſerved with great reputation for above thirty years together in the army, either as a *Tribune*, a *Præfect*, a *Lieutenant*, or a *Prætor*; ſo that he was acquainted with moſt of the ſoldiers, and with the gallant actions they had performed; by the mention of which he ſpirited them up to maintain their character: and at the ſame time he repreſented to them that they were going to fight for their Altars, their Children, their Country, againſt a gang of robbers, who were not half armed.

Y. R. 691. Bef. Chr. 61. 390 Conſ. Pro Sext. 5. Dio, l. xxxvii. p. 47. Salluſt.

On the other hand, *Catiline*, having firſt, in a ſpeech to his followers, urged them by every motive he could think of to exert their utmoſt courage, ſent away all the horſes in his army, and among the reſt his own, chuſing to fight on foot, that, by letting his men ſee the danger to him and to them was equal, they might be the more animated to a gallant behaviour. All his *Centurions*, his *Evocati* [experienced veterans who had ſerved out their legal time] and the ſtouteſt and beſt armed of his other ſoldiers he placed in the front, where he himſelf ſtood by *Marius*'s *Silver Eagle*, before-mentioned. To *Manlius* he gave the command of the right; to a native of *Feſulæ* the left. A deſperate battle enſued. The legions of the Republic fought with unconquerable bravery, thoſe of *Catiline* with deſperate and immoveable obſtinacy; reſolved to vanquiſh or die, not a man recoiled; there was not one who would either give or accept of quarter. *Catiline*, at the head of a ſelect company, moved about in the van, relieving thoſe who were hard preſſed, bringing up freſh men to ſupply the place of the wounded, and providing for all exigencies: he himſelf often fighting in perſon, and performing the part of a ſtout ſoldier as well as of a good commander. *Petreius* finding a reſiſtance beyond his expectation, brought up the Prætorian Cohort againſt the enemies center, which was thereby broken; and though they rallied here and there, faced about upon him, and made ſome ſhort reſiſtance, in the end he put them all to the ſword; and then turned upon the flanks of the wings. *Manlius* and the *Feſulan*, the two commanders, were among the firſt that fell. *Catiline*, ſeeing his forces reduced to a very ſmall number, and calling to mind (as *Salluſt* ſuppoſes) his noble family, and the figure he had formerly made in the world, ruſhed into the thickeſt of the enemy,

Ibid. 59.

Y. R. 691. Bef. Chr. 61. 390 Conf.

and was there ſlain, fighting to the laſt. Some few ſoldiers of the center (which had been broke by the Prætorian cohort) lay ſcattered about, yet not one of them wounded in the back. Except theſe, almoſt every one lay dead upon the very ſpot where he had ſtood at firſt. But *Catiline* himſelf was found at a great diſtance from his own men, among the dead bodies of his enemies. Not yet quite breathleſs, he retained, in the agonies of death, that fierceneſs of countenance which had been always natural to him. Out of the whole number of the rebels not ſo much as one man, above the rank of a ſlave, was taken, either fighting or running away. It proved a bloody and a mournful victory to the army of the Republic, the braveſt men of the legions being all either killed or grievouſly wounded.

Midd. p. 226.

Thus ended this famed Conſpiracy in the beginning of the Conſulſhip of *Silanus* and *Muræna*. " Whilſt the ſenſe of all *Cicero*'s ſervices (ſays " his *Engliſh* Hiſtorian) was freſh, he was repaid for them to the full " of his wiſhes, and in the very way that he deſired, by the warm and " grateful applauſes of all orders of the City. For, beſides the honours " already mentioned, *L. Gellius*, who had been Conſul and Cenſor, ſaid In Piſon. 3. " in a ſpeech to the Senate, that the Republic owed him a *Civic-Crown* " for ſaving them from ruin. And *Catulus*, in a full Houſe, declared Plut. in Cic. & Appian. p. 431. " him the *Father of his Country*, as *Cato* likewiſe did from the *Roſtra*, " with the loud acclamations of the whole People: Whence *Pliny*, in " honour of his memory, cries out, *Hail thou, who waſt firſt ſaluted the* Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. vii. 30. " *parent of thy Country*. This title, the moſt glorious that a mortal can " wear, was, from this precedent, uſurped afterwards by thoſe who of all " mortals deſerved it the leaſt, *the Emperors*; proud to extort from ſlaves " and flatterers what *Cicero* obtained from the FREE vote of the Senate and " People of *Rome*.

" ——————*Roma parentem*,
" *Roma Patrem Patriæ Ciceronem libera dixit:*
Juv. viii.
" THEE, Cicero, Rome, *while* FREE, *nor yet enthrall'd*
" *To Tyrant's will, thy Country's Parent call'd.*

" All the towns of *Italy* followed the example of the metropolis in decree- " ing extraordinary honours to him; and *Capua in particular choſe him their* In Piſon. 11. " *Patron, and erected a gilt ſtatue to him*,

" *Salluſt*, who allows him the character of an excellent Conſul, ſays " not a word of any of theſe honours, nor gives him any greater ſhare " of praiſe than what could not be diſſembled by an Hiſtorian. There are " two obvious reaſons for this reſervedneſs: Firſt, The *perſonal enmity*. " which, according to tradition, ſubſiſted between them. Secondly, *The* " *time of publiſhing his Hiſtory*, in the reign of *Auguſtus*, while the name " of *Cicero* was ſtill obnoxious to envy."

To this it may be answered, that *Sallust* might think the compliments made to the Consul by particular Senators of his own faction not worthy of an Historian's notice: That he has related the affair throughout, not like an enemy to *Cicero*, but in a manner so honourable for him, as to make some think, that the misunderstanding between them was not subsisting when *Sallust* wrote the History of *Catiline*'s Conspiracy. Y. R. 691. Bef. Chr. 61. 390 Cons. — See Le Clerc's Sallust.

But what shall we say of his omitting to mention *Cicero's Fourth Oration* against *Catiline*, and of *his giving* (as M. *Morabin* observes[c]) *all the honour of the day to* Cato, to whom alone he ascribes the Senate's being brought to decree the death of the Conspirators? *Cicero*'s *English Historian* has built much upon that *fourth Oration*, and has filled seven pages of his History with the substance of it: Yet it is observable, that this notable speech is no where taken notice of by *Plutarch* in his life of *Cicero*, or of *Cæsar*, or of *Cato*; nay, *Plutarch* reports, that what *Cicero* said, after *Cæsar* had spoke, was in support of *Cæsar*'s opinion. Nor is the said *fourth Oration* mentioned by *Appian*, or *Dio*, or *Suetonius*, or *Vell. Paterculus*; and one may reasonably conjecture, from a letter of *Cicero* to *Atticus*, L. xii. Ep. 21. that, seven years after *Cicero*'s Consulship, neither *Brutus* nor *Atticus* knew any thing of that *fourth Oration*; which was probably composed on occasion of *Brutus*'s having given more honour to *Cato*, in relating the debate about *Catiline*, than *Cicero* thought was consistent with his own glory: Indeed it seems to have many internal probable proofs of its being, not an extemporary speech, but a laboured composition, made at leisure, many years after the debate; a disgustful panegyric upon his own foresight, wisdom, disinterestedness, magnanimity, prodigious courage and contempt of death; though *Plutarch*, writing of this very transaction, tells us, that the Orator was in no reputation for courage.

His *English Historian*, concerning the debate in the Senate, writes thus: "These *two contrary opinions* (that of *Silanus* and that of *Cæsar*) "being proposed, the next question was, which of them should take place, "*Cæsar*'s had made a great impression on the Assembly, and staggered "even *Silanus*, who began to excuse and mitigate the severity of his "vote; and *Cicero*'s friends were going forwardly into it as likely to "create the least trouble to *Cicero* himself, for whose peace and safety "they began to be solicitous: When *Cicero*, observing the inclinations "of the House, and rising up to put the question, made *his fourth Speech*, "which now remains on the subject of this transaction; in which he deli-"vered his sentiments with *all the skill both of the Orator and the States-"man*; and while he seemed to shew a perfect neutrality, and to give Midd. p. 21.

[c] Caton, dans Salluste, a tout l'honneur de cette journée; ensorte qu'on ne fait auquêl croire, ou de l'Historien qui rapporte le fait à l'avantage de celui-là, ou de notre Orateur qui s'en attribuant toute la gloire, devient son propre panégyriste. *Morab. Hist. de Cic.* p. 143.

Y.R.691. Buſ. Chr. 61. 390 Conſ. "equal commendation to both the opinions, was artfully labouring all "the while to turn the ſcale in favour of *Silanus*'s, which he conſidered "as a neceſſary example of ſeverity in the preſent circumſtances of the "Public."

That this maſter-piece of oratory and political ſkill was never ſpoken, one may reaſonably conclude from the following conſiderations:

Middl. p. 213. 1. He tells the Houſe that there are *two* opinions before them, whereas in reality there was but *one*; for *Silanus*, and all thoſe who had aſſented to what he at firſt adviſed (among whom was the Conſul's * brother *Quintus*) had gone over to *Cæſar*'s opinion.

* Suet. in Cæſ. 14.

2. He repreſents *Cæſar* as voting for *every other way of puniſhment except death*, which not being true, but directly contrary to what *Cæſar* had adviſed, it is not likely the Orator, while *Cæſar* was preſent, would impute it to him. For inſtance, *Cæſar* did not adviſe to have the criminals *beaten with rods*, but ſpeaks of that puniſhment as no leſs illegal, without a hearing and judgment of the whole People, than *death* itſelf.

3. He repreſents *Cæſar* as having voted for *perpetual* impriſonment, which his words, in the ſpeech given us by *Salluſt*, do not import: Neither could a vote of the SENATE deprive the PEOPLE of their right of judging the Priſoners, and determining their Fate.

Plut. in Cæſ. Id. in Cic. & in Cat. De Bell. Civ. 431. Add to this, that *Cæſar* (according to *Plutarch*'s repeated teſtimony) moved for the cloſe confinement of the priſoners only *till* Catiline *ſhould be defeated and cruſhed, and more ample information of the Conſpiracy could be taken at leiſure.* And *Appian* ſays expreſly, that the impriſonment propoſed by *Cæſar* was only *till the war ſhould be ended, and the criminals could be brought to trial.*

4. *Cicero*'s anſwer to *Cæſar*, concerning *Caius Gracchus*'s law, which *forbad the puniſhing* CITIZENS, *uncondemned by the* PEOPLE, *with death*, is quite ludicrous. ENEMIES, ſays the Orator, *are no* CITIZENS; *therefore the priſoners, having been declared* ENEMIES *by the* SENATE, *have no title to the benefit of that law.* Would he have talked thus, *Cæſar* preſent?

5. He affirms, that *Caius Gracchus had ſuffered death by* ORDER *of the* PEOPLE: A notorious falſity, and contradictory to what he had ſaid in his firſt ſpeech againſt *Catiline.* But, had it been true, would the Orator thence infer that the PEOPLE were diſſatisfied with the Law in queſtion? Or would he infer from the PEOPLE's having ſentenced *Caius Gracchus* to death, that the SENATE might legally inflict on a Citizen the ſame puniſhment? Can we ſuppoſe ſuch diſcourſe from *Cicero* in full Senate?

6. He refutes, beforehand, *Cato*'s ARGUMENT *for putting the priſoners to death without trial*, by ſaying, *That the People were not wanting in their zeal and duty on this occaſion; that the whole body of the People were aſſembled for the defence of the Senate; that the whole* Roman *People were of one and the ſame mind.* If ſo, there could be no ground to apprehend a reſcue, nor therefore any neceſſity of ſentencing the priſoners to immediate death.

If

If any admirer of *Cicero*'s virtues ſhould pretend, that *more regard ought to be had to what* Cicero *himſelf ſays concerning the affair of* Cataline, *than to what* Salluſt *has written, or any, or all of the writers abovementioned*; this, to my apprehenſion, may be ſafely denied; nay, with great appearance of reaſon it may be ſaid, that no one of thoſe writers can poſſibly deſerve leſs credit than *Cicero*, when his Glory or the Intereſt of his Party is in queſtion.

Plutarch informs us, that "*Cicero*, in an *Oration* which he made *upon* "*his Conſulſhip*, expreſly wrote, that *Craſſus came to his houſe one night,* "*and put into his hands a letter, containing an account of* Catiline's *proceed-* "*ings, and aſſured him, at the ſame time, that the conſpiracy, there ſpoken* "*of, was real and certain.*" Yet, the ſame *Cicero*, in another of his Orations, *which did not appear till after* Craſſus *and* Cæſar *were dead*, accuſed them both of being in that Conſpiracy. What ſhall we think of ſuch a Writer? What credit can he deſerve as an Hiſtorian? his *Engliſh* Panegyriſt makes no mention, in the proper place, of this nightly viſit of *Craſſus* to the Conſul; but, after he has finiſhed the ſtory, tells us, that "*Craſſus*, who had always been *Cicero*'s enemy, *by an officiouſneſs of* "*bringing letters of intelligence to him, during the alarm of the plot, ſeemed* "*to betray a conſciouſneſs of ſome guilt.*" I ſhall make no comment on this inſtance of the Hiſtorian's immoveable prejudice againſt the ſuppoſed enemies of his Hero. Vid. ſup. p. 341.

Perhaps the Reader will not be diſpleaſed, if ſome *Remarks*, which have been made on *Cicero's conduct* in the affair of *Catiline*, ſhould cloſe this ſubject.

Dedication of Gordon's Tranſlation of Cic. Orat. againſt Cat. to Mr. Doddington, 1744.

THE SOLEMN, ſententious Mr. *Thomas Gordon* has pronounced, that *Cicero*, "in his "Conſulſhip, ſaved the Public with ſuch HIGH "CAPACITY as was hardly ever equalled, "ſurely never exceeded, by that of any ſtateſ- "man; and with ſuch HIGH COURAGE as "was never ſurpaſſed by that of any Hero." He proceeds: "I think no *Roman* but him- "ſelf could have defeated the Conſpiracy of "*Catiline*. —— I queſtion whether *Pompey* "could, in *Cicero*'s place, have done what "*Cicero* did: I even queſtion whether he "would have ventured upon doing it.---*Pom-* "*pey* was a wary and diſtruſtful man; a qua- "lity commonly joined to limited parts: He "was likewiſe *a ſelfiſh man, making all his* "PUBLIC PROCEEDINGS *ſubſervient to* "PERSONAL ENDS; *often purſuing thoſe* "*ends at the expence, and even at the peril, of* "*the Public.*"

[N. B. *Cicero* was a great admirer of *Pompey*: Is it certain that he did not make *Pompey* his pattern of conduct in PUBLIC AFFAIRS? Conſider the part he acted in relation to the *Manilian law*; his *unjuſt and cruel oppoſition to the ſons of the proſcribed*; his *intended defence of* Catiline, *&c.*]

Character and Conduct of Cicero conſidered, &c. 1747.

THE FACETIOUS *Colley Cibber*, Eſq; Poet Laureat, not ſubmitting to the ſentence of this grave and wiſe Judge, has, in a work dedicated to their common Patron, made no ſcruple to deliver a contrary opinion.

In the entrance of his work, which was occaſioned by Dr. *Middleton*'s *Hiſtory of the Life of* Cicero, he obſerves, that, "As the "greateſt part of *Cicero*'s actions, in *this* "Hiſtory, are taken from his own account of "them, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, they are "ſet in full as good, if not a better light, than "ſometimes they will naturally bear."

After making himſelf merry with *Cicero*'s *ſhining breaſt-plate*, conſidering it as meer gin- Vid. ſup. p. 339.
mace, an expedient unworthy of the ſpirit of a Conſul, he thus continues:

"We

p. 51. "We are now entering upon the notorious "conſpiracy of *Catiline*, the defeat of which "*Cicero* has it at heart to erect into the mo-"nument of his Glory: But, in giving it our "equal admiration, let us follow his own ad-
Vid. ſup. p. 334. "vice *, by firſt enquiring *what ſhare either* "CHANCE, RASHNESS, *or* PRUDENCE, *had* "*in this memorable tranſaction.*——

"When by his vigilance and management "with *Fulvia* (a miſtreſs to one of the conſpi-"rators) he was maſter of *Catiline*'s whole "ſcheme, and of his reſolutions taken for the "execution of it, *Cicero* brings at the ſame "time his diſcovery of the plot, and his ac-"cuſation of *Catiline* before the Senate, with-"out thinking it neceſſary to ſhew any fur-"ther evidence than the ſplendor of his elo-"quence to ſupport it; which notwithſtanding "ſo far prevailed, that the Senate gave an in-"tire credit to the charge, and looked upon "*Catiline* with the abhorrence due to a cri-"minal condemned. But *Catiline*, leſs diſ-"mayed by the Orator, and obſerving no wit-"neſs produced to confront him, ſo boldly "ſtood upon his innocence, that, in defiance "of his accuſer, *he repreſented the whole as a* "*fiction of his enemy, offering to give ſecurity for* "*his behaviour, and to deliver himſelf to the* "*cuſtody of any whom the Senate would name,* "*even to* Cicero *himſelf. But* Cicero *plainly*
Vid. ſupr. p. 342. "*told him, That he ſhould never think himſelf* "*ſafe in the ſame houſe, when he was in dan-*"*ger by living in the ſame City with him.*

"Such a pretty-turned concluſion might "ſound well in the original round cadence of a "Ciceronian period; but, when our ear has "been pleaſed, what has it ſaid to our under-"ſtanding? Why, that, becauſe it was not ſafe "to live in the ſame City with a Traitor, "it muſt therefore be dangerous to ſecure "him! If *Cicero* had a better reaſon for let-"ting him eſcape, might not this as well "have been concealed?"

Guthrie's Orat. of Cic. tranſl. p. 23. note (n) The ingenious Tranſlator of many of *Cicero*'s orations, in a note on that part of the firſt oration againſt *Catiline*, which ſpeaks of his offer to ſurrender himſelf a Priſoner, and the rejection of that offer, thus expreſſes his ſurprize: "Why, in the name of Heaven, "did not *Cicero* accept of *Catiline*'s offer? "Why was ſo fair, ſo frank a propoſal re-"jected by the Government? The reaſon he "gives here is an affront upon the common-"ſenſe of mankind. Was there not a place "in *Rome* cloſe or ſecure enough to confine "this dangerous, deteſtable rebel, in whoſe "ſingle perſon all the hopes of the Conſpi-"rators centered?"——What a plauſible ar-gument might ſuch an Advocate as *Cicero* have formed, in extenuation at leaſt of the crime of *Catiline's conſpiracy againſt the* SE-NATE, from the SENATE's *conſpiracy againſt him*, plainly diſcovered by *their refuſing him a fair trial, even when he offered his perſon as ſecurity for his ſtanding it!*

Cicero's *Engliſh Hiſtorian* makes the fol-lowing Apology for this part of his con-duct:

"It will ſeem ſtrange to ſome, that *Cicero*, Mudd. "when he had certain information of *Cati-*p. 189. "*line's treaſon*, inſtead of ſeizing him in the "City, not only ſuffered but urged his eſcape, "and forced him as it were to begin the war. "But there was good reaſon for what he did, "as he frequently intimates in his ſpeeches: "He had many enemies among the nobility, "and *Catiline* many ſecret friends; and tho' "he was perfectly informed of the whole pro-"greſs and extent of the plot, yet, the proofs "being not ready to be laid before the Pub-"lic, *Catiline's diſſimulation* ſtill prevailed, "and perſuaded great numbers of his inno-"cence; ſo that if he had impriſoned and pu-"niſhed him at this time, as he deſerved, the "whole faction were ready to raiſe a general "clamour againſt him, by repreſenting *his* "*adminiſtration as a Tyranny, and the plot as a* "*forgery contrived to ſupport it*: Whereas, by "driving *Catiline* into rebellion, he made all "men ſee the reality of their danger, while, "from an exact account of his troops, he "knew them to be ſo unequal to thoſe of the "Republic, that there was no doubt of his "being deſtroyed, if he could be puſhed to the "neceſſity of declaring himſelf before his other "projects were ripe for execution. He knew "alſo, that, if *Catiline* was once driven out of "the City, and ſeparated from his accom-"plices, who were a *lazy, drunken, thoughtleſs* "*crew*, they would ruin themſelves by their "own raſhneſs, and be eaſily drawn into any "trap which he ſhould lay for them: The *event* "ſhewed that he judged right; and by what "happened afterwards, both to *Catiline* and "to himſelf, it appeared, that, *as far as hu-*"*man caution could reach, he acted with the ut-*"*moſt prudence, in regard as well to his own as* "*to the public ſafety.*" Surely, if we are to judge by the EVENT, this ſhewed juſt the con-trary of what is here ſaid; it ſhewed that *Ci-*

cero

cero acted with the utmoſt imprudence, in regard to the ſafety of the Public; ſo many brave *Romans*, as fell in the conſequent battle, being ſacrificed wholly to his unreaſonable and cowardly fears for his own perſon.

But let us attend to the Laureat's obſervations:

Cibb. 52. "This confident offer of *Catiline*, with his "impudence of coming afterwards to the "Capitol, while under ſuch an accuſation, Middl. 177. "ſo provoked the Conſul, that *he broke out* "*into a moſt ſevere invective againſt him, and* "*with all the fire and force of an incenſed* "*Eloquence, laid open the whole courſe of his* "*treaſons, and the notoriety of his villainies.*

"This we muſt have allowed him to have "done in all the ſtrongeſt colours that could "paint the crime, or the criminal, as an ob- "ject of danger, terror, and deteſtation. But "ſtill, without ſome evidence of the facts al- "ledged, in what was this flaming elo- "quence to avail againſt *Catiline?* Could it "have any greater force than an indictment "well opened againſt him, which paſſes for "no more than a mere fine ſpeech till the "allegations of it are proved? Or, if it was "neceſſary to make *Catiline* odious before "he was condemned, would he have been "leſs odious from evidence than from a bare "invective accuſation? Or, if his evidence "was not judicially prepared, why was *Ci-* "*cero* ſo *forward* with his accuſation?"

It may likewiſe be aſked, With what appearance of reaſon could the Senate take ſo dangerous and illegal a ſtep as to arm the Conſuls with *deſpotic Power*, if they had not evidence of this plot ſufficient to convict *Catiline?* and, if they had, what occaſion could there be to grant ſuch a commiſſion to the Magiſtrates, againſt a man, whoſe liberty, and even life, was abſolutely in their power?

Cibb. 53. The Laureat obſerves that *Cicero*, though, in virtue of the Senate's decree, he might have taken away the life of *Catiline*, by an executioner, thought the beſt way of diſpatching him was *to talk him into his own deſtruction.* Middl. 179. "*He exhorts, urges, and commands him* "*to depart, and, if he would be adviſed by him,* "*to go into a voluntary exile, and free them* "*from their fears*, &c. ——— *Or, if he would* "*not go into exile, to go, at leaſt, where he* "*was expected, into* Manlius's *camp, and be-* "*gin in war.*

And then—what was to become of him? "*Why there*, ſays he, *he might riot and exult* Cibb. 54, "*at his full eaſe, without the mortification* 55. "*of ſeeing one honeſt man about him* ——— "*There he might practiſe all that diſcipline to* "*which he had been trained, of lying upon the* "*ground, not only in the purſuit of his amours,* "*but of bold and hardy enterpriſes; there he* "*might exert all that boaſted patience of hun-* "*ger, cold, and want* —— *by which, how-* "*ever, he would ſhortly find himſelf* ——— *un-* "*done.*

"Anon we ſhall ſee whether *Cicero* or for- "tune had the greater ſhare in his ruin; "but, as the caſe yet ſtands, does not that "martial patience of thoſe hardſhips *Cicero* "ſeems to upbraid him with, ſhew *Catiline* "more a formidable than a contemptible "enemy? and was that a reaſon for rather "defying him to the field than condemning "him to the ſcaffold? —*Cicero* himſelf is "not ſo ſure of this expedient, but that he "confeſſes it needs an apology; for, after "his imagining what *would be* and owning "what *had been* ſaid againſt it without doors "he ſays ——

"*To this moſt ſacred voice of my Country I* Middl. "*ſhall make this ſhort anſwer, that if I had* 180. "*thought it the moſt adviſeable to put* Catiline "*to death, I would not have allowed that* "*Gladiator the uſe of one moment's life.* (Hi- "therto he only ſuppoſes it not adviſeable, yet "proceeds to give inſtances where death in "the like caſe had been adviſeable.) *If in* "*former days*, ſays he, *our moſt illuſtrious Ci-* "*tizens, inſtead of ſullying, have done honour* "*to their names by the deſtruction of* Satur- "ninus, *the* Gracchi, Flaccus, *and many* "*others, there is no ground to fear, that, by* "*killing this Parricide, any envy ſhould lie upon* "*me with poſterity.* (Such memorable prece- "dents therefore might have juſtified his ſeve- "rity, though he had no equal examples to "excuſe his lenity.) *Yet, if the greateſt envy* "*was ſure to befal me, it was always my per-* "*ſuaſion, that envy, acquired by virtue, was* "*really glory, not envy.*

"If theſe were his real ſentiments, how Cibb. 56. "came his natural paſſion for glory ſo coolly to "abandon him, as not to ſeize this laudable "occaſion of advancing it, by following the "practice of the afore-cited illuſtrious Citi- "zens, in making the immediate death of "*Catiline* an emulous proof of his [own] "juſtice and virtue?

"But

"But, as if he had been asked this question, "he further accounts for his conduct by de- "claring, That, even in the Senate,

Midd. 181. "*There are some, who either do not see the* "*dangers that hang over us, or dissemble what* "*they see, who, by the softness of their votes,* "*cherish* Catiline's *hopes, and add strength to* "*the conspiracy by not believing it.*—— *Whose* "*authority influences many, not only of the* "*wicked, but the weak: Who, if I had pu-* "*nished this man as he deserved, would not* "*have failed to cry out upon me for acting the* "*Tyrant.* —— *Now I am persuaded, that,* "*when he is once gone into* Manlius's *camp,* "*whither he actually designs to go, none can be* "*so silly as not to see there is a plot, none so* "*wicked as not to acknowledge it; whereas,* "*by taking him off alone, though this pestilence* "*should be somewhat checked, it could not be* "*suppressed.*

Cibb. 58. "And, therefore, to make it a moot point "whether *Catiline* should not *suppress* the Re- "public, he sends him to an army that ex- "pected him, and to which army, if he had "had no hopes of success, he would never "have gone. Or if *Cicero* knew *Catiline*, to "be rash, yet rashness does not always end in "ruin. However, *Cicero*, not liking the "face of a traitor so near him, judged, that "this *snare* of his *escape* would be a surer way "to secure him; for, when once his open re- "bellion became an evidence of the conspi- "racy, it must be believed with a vengeance. "The evidence indeed must be allowed to be "pretty strong; but that *Cicero*'s so far af- "sisting the rebellion was the wisest way of "coming at a proof of the conspiracy, seems "to be a depth in politics not easily to be "fathomed. To leave open the gates of a "town, to see if the army of an enemy "would have the impudence to enter it, "would be a strange way of destroying an "enemy. *Catiline* in *Rome* might have been "no more than a lion in the toil; but if *Ci-* "*cero* turned him loose, only, like a bag-fox, "to catch him again —— shall we call it the "glory or the sport of a statesman? —— "But not to lose the respect due to *Cicero*, "let us, before we observe upon the conse- "quences of his letting *Catiline* escape, see "how they both in the Senate take leave of "one another.

"*Cicero*, having so eloquently exposed "and blackened him, turns to *Catiline* "with an air of security, and thus confounds "him:

"*With these omens,* Catilina, *of all prospe-* "*rity to the Public, but of destruction to thyself,* "*and all those who have joined themselves* "*with thee in all kinds of parricide, go thy* "*way into this impious and abominable war.*

"That is ——— now I have shewn the "world how rank and filthy a traitor you "are, I scorn to foul my fingers with you; "therefore get out, go, troop to the [illegible] "field, and there — punish yourself.

"Catiline, *astonished at the thunder of this* "*speech, with down-cast looks and suppliant* "*voice, begged of the Fathers not to believe too* "*hastily what was said against him by an* "*enemy,* &c. *but, as he was going on to give* "*foul-language, the Senate interrupted him,* "*calling him traitor and parricide!*

"So far, at least, *Cicero* had the Senate's "voice to support him against whatever "fears or apprehensions the fireness of "*Catiline* or his adherents might have raised "in him; but *Catiline* was so stung with "the Senate's disclaiming him, that, to their "teeth, he defied them all in this remarkable "manner:

"*That since he was circumvented, and driven* "*headlong by his enemies, he would quench the* "*flame which was raised about him by the com-* "*mon ruin*; and so rushed out of the As- "sembly.

"So uncommon an event in History can- "not, sure, but raise the astonishment of an at- "tentive Reader! What a confused idea does "this leave us of the *Roman* Government! "that such an audacious spirit, after so out- "rageous a menace to a full Senate, should, "without let or molestation, be turned loose "to put his wickedness in practice! Sure such "enormous licences could not be deemed a "right among their boasted sweets of Liberty? "Was their Public Safety of an inferior consi- "deration to the life or confinement of a free- "born Conspirator? Or (if this supposition is "too strong) could it still be a breach of Privi- "lege, if some honest Patriot had taken *Ca-* "*tiline* by the throat, and brought him back "to their resentment and justice? If *Catiline*, "after such a declaration, found his way open "to *Manlius*'s camp, how shall we reconcile "this tameness of the Senate to common- "sense or policy? Shall we take from them "all capacity or cognizance of government?

"call

" call them no longer Fathers of their Coun-
" try, but rather ſons of *anarchy*, without re-
" gard of duty, dignity or rank, or ſpirit? Or
" can all this artful Lenity of *Cicero* be recon-
" ciled with (or refined into) the profound
" policy of a Conſul, to whoſe hands (by an
" expreſs cautionary decree of the Senate
" againſt this very man) the Public Safety
" was committed?

" Indeed the dignity of a National Juſtice
" ſeems to be but very ill maintained, when
" ſhe rather chuſes to call her criminals out to
" the Combat than to her Tribunal. It would
" be very odd to ſee a Lord Chief Juſtice turn
" Champion, and, inſtead of paſſing ſentence
" upon a Traitor, offer him the ſatisfaction
" of a Gentleman.

" What might have been the conſequence
" of the meaſures taken by *Cicero*, let us judge
" from the opinion of *Salluſt*.

" *Now ſuppoſe* (ſays he) Catiline *had con-*
" *quered in the firſt engagement, or had even re-*
" *tired with loſs, ſurely very tragical calamities*
" *muſt have overwhelmed the Commonwealth*;
" *nor would the conquerors have been ſuffered to*
" *enjoy their victory long, ſince, when they were*
" *weakened and exhauſted, whoever had ſupe-*
" *rior power would have ſeized the government,*
" *and oppreſſed the Public Liberty.*

" If this has any weight, could their have
" been more danger in ſeizing *Catiline* than in
" letting him go? But, to ſet aſide theſe ima-
" ginary conſequences, let us attend to what
" *really* followed upon *Catiline*'s being ſo elo-
" quently driven from *Rome*.

" *Cicero*, the next day, to unite the various
" ſentiments of the People into an approba-
" tion of his conduct in the Senate, calls them
" together in the *Forum*, where he recounts
" the whole tranſaction, with chiefly the ſame
" arguments, that had induced him to the
" meaſures he had taken: But as this point
" has been already obſerved upon, let it paſs
" without further notice, than that here, in
" the ſecure joy of his heart, (p. 185.) *Cicero*
" ſeems almoſt ludicrouſly to triumph over
" the reſt of the Conſpirators yet remaining
" in *Rome*. After deſcribing their profligate
" lives and converſations, he declares it *in-*
" *ſufferably impudent for ſuch men to pretend to*
" *plot*, &c.—What could it avail in his
" juſtification of letting *Catiline* go, to tell the
" People, in the moſt eloquent language, that
" all his accomplices were a company of ſots
" and blockheads? He firſt tells the SENATE,

" that *thoſe who had deſerted* Catiline's *army,*
" *and ſtaid behind, were more to be dreaded than*
" *the army itſelf*; and then tells the PEOPLE,
" that *theſe very accomplices were a lazy,*
" *drunken, thoughtleſs crew, who he knew*
" *would ruin themſelves.* Which of theſe in- 68.
" conſiſtent aſſertions (ſays the Laureate) are
" we to ſuppoſe could be true? and from what
" part of the *Roman* Hiſtory does it appear,
" *that to delay the death of* Catiline " was the
" moſt glorious way of cruſhing the Conſpira-
" cy?" " If *Catiline*, as *Cicero* owns, was the 66.
" life and ſoul of the Conſpiracy, why would
" *Cicero* (with ſuch public danger) prolong the
" life of it? How many hours could the Con-
" ſpiracy have lived when the head was off?
" Whatever danger aroſe from the ſingularity
" of *Cicero*'s expedient, he was anſwerable
" for; and how dear the ſuſpended puniſh-
" ment of this fierce offender was afterwards
" bought, *Salluſt* ſeems to tells us with a ſigh, 64.
" in his account of the honeſt lives it coſt to
" defeat him, *viz.*

" *The victory, indeed, fell to the Common-*
" *wealth, but was accompanied with bloodſhed*
" *enough to check their joy, ſince the braveſt*
" *among them were either killed in the fight, or*
" *left it grievouſly wounded. Nay, as there*
" *were many that viſited the field, whether for*
" *curioſity or ſpoil, and turned over the carcaſes*
" *of the rebels, ſome diſcovered a friend, ſome a*
" *kinſman, others a gueſt; ſome too there found*
" *their particular enemies*; ſo that *through the*
" *whole army was ſeen a various diſplay of con-*
" *trary paſſions, gladneſs and ſorrow, mourning*
" *and rejoicing.* [Gordon's Tranſlation.] *Such*
" *was the conſequence of* Cicero's lenity.

" But, notwithſtanding this expence of ci-
" vil blood, the Conſpiracy at laſt was ſup-
" preſſed, and *Cicero* had the glory of it. And
" if the expence had been leſs, might not the
" glory have been greater? But if, at ſuch a
" time, nothing was thought too much for
" their Preſerver, it is not to be wondered at;
" a people ſo tranſported for their deliverance
" ſeldom repine at the price of it; joy is too
" generous a paſſion to look into the dry ac-
" counts of dangers paſt, and *payments in*
" *praiſe coſt little to make*; but poſterity, who
" have not the ſame paſſions to blind them,
" may think it more amuſement than trouble
" to ſee the balance ſet right, before they pay
" in to *Cicero* the applauſe he demands for it.
" Let us enquire then how much of that praiſe
" was—demonſtrably due to *Fortune.*"

Vid. ſupra. p. 358. note (c) In Cat. iii.

The Laureate obſerves, " that it was the " work of fortune, not of *Cicero*, that the *Allo-* " *broges* in Deputies kept not their faith with " the *Roman* Conſpirators." Indeed *Cicero* himſelf, as we have ſeen, diſclaims all merit in this particular: *That the Ambaſſadors of a nation ſo diſaffected, and ſo* able *and* willing *to make war upon us, ſhould ſlight the hopes of dominion —— muſt needs be the effect of a divine interpoſition.* And if it afterwards coſt ſo much blood to vanquiſh *Catiline*, unaſſiſted by the *Allobroges*, what calamities might not have enſued, had his army been ſtrengthened by ſuch *able* and *willing* auxiliaries? The extraordinary joy of *Cicero*, and of the whole People of *Rome*, on occaſion of the Deputies diſcloſing the ſecret engagements they had entered into, and turning evidence againſt the Conſpirators, ſhewed plainly that a great danger was thought to have been eſcaped by that diſcovery. " And what brought the Public " into ſuch danger (ſays the Laureate) but the " refined policy of *Cicero?*"

See Midd. p. 228. p. 224.

Add to all this, that *Cicero*'s collegue *Antonius*, who is ſaid *to have been embarked in the ſame cauſe with* Catiline, and *to have had no inclination to fight with him*, and in whom *Catiline*, to the laſt, had hopes, *that, out of regard to their former engagements, he would contrive ſome way of throwing the victory into his hands*, was inveſted with the ſame deſpotic authority, in virtue of which *Cicero* took upon him to diſpenſe with the laws. What dependance could *Cicero* reaſonably have upon a man ſo wicked and infamous as *Antonius?* What ſecurity that he would act conformably to the purpoſe of his commiſſion, and not betray his conſtituents to his old friend and companion? And, in that caſe, how fatal might have been the conſequence!

To what hidden cauſe then are we to impute the ſurprizing conduct of *Cicero* in ſuffering, nay, in forcing *Catiline* to leave *Rome*, and go to *Manlius*'s camp? The Conſul gives the Senate a hint, that a *ſecret reaſon had withheld him from taking away the life of that Traitor*; and preſently after ſeems to blab the ſecret, " That it was his apprehenſion of the " *clamours* which ſuch ſeverity might have " raiſed. *If men are ſo perverſe as to complain* " *of* Catiline's *being driven away, what would* " *they have ſaid, if he had been put to death?* " ——Why, a great deal more, perhaps, " (anſwers the Laureate,) but, when the diſ- " affected had ſaid their worſt, honeſt men would, at leaſt, have had this to ſay, *That, had he been put to death in the City, he could never have faced them in the Field, or have killed ſo many of his Fellow-citizens at the* " *head of an army.*"

The Laureate, in his obſervations upon this tranſaction, ſuppoſes all along that the Conſul, at the time when he drove *Catiline* out of the City, could legally have taken away his life, and ought to have done it; and this is ſuppoſed to be true, becauſe *Cicero* ſays it. But *Ceſar* and the popular party in the Senate were not of this opinion: And it is very evident from *Cicero*'s apprehenſion of *clamours*, that he did not think he could juſtify the putting *Catiline* to death, without a previous trial and condemnation by the People.

But how ſhall we account for his not *ſeizing* the Traitor, and keeping him in *cloſe cuſtody* till he could be brought to juſtice in due form? For my own part, I verily believe, that *the heroic Conſul* ſpoke from his heart, when he ſaid, *he ſhould always think himſelf in danger while in the ſame City with* Catiline; and that this cowardly fear was the true reaſon of his rejecting *the Conſpirator's offer of becoming his priſoner.* Nor can I any way account, but by the like fear, for his haſty execution of *Lentulus* and the other accomplices of *Catiline*'s treaſon: For, as he had ſuch indiſputable proofs of *their* guilt, even their own confeſſion, and there was ſuch an univerſal dread and deteſtation of them in the City, what doubt could remain of the People's given ſentence againſt them after a fair and open trial? But *Cicero*, knowing that *to kill him* was one of their principle objects, could not think himſelf ſafe a ſingle hour while they were alive.

So much for the HIGH CAPACITY and HIGH COURAGE *with which* Cicero *is ſaid to have ſaved the Public.*

His real merit in this affair was, doubtleſs, very conſiderable. The Conſpirators had projected the ſetting fire to the City in ſeveral places at the ſame time, in order to facilitate the maſſacre of thoſe whom they had deſtined to deſtruction; probably the greater part of the Senate; many of the other rich Citizens, whoſe wealth they coveted; their creditors eſpecially; and all their perſonal enemies. *Cicero, remarkably fortunate*, in receiving intelligence of theſe things, firſt from a harlot, and then from the *Allobrogian* Deputies, made a ſkilful uſe of the information, and by his aſſiduity and provident care, effectually de-

feated

feated the miſchievous plot, ſo far as it regarded the *fire* and the *maſſacre*. Otherwiſe, it is likely, there would have been a ſcene of blood and deſolation reſembling that in the time of *Sylla*'s victory; whoſe cut-throats and their creatures, the *honeſt*, would now, in their turn, have had their throats cut: This indeed would not have been much to the detriment of the State; but then, with thoſe banditti, many innocent perſons would have been murdered, and a great number of induſtrious artiſans and ſhopkeepers totally ruined by the conflagration: The City therefore, in general, became greatly obliged to the Conſul for his timely *ſeizing* and *ſecuring* the perſons of the Conſpirators, which totally averted the impending evil: And if, after doing his Fellow-citizens this effectual ſervice, he had been content with the conſciouſneſs of having done it, and the further reward of their grateful applauſes; and not liſtened to his cowardly fears, ſo as to be ſeduced by them to act the tyrant, violating the laws, in a moſt tender point, *without any neceſſity*; he would unqueſtionably have deſerved ——almoſt the fortieth part of the praiſe he claimed (*c*) for his performances. As to the *compliments* made to him by *Catulus* in the SENATE, and by *Cato* the year following, from the *Roſtra* (in a ſpirit of oppoſition to *Cæſar* and *Pompey*) and the *loud acclamations* of the multitude thereupon, "Whence "*Pliny*, in honour to his memory, cries out, "*Hail thou, who waſt firſt ſaluted* PARENT "OF THY COUNTRY," it ſeems quite ridiculous to bring thoſe *compliments* of two leaders of a faction, and *thoſe huzzas* of a mob, as proofs that *Cicero* "obtained the moſt glorious title which a mortal can wear—— FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY--from the FREE "VOTE of the SENATE and PEOPLE of *Rome*." Was *Rome* FREE (*d*) at his time? Or could *Cicero* derive any honour from the applauſes (*e*) given to his *adminiſtration* by thoſe Citizens, who, ſoon after, on account of *that very adminiſtration*, baniſhed him his country? They were as FREE *then* as when they aſſented to *Cato*'s compliment to him. What an Idea does his *Engliſh hiſtorian* give us of the FREEDOM of *Rome*, when he makes us ſee, that, in the Conſulſhip of his Patriot Hero, the very *deliberations of the* SENATE, concerning *Lentulus* and the other priſoners, were NOT FREE; that *Cæſar*, for having declared againſt diſpenſing with the laws, "had ſome difficulty "*to eſcape with life from the rage of the* "*Knights* (*f*) *who guarded the avenues of the* "*Senate*; *where he durſt not venture to appear* "*any more till he entered upon his Prætorſhip* "*with the new year!*" It is not without reaſon, therefore, that the Author of the *Declamation* againſt *Cicero* reproves the folly of his *Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ*; as if by the ſole power of his eloquence, and without any weapon but his tongue, he had done thoſe exploits of which he boaſted. *Quaſi vero togatus, & non armatus, ea quæ gloriaris, confeceris.*

Vid. Midd. p. 227.
Plin. Hiſt. N. vii. 30.
Mid l. 225.
Sueton. J. Cæſ. 14.
Vid. Frag. Salluſt.

(*c*) *Plutarch* tells us, that on account, not of any bad action, but, of the exceſſive and never-ceaſing praiſes which *Cicero*, after his exploit, beſtowed on himſelf, he became odious and intolerable: That in the Senate, the Aſſemblies of the People, and the Courts of Juſtice, every body was dunned and deafened with the names *Catilina* and *Lentulus*, which the Orator was for ever ſounding in their ears: And that his writings of every kind were ſo ſtuffed with panegyrics upon himſelf, as to deſtroy the pleaſure of reading them, notwithſtanding all the charms of his wit, and the muſic of his language.

(*d*) "In the abſence of *Pompey*, who was ſent to war firſt againſt the pirates, and then againſt *Mithridates*, the "ſtrength of the Commons [notwithſtanding the reſtoration of the Tribunitian privileges in the Conſulſhip of "*Pompey* and *Craſſus*] gradually diminiſhed (ſays *Salluſt*) and the power of a FEW men increaſed proportionably. "Theſe engroſſed the magiſtracies, the provinces, every thing; and, while they themſelves lived ſecure, in "tranquillity, grandeur, and affluence, terrified the reſt with proſecutions and impeachments, in order to render "the commons more manageable and ſubmiſſive."

(*e*) *Plutarch* reports (as has been already mentioned,) that the multitude proclaimed *Cicero Second Founder of* *Rome*; and the ſame *Plutarch* tells us, that the multitude (almoſt forty years before) proclaimed *Caius Marius* *Third Founder of Rome*. And *Cicero* himſelf, more than twenty years after all *Marius*'s bloody cruelties, and his death, and when the faction of the Nobles was in power, ſays to the People——"Shall we condemn "*Caius Marius*, whom we may truly call FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY and PARENT OF YOUR LIBERTY, "and OF THIS REPUBLIC? CAIUM MARIUM, *quem verè* PATREM PATRIÆ, PARENTEM, *inquam*, "VESTRÆ LIBERTATIS, *atque* HUJUSCE REIPUBLICÆ *poſſumus dicere——condemnabimus?*"
Vid. ſupr. 367.
Vid. ſupr. 86.
Pro Rabir. 10.

(*f*) *Cicero*, in his firſt ſpeech againſt *Catiline*, tells him in the Senate-houſe, that the Knights were hardly reſtrained from doing him violence? Vid. ſupra, 345.

CHAP. X.

The ſpirited conduct of CÆSAR *in his Prætorſhip,* [*year of* Rome 691.] *Several perſons of diſtinction are brought to trial in form, on the accuſation of having been aſſociates in* CATILINE'S *Conſpiracy.* P. SYLLA *is defended by* CICERO. METELLUS NEPOS, *the Tribune, continues to inveigh againſt the illegal proceedings of* CICERO *in his Conſulſhip. The* SENATE, *by a vote, forbids moleſting the Conſul on that account.* METELLUS *hereupon propoſes a law to call home* POMPEY, *with his army, to reform and ſettle the State. This motion oppoſed by* CATO, *occaſions civil broils and conteſts, which the* SENATE *appeaſes for the preſent by* Acts of power. P. CLODIUS *prophanes the Myſteries of the Good Goddeſs. The conſequences of this enormity, in the Conſulſhip of* PUPIUS PISO *and* VALERIUS MESSALA, [*year of* Rome 692.] POMPEY *returns into* Italy, *and diſbands his army. His equivocal conduct after his arrival at* Rome. *His triumph.*

Y. R. 691. CÆSAR, who, through the malicious, clandeſtine practices of *Catulus*, and others of that cabal, had been driven to ſhut himſelf up in his own houſe to avoid being aſſaſſinated, ventured to come abroad ſo ſoon as the new year began; he then entering upon the Prætorſhip, to which he had been elected ſome months before. He made it the firſt act of his office to call *Catulus* to an account *for embezzling the public money in rebuilding the Capitol*; and propoſed alſo a law *to efface his name from the fabric, and grant the commiſſion for finiſhing what remained to* Pompey.

Vid. ſupr. p. 360 and 379.

Sueton. J. Cæſ. 15. Dio, l. xxxvii. p. 49.

This affair was moved to the People while the chief members of the Senate were attending the new Conſuls, and aſſiſting at the ceremony of their taking poſſeſſion of the Capitol. *Catulus*, upon notice of what was doing in the Forum, ran inſtantly thither to defend himſelf, and would have aſcended the *Roſtra*; but *Cæſar* ordered him to ſtay below as a criminal. A great number of the Senators, alarmed for their friend *Catulus*, came from the Capitol, and, gathering about him, ſo warmly beſtirred themſelves in the cauſe, that *Cæſar* was obliged to drop it. And it would ſeem, that, in revenge of this attack upon *Catulus*, his faction immediately inſtigated *Q. Curius*, who had been *Cicero*'s informer in the affair of *Catiline*, to name *Cæſar*, in full Senate, as an accomplice in that Conſpiracy; and likewiſe ſpirited up *Q. Vettius*, a *Roman* Knight, to impeach him before *Novius Niger*, the Quæſtor. *Curius* affirmed, that what he depoſed againſt *Cæſar* was told to him by *Catiline* himſelf; and *Vettius* promiſed to produce a letter to *Catiline* in *Cæſar*'s own hand. *Cæſar*, full of indignation, called upon *Cicero to teſtify, that he had*

Sueton. J. Cæſ. 17.

given

given him early information of ſome of Catiline's deſigns; and, *Cicero* not refuſing his Teſtimony, *Curius* was thereby fruſtrated of the reward which had been promiſed to the firſt diſcoverer of the plot, and which he claimed under that title. As for *Vettius*, *Cæſar* cited him to anſwer for his behaviour, and, upon his failing to find ſecurity for his appearance, committed him to priſon, after he had been roughly treated and almoſt killed by the Populace who ſurrounded the *Roſtra*. *Cæſar* impriſoned likewiſe the Quæſtor *Novius*, for ſuffering a ſuperior Magiſtrate to be arraigned before him. Nor did the Senate make any oppoſition to theſe proceedings of the Prætor. Y. R. 691. Bef. Chr. 61. 390 Conſ.

Several perſons, however, of conſiderable rank had been found guilty, upon the teſtimony of *Vettius*, and baniſhed; ſome of them not appearing to their citation, others after a trial, *viz. M. Porcius Læca*, *C. Cornelius*, *L. Vargunteius*, *Servius Sylla*, and *P. Autronius*, &c. The laſt of theſe, who loſt the Conſulſhip four years before, upon a conviction of bribery, had been *Cicero*'s *ſchool-fellow, and Collegue in the Quæſtorſhip, and ſolicited him with many tears to undertake his defence:* but *Cicero* not only refuſed to defend him, but, from the knowledge of his guilt, *appeared as a witneſs againſt him.* Midd. p. 245.

P. Sylla alſo, *Autronius*'s partner and fellow-ſufferer in the cauſe of bribery, was now tried *for conſpiring* twice with *Catiline*, once when the plot proved abortive, ſoon after his former trial; and a ſecond time in *Cicero*'s Conſulſhip: He was defended in the firſt by *Hortenſius*, in the laſt by *Cicero*. The proſecutor was *Torquatus*, the ſon of his former accuſer (as has been formerly mentioned) a young nobleman of great parts and ſpirit; who, ambitious of the triumph of ruining an enemy, and fearing that *Cicero* would ſnatch it from him, turned his raillery againſt *Cicero* inſtead of *Sylla*, and, to take off the influence of his authority, treated his character with great petulance, and employed every topic which would raiſe an odium and envy upon him: He called him *a King, who aſſumed a power to ſave or deſtroy, juſt as he thought fit*; ſaid, *that he was the third foreign King that had reigned in* Rome *after* Numa *and* Tarquinius; and *that* Sylla *would have run away, and never ſtood a trial, if he had not undertaken his cauſe.* Vid. ſup. p. 325.

Cicero, therefore, in his reply, was put to the trouble of defending himſelf as well as his Client.——As to the merits of the cauſe, though there was no poſitive proof, yet there were many ſtrong preſumptions againſt *Sylla*, with which his adverſary hoped to oppreſs him: But *Cicero* endeavoured to confute them by appealing "to the tenor and "character of his life; proteſting in the ſtrongeſt terms, that he, who "had been the ſearcher and detector of the plot, and had taken ſuch "pains to get intelligence of the whole extent of it, had never met with "the leaſt hint or ſuſpicion of *Sylla*'s name in it, and that he had no "other motive for defending him but a pure regard for juſtice; and as "he Midd. p. 248. Vid. ſup. p. 314. note (x)

A. R. 691. Bef. Chr. 61. 59. Conſ.

" he had refuſed to defend others, nay, had given evidence againſt them " from the knowledge of their guilt, ſo he had undertaken *Sylla*'s defence, " through a perſuaſion of his innocence." *Torquatus*, for want of direct proof, *threatened to examine* Sylla's *ſlaves by torture.* This was ſometimes practiſed upon the demand of the Proſecutor; but *Cicero* obſerves upon it, " that the effect of thoſe torments was governed always by the conſtitution " of the patient, and the firmneſs of his mind and body; by the will and " pleaſure of the Torturer, and the hopes and fears of the Tortured; and " that in moments of ſo much anguiſh there could be no room for truth: " He bids them put *Sylla*'s *life* to the rack, and examine that with rigour, " whether there was any hidden luſt, any latent treaſon, any cruelty, any " audaciouſneſs in it: That there could be no miſtake in the cauſe, if the " voice of his perpetual life, which ought to be of the greateſt weight, " was but attended to." *Sylla* was acquitted [a].

As *Cicero* had a great ſhare in convicting thoſe who were capitally condemned, it was not poſſible but he muſt incur much odium on account of thoſe trials; and the more, as the teſtimony of *Vettius* was made uſe of, who very ſoon appeared to be a man unworthy of credit: For, having preſented to the Senate a liſt, containing the names of the Conſpirators, he afterwards aſked to have it returned to him, that he might add ſome names to it: and when, from an apprehenſion that he had a frudulent intention in making this demand, it was not complied with, but he was ordered to declare, *viva voce*, the names of thoſe whom he remembered, this threw him into the utmoſt confuſion and perplexity.

[a] The *Engliſh* Hiſtorian adds—" But *Cicero* " had no great joy from his victory, or com- " fort in preſerving ſuch a Citizen, who lived " afterwards in great confidence with *Cæſar*, " *and commanded his right wing in the battle* " *of* Pharſalia; and ſerved him afterwards in " his power, as he had before ſerved *his kinſ-* " *man* Sylla, *in managing his confiſcations and* " *the ſale of the forfeited eſtates.*"

Midd. p. 249.

About the time of this trial *Cicero* bought a houſe of *M. Craſſus* on the *Palatine* hill, adjoining to that in which he had always lived with his father, and which he is now ſuppoſed to have given up to his brother *Quintus*. The houſe coſt him *near thirty thouſand pounds*, and ſeems to have been one of the nobleſt in *Rome*. *A Gellius* [l. xii. c. 12.] tells us, *That, having reſolved to buy the houſe, and wanting money to pay for it, he borrowed it privately of his client* Sylla, *when he was under proſecution; but the ſtory taking wind, and being charged upon him, he denied both the borrowing and deſign of purchaſing, yet ſoon after bought the houſe; and when he was reproached with the denial of it, replied only laughing, that they muſt be fools to imagine, that, when he had reſolved to buy, he would raiſe competitors of the purchaſe by proclaiming it.*—— The truth is, and what he does not diſſemble (adds his *Engliſh* hiſtorian,) *that he borrowed part of the money to pay for it at ſix per cent*; and ſays merrily upon it, *that he was now ſo plunged in debt, as to be ready for a plot, but that the conſpirators would not truſt him.* It raiſed indeed ſome cenſure upon his vanity for purchaſing ſo expenſive a houſe with borrowed money: But *Meſſala*, the Conſul, happening ſoon after to buy *Autronius*'s *houſe at a greater price, and with borrowed money too*, it gave him ſome pleaſure, that he could juſtify himſelf by the example of ſo worthy a Magiſtrate: *By* Meſſala's *purchaſe*, ſays he, *I am thought to have made a good bargain*; and *Men begin to be convinced, that we may uſe the wealth of our friends in buying what contributes to our dignity.* Ep. Fam. v. 6. & ad Att. i. 13.

Conſidering how many of the Conſpirators were condemned upon the evidence of this man, and how many were put to death without any previous trial, and upon a vote only of the Senate, it is the leſs to be wondered at, that the Tribune *Metellus Nepos* (countenanced perhaps by *Cæſar*) continued declaiming againſt the late Conſul, and at length reſolved to accuſe him before the People of illegal proceedings, and bloody acts of power. Y. R. 691. Bef. Chr. 62. 390 Conſ.

Cicero had no inclination to enter into conteſt with the Tribune, but took ſome pains to make up the matter with him by the interpoſition of the women; particularly of *Claudia*, the wife of *Nepos*'s brother, *Metellus Celer*, and their ſiſter *Mucia*, the wife of *Pompey*. He employed alſo ſeveral common friends to perſuade him to be quiet. *Nepos* anſwered, *That he was too far engaged, and had put it out of his power.* *Cicero* therefore was neceſſitated to have recourſe to other meaſures for his defence: And, as his cauſe was the cauſe of the Senate, he eaſily prevailed upon them to paſs a decree, *that no proſecution ſhould be brought againſt him for what he had executed by virtue of the power which they had given him*, and *that whoever ſhould attempt to trouble him on that account ſhould be looked upon as an enemy to his Country.* Hereupon *Metellus*, who found it not poſſible for him to make head againſt the Senate, without the aſſiſtance of *Pompey*, publiſhed a law *to call that General home with his army*, to defend *Rome* againſt *Catiline*, [whoſe defeat and death were not till after this time] and againſt the exorbitant power and tyranny of *Cicero*. The Tribune is ſaid to have been ſupported by *Cæſar* in this enterprize. The Senate, in their oppoſition to it, had the help of ſome of the Tribunes, particularly of *Cato*[b]: For, as ſoon as *Metellus began to read the law to the People*, Cato *ſnatched it away from him*: and when he proceeded ſtill to pronounce it by heart, *Minucius*, another Tribune, *ſtopped his mouth with his hand.* This threw the Aſſembly into confuſion, and raiſed great commotions in the City; till the Senate, finding their faction the ſtronger, came to an unprecedented, and moſt impudent, ariſtocratic reſolution, of *ſuſpending* not only *Cæſar*, but the *Tribune Metellus*, from the execution of their offices.

Ep. Fam. v. 2.

Dio, xxxvii. 49.

Plut. in Cat. & in Cic.

[b] *Plutarch* reports, that *Cato* had once determined not to ſtand for the office of Tribune at the laſt elections, and was going to paſs ſome time in *Lucania* with certain philoſophers, his friends and companions, when he met on the road *Metellus Nepos*, who from the army of *Pompey* was haſtening to *Rome* to ſue for the Tribuneſhip: That *Cato*, apprehending ſome miſchief to the Public from the furious temper of this man, who was one of *Pompey*'s creatures, returned to *Rome*, and the very next morning put himſelf among thoſe who ſtood for the Tribuneſhip, that he might be able more effectually to oppoſe the enterprizes of *Metellus*. The ſame Hiſtorian informs us likewiſe, that *Cato*, in order to *cool* the zeal of the populace for *Cæſar*, whoſe Prætorship would increaſe his influence, perſuaded the Senate to decree (at a great expence to the Public) before *Cæſar* entered on that office, a monthly diſtribution of corn to the poorer ſort; and that this ſtratagem had its effects. *Plut. in Cæſ. & in Cat.*

Cæſar,

Y. R. 691. *Cæſar* nevertheleſs reſolved at firſt to continue his adminiſtration of juſtice; but, upon notice that a ſtrong force was preparing to controul him, he thought it more adviſeable to act a modeſt and ſubmiſſive part. He diſmiſſed his Lictors, laid aſide his *Toga prætexta*, and ſhut himſelf up in his own houſe: And when the populace gathered about it, and ſhewed themſelves ready to ſupport him by force in the dignity of his office, he rejected their offers. The Senate, not expecting ſo much moderation from him, immediately reverſed the decree of his ſuſpenſion.

Suet. in J. Cæſ. 16.

Metellus, who left *Rome* to go to his brother-in-law *Pompey* (with whoſe reſentment he had threatened the Senators) had not gone far on his journey, before he turned back, and was permitted to re-enter upon his office [c].

On the firſt of *June* this year was celebrated the triumph of *Q. Metellus Creticus*, which had been long retarded by the intrigues of *Pompey*'s creatures.

M. Pupius Piſo, *Pompey*'s Lieutenant, declared himſelf a candidate for the Conſulſhip at the approaching election, and *Pompey* wrote to the Senate from *Aſia*, to deſire that they would defer the Aſſemblies for the election till he could come and ſupport in perſon the intereſt of his Lieutenant. Many of the Fathers were inclined enough to grant his requeſt, but *Cato* warmly oppoſed it as a dangerous compliance and a bad precedent. The Aſſemblies therefore were held at the uſual time. *Pompey*'s recommendation, however, had its effect; for *Pupius* was unanimouſly elected. The People gave him, for a Collegue, *L. Valerius Meſſala*.

Midd. p. 251. But the moſt remarkable event, which happened in the end of this year, *was the pollution of the myſteries of the* Bona Dea, or the *Good Goddeſs*,

Vid. p. 237. [c] *Cicero* publiſhed an invective oration againſt *Metellus*, which is mentioned in his epiſtles under the title of *Metellina*; it was ſpoken in the Senate in anſwer to a ſpeech which *Metellus* had made to the People, and is often cited by *Quintilian* and others as extant in their time. *Metellus Celer*, who commanded in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, wrote a peviſh and complaining letter to his friend *Cicero* upon the Senate's treating his brother, the Tribune, ſo ſeverely; to which *Cicero* anſwered with great freedom, but in a ſtile of kindneſs and friendſhip. After complaining of the affront which the Tribune had put upon him on the laſt day of the year, he concludes thus: "I "did not therefore attack your brother, but "defend myſelf only againſt him; nor has my "friendſhip to you ever been variable, as you "write, but firm and conſtant, ſo as to remain "ſtill the ſame when it was even deſerted and "ſlighted by you. And at this very time, "when you almoſt threaten me in your letter, "I give you this anſwer, That I not only for-"give, but highly applaud, your grief; for I "know, from what I feel within myſelf, how "great the force is of fraternal love; but I "beg of you alſo to judge with the ſame "equity of my cauſe; and if, without any "ground, I have been cruelly and barba-"rouſly attacked by your friends, to allow "that I ought not only not to yield to them, "but, on ſuch an occaſion, to expect the help "even of you and your army alſo againſt "them. I was always deſirous to have you "for my friend, and have taken pains to con-"vince you how ſincerely I am your's: I am "ſtill of the ſame mind, and ſhall continue in "it as long as you pleaſe; and, for the love "of you, will ſooner ceaſe to hate your bro-"ther, than, out of reſentment to him, give "any ſhock to the friendſhip which ſubſiſts "between us. Adieu." *Ep. Fam.* v. 2.

by *P. Clodius*; which, by an unhappy train of conſequences, involved *his particular* [d] *friend* Cicero in an unexpected calamity. *Clodius*, now *Quæſtor*, was deſcended from *the nobleſt family in* Rome, in the vigour of his age, of a graceful perſon, lively wit, and flowing eloquence; but, "with "all the advantages of nature, he had a mind incredibly vicious; was "fierce, inſolent, audacious, but, above all, moſt profligately wicked, and "an open contemner of gods and men, valuing nothing that either Nature "or the Laws allowed; nothing but in proportion as it was deſperate, and "above the reach of other men, diſdaining even honours in the common "forms of the Republic; nor reliſhing pleaſures but what were impious, "adulterous, inceſtuous." He had an intrigue with *Cæſar*'s wife *Pompeia*, who, according to annual cuſtom, was now celebrating in her houſe *thoſe awful and myſtical ſacrifices of the Goddeſs*, [e] to which *no male creature* was ever admitted, and where every thing maſculine was ſo ſcrupulouſly excluded, *that pictures of that ſort were covered during the ceremony*. This was a proper ſcene for *Clodius*'s genius to work upon; an opportunity of daring beyond what man had ever dared before him: the thought of mixing the impurity of his luſts with the ſanctity of theſe venerable rights, flattered his imagination ſo ſtrongly, that he reſolved to gain acceſs to his miſtreſs in the very midſt of her holy miniſtry. With this view he addreſſed himſelf in *a woman's habit*, and by the benefit of his ſmooth face, and the *introduction of one of the maids*, who was in the ſecret, hoped to paſs without diſcovery; but, by ſome miſtake between him and his guide, he loſt his way when he came within the houſe, and fell in unluckily among the other female ſervants, who, detecting him by his

Y.R. 691. De Aruſp. Reſp. 20. Pro Mil. 16. Vell. Pat. ii. 45.

De Aruſp. Reſpon. 17. Juven. vi. 339.

Cic. ad Att. i. 13 & Plut. in Cic.

[d] *Plutarch* tells us, that *Clodius* had been ſingularly ſerviceable to his friend *Cicero*, keeping cloſe to his ſide, as one of the guards of his perſon, during all his difficulties in the ſuppreſſion of *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy. This, perhaps, will account for *Clodius*'s *implacable* reſentment of *Cicero*'s appearing afterwards a witneſs againſt him at his trial: But how ſhall we account for *Cicero*'s contracting a particular friendſhip with ſuch a man as he deſcribes *Clodius* to be?

[e] Les femmes ſeules pouvoient aſſiſter à ce ſacrifice, qu'on appelloit auſſi les myſteres, à cauſe du rapport qu'il avoit avec les myſteres de *Cerès*.—Ce ſacrifice [ſe faiſoit] chez Céſar, non pas en qualité de Grand Pontife, comme l'ont cru pluſieurs habiles gens, mais en qualité de Preteur. On ne trouve nulle part que ces myſteres duſſent ſe célébrer chez le Souverain Pontife. Ciceron au contraire dit qu'ils ſe faiſoient chez un de ceux qui netoient *cum imperio* [de Aruſp. Reſp.] ce qui ne s'etend qu'aux Conſuls et aux Préteurs. Dion [lib. xxxvii.] dit poſitivement qu'ils ſe faiſoient chez un Conſul ou chez un Preteur. L'année du conſulat de Ciceron, dans le tems de la conjuration de Catilina, c'eſt à dire, au mois de Decembre, ce ſacrifice ſe fit chez Ciceron; et il y apparence [Plut. in Cic.] qu'il ſe celebra cette année à peu près dans le même tems; car cette lettre [Lett. xii. lib. i.] eſt du premier de Janvier, et Ciceron parle de cette affaire comme nouvelle. *Mongault*, Tom. I. p. 96. N. 10. This ingenious writer, in the ſame note, adds—On conçoit bien pourquoi il [Clodius] étoit entré diſguiſé chez Céſar. Il etoit d'intelligence avec la maitreſſe de la maiſon, et il vouloit venger Pompée, et tous les autres maris en grande nombre qui avoient le même ſujet, de ſe plaindre de Céſar. Cette honnête dame qui ſacrifioit un homme de ce merite, et ſi aimé de toutes le autres femmes, à un jeune etourdi, étoit de la même maiſon que Pompée.

Y. R. 691. Bef. Chr. 61. 390 Conſ.

voice, alarmed the whole company by their ſhrieks, to the great *amazement of the matrons, who preſently threw a veil over the ſacred myſteries*; and, having cauſed the doors to be ſhut, began to ſearch every where with flambeaux. *Clodius* was at length found in the chamber of the ſlave who had introduced him; and all the women gathering about him, he was driven out of the houſe.

The ſtory was preſently ſpread abroad, and raiſed a general ſcandal and horror through the whole city: In the *vulgar* [f], for the profanation of a religion held the moſt ſacred of any in *Rome*; in the *better ſort*, for its offence to good manners, and the diſcipline of the Republic. Cæſar *put away his wife upon it.*

Y R. 692.

Ad Att. i. 13.

M. Pupius Piſo and *L. M. Valerius Meſſala*, the new Conſuls, had entered upon their office, when the affair was brought before the Senate. The Fathers referred it to *the college of prieſts, who declared it to be an abominable impiety, upon which the Conſuls were ordered* to propoſe to the People a law for trying *Clodius* by a ſpecial commiſſion of Judges, to be named by the Prætor. But *Q. Fufius Calenus*, one of the Tribunes, would not permit the law to be offered *to the ſuffrage of the Citizens.* This raiſed a great ferment in the City. The Senate adhered to their

Ibid. 14.

reſolution, though the Conſul *Piſo* [g] uſed all the endeavours to divert them from it, and *Clodius*, in an abject manner, *threw himſelf at the feet of every Senator.* After a ſecond debate, in a full Houſe, *there were fifteen only who voted on* Clodius's *ſide, and four hundred directly againſt him*; ſo that a freſh decree paſſed, *to order the Conſuls to recommend the law to the People with all their authority, and that no other buſineſs ſhould be done till it was carried.* But this being likely to produce great diſorders,

Ibid. 16.

Hortenſius propoſed an expedient, which was accepted by both parties, that the Tribune *Fufius ſhould publiſh a law for the trial of* Clodius *by the Prætor, with a bench of Judges* DRAWN BY LOT, inſtead of *Judges* CHOSEN BY THE PRÆTOR, as the law propoſed by the Conſuls directed.

Cic. de Aruſp. Reſp. iii. 18. Cic. pro Dom. 40.

[f] It had been the common belief of the Populace, *that if a man ſhould ever pry into theſe myſteries he would be inſtantly ſtruck blind: But it was not poſſible*, as *Cicero* ſays, *to know the truth of it before, ſince no man but* Clodius *had ever tried the experiment: Though it was now found*, as he tells him, *that the blindneſs of the eyes was converted to that of the mind.*

[g] *Cicero*, in a letter to *Atticus*, gives the character of the two Conſuls. "*Piſo* is a "man of a weak and wicked mind; a churliſh, "captious ſneerer, without any turn of wit; "and making men laugh by his looks rather "than jeſts; favouring neither the popular "nor ariſtocratical party; a man from whom "no good is to be expected, becauſe he wiſhes "none; nor hurt to be feared, becauſe he "dares do none." *Cic. Ep. ad Att.* i. 13. "He would have been more vicious by having one vice the leſs, lazineſs." *Ibid.* 14. [*Cicero*, in reſentment of this Conſul's eſpouſing the intereſts of *Clodius*, hindered the Senate from decreeing to him the province of *Syria*, which had been deſigned and in a manner promiſed to him. *Ad. At.* i. 16.]

The other Conſul, *Meſſala*, is an excellent magiſtrate (ſays our Orator) active and firm, *a lover, an admirer, and an imitator of me. Meſſala* Conſul eſt egregius, fortis, conſtans, diligens, noſtri laudator, amator, imitator. *Ibid.*

Hortenſius feared leſt *Clodius* ſhould eſcape in the ſquabble without any trial, and was perſuaded, that no Judges could abſolve him, *that a ſword of lead*, as he expreſſed himſelf, *would be ſufficient to deſtroy him*: But the Tribune knew, that in ſuch a trial there would be room for intrique, and for corrupting the Judges, which *Cicero* likewiſe foreſaw from the firſt; and wiſhed therefore to leave him rather to the effect of that odium, in which his character then lay, than bring him to a trial, where he had any chance to eſcape. Y. R. 693. Midd. P. 255. Cic. ad Att. i. 16.

Clodius's whole defence was to prove himſelf abſent at the time of the fact; for which purpoſe he produced men to ſwear, *that he was then at* Interamna, *about ſixty miles from the City*. But *Cicero* being called upon to give his teſtimony, depoſed, *that* Clodius *had been with him at his houſe that very morning at* Rome. As ſoon as *Cicero* appeared in the court, the *Clodian* mob began to inſult him with great rudeneſs; *but the Judges roſe up, and received him with ſuch reſpect*, that they preſently ſecured him from all future affronts. Plut. in Cic. Val. Max. viii. 5. Cic. ad Att. i. 16.

Cæſar, who was the moſt particularly intereſted in the affair, being ſummoned alſo to give evidence, declared, *that he knew nothing at all of the matter*; *though his mother* Aurelia *and ſiſter* Julia, *who were examined before him, had given a punctual relation of the whole fact: and being interrogated how he came then to part with his wife?* he replied, *All who belong to me ought to be free from ſuſpicion as well as guilt*. *Plutarch* ſays, that *Cicero himſelf* unwillingly appeared as a witneſs in this cauſe, that *he was urged to it by the importunity of his wife, a fierce, imperious dame, jealous of* Clodius's *ſiſter, whom ſhe ſuſpected of ſome deſign to get* Cicero *from her, which by this ſtep ſhe hoped to make deſperate*. The ſtory does not ſeem improbable; for, before the trial, *Cicero* owns himſelf to be growing every day *more cool and indifferent about it*; and, in his railleries with *Clodius* after it, touches upon *the forward advances which his ſiſter had made towards him*; and, at the very time of giving his teſtimony, did it with no ſpirit; and ſaid no more, as he tells us, than what was ſo well known, that he could not avoid ſaying it. Suet. J. Cæſ. 74. Midd. P. 256. Cic. ad Att. i. 13. Ib. 16.

The Judges ſeemed to act at firſt with great gravity; granted every thing that was aſked by the proſecutors, and demanded a guard to protect them from the mob; which the Senate readily ordered, with great commendation of their prudence: But, when it came to the iſſue, twenty-five only condemned, while thirty-one abſolved him. *Craſſus* is ſaid to have been *Clodius*'s chief manager in tampering with the Judges, employing every inſtrument of corruption as it ſuited the different tempers of the men; *and where money would not do, offering even certain ladies and young men of quality to their pleaſure*. Cicero *ſays, that a more ſcandalous company of ſharpers never ſat down at a gaming-table; infamous Senators, beggarly Knights, with a few honeſt men among them whom* Clodius *could not exclude, who, in a crew ſo unlike to themſelves, ſat with ſad and mournful faces, as if*

Y. R. 692. *afraid of being infected with the contagion of their infamy; and that* Catulus, *meeting one of them, asked him what they meant by desiring a guard? were they afraid of being robbed of the money which* Clodius *had given them?*

Cic. ad Att. i. 16.

This transaction, however, gave a very serious concern to *Cicero*. As he looked upon himself to be particularly affronted by a sentence given in flat contradiction to his testimony, so he made it his business on all occasions to display the iniquity of it, and to sting the several actors in it with all the keenness of his raillery [h].

Ibid.

Midd. p. 261.

Pompey the Great returned to *Rome* about the beginning of this year, in the height of his fame and fortunes, from the *Mithridatic war*. The City had been much alarmed about him, by various reports from abroad, and several tumults at home, where a general apprehension prevailed *of his coming at the head of an army to take the government into his hands* [i]. But he was too phlegmatic to be easily induced to so desperate a resolution; or seems rather indeed to have had no thoughts at all of that sort, but to have been content with the rank which he then possessed, *of the first Citizen of* Rome, without a rival [k]. He had lived in a perpetual course of success and glory, without any slur either from the Senate or People to inspire him with sentiments of revenge, or to give him a pretence for violent measures; and he was *persuaded, that the growing disorders of the City would soon force all parties to create him Dictator, for the settlement of the State*; and thought it of more honour to his character to obtain that power by the consent of his Citizens, than to extort it from them by violence. But, whatever apprehensions were conceived of him before his coming, they all vanished at his arrival in *Italy*; for he no sooner set foot there, than *he disbanded his troops, giving them orders only to attend him in his triumph.*

Plut. in Pomp.

De provin. conf. 12.

By his late victories he had greatly extended the barrier of the empire into the continent of *Asia*, having added to it *three powerful kingdoms, Pontus, Syria, Bithynia*, which he reduced to the condition of *Roman* provinces, leaving *all the other kings and nations of the East tributary to the*

Midd. 263.

[h] About this time *Cicero* is supposed to have made that elegant oration, still extant, in the defence of his old Preceptor *the poet Archias*: He expected for his pains *an immortality of fame from the praise of* Archais's *muse*; but, by a contrary fate of things, instead of deriving any addition of glory from *Archias*'s compositions, it is wholy owing to his own, that the name of *Archias* has not long ago been buried in oblivion. He had sung *in* Greek *verse the triumphs of* Marius over the *Cimbri*, and of *Lucullus* over *Mithridates*, and was now attempting the Consulship of *Cicero*. *Pro Archia*, 9, 11. See Midd. p. 260.

[i] *Plutarch* tells us, that *Crassus*, probably, not from any real fear, but in order to gain credit to the calumny, stole out of *Rome* with his children and his most valuable effects.

[k] This high rank was not sufficient to preserve to him the affection of his wife *Mucia*, (sister of the *Metelli*:) He had a *Rival* there, and more than one; *Cæsar* among the rest, if we may believe *Suetonius*, c. 50. *Pompey*, fully informed of her scandalous conduct, sent her a bill of divorce before his landing in *Italy*. She afterwards married *Pompey*'s Quæstor *Scaurus*, son of the famous *Scaurus*, Prince of the Senate. *Mucia* was *Pompey*'s *third* wife. *Antistia* was the *first*, *Æmelia* the *second*, and *Julia*, *Cæsar*'s daughter, will be the *fourth*.

Vid. supra, p. 203.

Republic, as far as the Tigris.——On the merit of theſe great ſervices he did many acts abroad of a very extraordinary nature; gave what laws he pleaſed to the whole Eaſt, diſtributed the conquered countries at diſcretion, to the kings and princes who had ſerved him in the wars, and built twenty-nine new cities or colonies. [His donatives to his officers and ſoldiers have been already mentioned.] Y. R. 692. Vid ſupra, p. 209, 270. Ibid.

His firſt buſineſs, therefore, after his return, and what he had much at heart, was to get *theſe acts ratified by public authority*. The popular faction promiſed him every thing, and employed all their ſkill to divert him from an union with *Cicero* and the SENATE, and had made a conſiderable impreſſion on him: but he found the ſtate of things very different from their repreſentations, ſaw *Cicero* in high credit [1], and the authority of the Senate much reſpected, which obliged him to uſe great management, and made him ſo cautious of offending any ſide, that he pleaſed none. *Cicero* ſays of his *firſt ſpeech* * [to *the People*] that it was neither agreeable to the Poor, nor reliſhed by the Rich; diſappointed *the Seditious* [that is, *the Popular men*] yet gave no ſatisfaction to *the Honeſt* [i. e. to the *Infamous Ariſtocratic Cabal.*] * Prima Concio.

As

[1] *Cicero*, upon the expiration of his Conſulſhip, had taken care to ſend a particular account of his whole adminiſtration to *Pompey*, in hopes to prevent any diſadvantageous impreſſions there from reports of his enemies, and to draw from him ſome public declaration in praiſe of what he had been doing. But *Pompey*, being informed of the ill humour which was riſing againſt *Cicero* in *Rome*, had anſwered him with great coldneſs, and, inſtead of paying him any compliment, had taken no notice at all of what had paſſed in the affair of *Catiline*? Upon which *Cicero* expoſtulated with him in the following letter with ſome reſentment, yet ſo as not to irritate a man of the firſt authority in the Republic, and to whom all parties were forwardly paying their court. Middl. p. 242.

"*M. T. Cicero* to *Cn. Pompey the Great*, "Emperor †.

"YOUR letter to the Senate afforded inexpreſſible ſatisfaction, not only to myſelf, but "to the Public in general; as the hopes it "brought us of a peace are agreeable to "thoſe expectations, which, in full confidence "of your ſuperior abilities, I had always encouraged the world to entertain. I muſt "acquaint you, however, that it entirely "ſunk the ſpirits of that party, who, from "being formerly your declared enemies, have "lately become your pretended friends; as it "utterly diſappointed their moſt ſanguine "hopes.

"Notwithſtanding the letter which you "wrote to me by the ſame expreſs diſcovered but very ſlight marks of your affection, yet I received it with pleaſure. The truth is, I am always abundantly ſatisfied with the conſciouſneſs of having exerted my beſt offices towards my friends: And, if they do not think proper to make me an equal return, I am well contented that the ſuperiority ſhould remain on my ſide. But, if my utmoſt zeal for your intereſts has not been ſufficient to unite you to mine, I doubt not our co-operating together upon the ſame patriot principles, will be a means of cementing us more ſtrongly hereafter. In the mean time, it would neither be agreeable to the openneſs of my temper, nor to the freedom of that mutual friendſhip we profeſs, to conceal what I thought wanting in your letters. I will acknowledge then, 'that the public ſervices I performed during 'my late Conſulſhip, gave me reaſon to ex'pect, from your attachment both to myſelf 'and to the Commonwealth, that you would 'have ſent me your congratulations: and I am perſuaded you would not have omitted "them, but from a tenderneſs to certain per"ſons. Let me aſſure you, however, that "what

† i. e. General.

V. R. 692. Ansdd. p. 254.

As he happened to come home in the very heat of *Clodius*'s affair, so he was presently urged by both parties to declare himself on that head.[m] *Fusius* the Tribune, at the instigation of the Consul *Piso*, asked him, before the PEOPLE assembled in the *Flaminian Circus*, what he thought of *empowering the Prætor to chuse Judges, who should be the Prætor's assessors in the trial of* Clodius[m]? To which he answered *very aristocratically*, as *Cicero* calls it, *That he had ever taken the authority of the* SENATE *to be of the greatest weight in all cases.* And when the Consul *Messala* asked him in the SENATE, *what his opinion was of the profanation of religion, and the law proposed about it?* he, without entering into particulars, *applauded, in general, all the determinations of the* SENATE, *and the measures they had taken*; and, upon sitting down, told *Cicero*, who sat next him, *that he had now said enough, he thought, to signify his sentiments of those matters*; which last words were supposed to include the proceedings against *Catiline* and his associates[n].

Ad Att. i. 14.

Crassus, observing that this declaration had pleased the Senate, rose up, and *launched out, in a very high strain, into the praises of* Cicero's *consulship, declaring himself indebted to it for his being at that time a Senator and a Citizen; nay, for his very liberty and his life; and that as often as he saw his wife, his family, and his country, so often he saw his obligations to* Citero, This is what *Cicero*, in a letter, relates to his friend *Atticus*; and he adds, "*I perceived* Pompey *at a loss to guess what was* Crassus's *motive for so* "*speaking; whether to take the benefit of an opportunity, which he himself* "*had neglected, of making his court to the Senate; or because the illustrious*

"what I have performed for the preservation "of my Country, has received the concurrent "applauses of the whole world. You will "find, when you return thither, I conducted "that important scene with so much spirit "and policy, that you, like another *Scipio*, "though far superior indeed to that Hero in "glory, will not refuse to admit me, like a "second *Lælius*, and not much behind him, I "trust, in wisdom, as the friend and associate "of your private and public transactions." *Ep. Fam.* Lib. V. Ep. vii. *Melmoth*'s *Translation*, Book I. Let. i.

[m] Quæsivit ex eo, placeretne ei Judices à Prætore legi, quo consilio idem Prætor uteretur. *Ad Att.* i. 14.

[n] *Cicero*'s letter (before-mentioned) to *Pompey*, had produced in the latter an appearance of amity towards him; but *Cicero* suspected it not to be sincere, as is evident from his thirteenth epistle to *Atticus*, in which he says of *Pompey*, "That indeed he made great "professions of esteem and consideration for "him, and affected openly to support and "praise him; but it was easy enough to see "he envied him, though he endeavoured to "conceal it." ——The character that *Cicero* gives him in the same letter is very different from that of *Scipio*, to whom he had compared him a little before: His words are, speaking of his conduct, "*Nihil come, nihil* "*simplex, nihil* ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς *honestum, nihil* "*forte, nihil liberum.*" And again, in the twentieth of the same book, "*Is vir nihil* "*habet amplum, nihil excelsum, nihil non sum-* "*missum, et populare.*" Would one believe that the Hero of the fine Oration *pro lege Manilia* and the *Pompey* thus described were the same man? "Had he nothing great? nothing "elevated? nothing but what was mean and "vulgar? Was there neither dignity, nor spi- "rit, nor freedom, nor candour, nor honesty, "nor good-nature in his whole behaviour?" *Observations on the Life of* Cicero, p. 19.

"*merit*

"*merit of my acts (so highly pleasing to the Senate) extorted praise even from* Y. R. 692. Ber. Cat. 60.
"*a man who was under no personal obligation to me; but whom, on the con-*
"*trary, out of regard to* him *(his rival) I had always treated with a par-* 391 Cor.
"*ticular slight.* From that day I became strongly attached to *Crassus*:
"Nor did I fail to express *openly* my satisfaction with what *Pompey* had
"said in my favour, though he had spoken *obscurely*, and with so much
reserve."

Pompey, after this, affected, on all public occasions, to pay so great a court to *Cicero*, that the popular faction gave him the name of *Cneius Cicero*. Ad Att. i. 16.

There was one point which *Pompey* had much at heart to carry this summer, *the election of* L. Afranius, one of his creatures, to the Consulship. To engage *Cato* not to oppose him in this undertaking, he sent to him to ask his two nieces (some call them his daughters) in marriage, the elder for himself, the younger for his son. *Cato*'s wife and sister were overjoyed at the proposal, as highly honourable and advantageous to the family: But *Cato*, who was aware of *Pompey*'s views, gave to the person, charged with the negotiation, the following answer, without hesitating a moment: *Tell* Pompey, *that* Cato *is not to be snared by women; that he values his friendship highly; and that so long as his designs shall be just and reasonable, he may depend upon* Cato *as a more steady friend than can be made by any alliances whatever. But I will not give him hostages to secure my inaction when my Country shall have need of my assistance.* Midd. p. 266. Plut. in Cat.

Pompey nevertheless pursued his enterprize, *in which he fought* (says *Cicero*) *not with the weapon of authority, nor with that of interest, but with what* Philip *of* Macedon *took every fortress, into which he could drive a loaded ass. Plutarch* tells us, *that* Pompey *himself distributed the money openly in his own gardens:* but *Cicero* mentions it as a current report, that *the Consul* Piso *had undertaken to divide it at his house*: which gave birth to *two new laws*, drawn up by *Cato*, and his brother-in-law *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and supposed to be levelled at the Consul; the one of which gave liberty to search the *houses even of the Magistrates, on informations of bribery*; the other *declared all those enemies to the State, at whose house the dividers of money were found. Pompey*, however, obtruded *Afranius* upon the City, by which he greatly disgusted the Aristocratic Faction [o]. Ad Att. i. 16. Plut. in Pomp. Ad Att. i. 16.

He had been making preparation all this summer for his triumph, which he deferred to his birth-day, *the thirtieth of September*; having resided in the mean while, as usual, in the suburbs: So that the Senate and People, in compliment to him, held their assemblies generally, during that time, without the walls. His triumph lasted *two days*, and was the Midd. p. 267.

[o] *Plutarch* says, that *Cato*'s wife and sister, when they saw how *Pompey* dishonoured himself, by practising the arts of bribery in so shameful a manner, were convinced that *Cato* had judged wisely in rejecting his alliance.

most

A.R. 692. Bef. Chr. 60. 191 Conſ.

moſt ſplendid which had ever been ſeen at *Rome*: *He built a temple to* Minerva *out of the ſpoils*, with an inſcription giving a ſummary of his victories: That he had finiſhed a war of thirty years; had vanquiſhed, ſlain, and taken two millions, one hundred, and eighty-three thouſand men; ſunk or taken eight hundred and forty-ſix ſhips; reduced to the power of the empire a thouſand, five hundred, and thirty-eight towns and fortreſſes; and ſubdued all the countries between the Lake *Maotis* and the *Red Sea* [p].

[p] CN. POMPEIVS. CN. F. MAGNVS. IMP.
BELLO. XXX. ANNORVM. CONFECTO.
FVSIS. FVGATIS. OCCISIS. IN. DEDITIONEM. ACCEPTIS.
HOMINVM. CENTIES. VICIES. SEMEL. CENTENIS. LXXXIII. M.
DEPRESSIS. AVT. CAPT. NAVIBVS. DCCCXLVI.
OPPIDIS. CASTELLIS. MDXXXVIII.
IN. FIDEM. RECEPTIS.
TERRIS. A. MAEOTI. LACV. AD RVBRVM. MARE. SVBACTIS.
VOTVM. MERITO MINERVAE. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. vii. 26.

Cavier Tom. XII. l. xxviii.

At the head of the Triumphal Proceſſion, which laſted two days, was carried a Banner, with an inſcription, importing that *Pompey, after he had delivered all the maritime Coaſts from the Pirates, and reſtored to the* Roman *People the empire of the ſea, triumphed over* Aſia, Pontus, Armenia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Syria, *the* Scythians, *the* Jews, *the* Albanians, Iberia, *the iſland of* Crete, *the* Baſtarnæ, *and over the Kings* Mithridates *and* Tigranes. When, after his Triumph, he harangued the People, and, according to cuſtom, gave them an account of his exploits, he ſaid, "*That he had fought with two and twenty* "*Kings, and had ſo far extended the frontiers* "*of the empire, that* Aſia Minor, *which, before* "*his conqueſts, was the remoteſt of the provinces* "*belonging to the* Roman *People, was now in* "*the center of them.*" [This was not then true (ſays Dr. *Prideaux*) or at any time after. For *Proper Aſia* was never in the middle of the *Roman* empire. Beyond the *Tigris* it was never extended eaſtward, but at this time it reached weſtward as far as the Atlantic ocean; and from thence to *Proper Aſia* was more than double the diſtance of *Tigris* from that province.]

Oroſ. l. vi. c. 6. Plin. l. vii. c. 26. & xxxvii. 2. Plut. in Pomp.

The riches diſplayed in this third Triumph of *Pompey* were prodigious. A cheſs or draught-table, made of two precious ſtones, four feet long and three feet wide. A moon of gold, of above thirty pounds weight: Three table-beds, of gold alſo; one of which, it was ſaid, had belonged to *Darius Hyſtaſpis*. Veſſels of gold, adorned and enriched with precious ſtones, enough to furniſh nine buffets: three ſtatues of gold; one of *Minerva*, another of *Mars*, and the third of *Apollo*: the golden vine of *Ariſtobulus*, which has been ſpoken of before: three and thirty crowns of pearl: a little chapel, conſecrated to the Muſes, all of pearl, with a ſun-dial a-top: the effigies of *Pompey* himſelf, made alſo of pearls; beſides a cheſt filled with jewels and rings of great value, which had belonged to *Mithridates*, and which *Pompey* conſecrated in the Capitol with the golden vine, and much other riches. Add to theſe the throne and ſcepter of the ſame *Mithridates*, and a buſt of that Prince in gold, of the height of eight cubits: a ſilver ſtatue of *Pharnaces*, grandfather of *Mithridates*: and waggons full of gold and ſilver. Among the natural curioſities diſplayed in this Triumph, the ebony-tree was now ſeen at *Rome* for the firſt time,

Vid. ſupra, p. 258.

Plin. xii. 4.

The gratifications given by the triumphant Victor to the officers and ſoldiers were alſo expreſſed in an inſcription on a table carried in the ſhew, which inſcription declared likewiſe, that whereas the whole revenue of the Republic, before his conqueſts, had not exceeded fifty millions of drachmas a-year, her revenues from the countries alone, which he had conquered, amounted to eighty-five millions.

Vid. ſupr. p. 270.

This

CHAP. XI.

CATULUS *dies. The union of the Senate with the Knights, which was formed in* 690, *is broke in this year,* 692.

The next year (METELLUS CELER *and* AFRANIUS *being Conſuls)* POMPEY *endeavours to get a confirmation, by the Senate, of all his acts in* Aſia, *and to obtain an* Agrarian *law in favour of his ſoldiers. The City is alarmed with the rumour of a* Gallic *war.* Clodius *forms a ſcheme to revenge himſelf of* Cicero, *for having appeared a witneſs againſt him at his trial for* impiety. CICERO's *conduct on occaſion of this danger.* JULIUS CÆSAR *from* Farther Spain, *(of which province he had been appointed to take the government after the expiration of his Prætorſhip) returns with glory to* Rome. *In the end of the year* 693 *the* FIRST TRIUMVIRATE *is formed.*

BEFORE the end of this year the Ariſtocratic Cabal loſt one of its moſt conſiderable members by the death of *Catulus*, who, in his

This diſplay of riches was accompanied with a ſhew of a different kind; waggons filled with arms of all ſorts, beaks of ſhips, a multitude of priſoners of war, not loaded with chains (as had been the cuſtom in former times) but every one at liberty, and dreſſed after the mode of their reſpective countries. Immediately before the triumphal car marched the Kings, Princes, and great Lords, to the number of 324, who had been ſubdued by force of arms, or delivered as hoſtages; in particular, the younger *Tigranes*, with his wife and daughter; and Queen *Zozima*, the wife of the elder *Tigranes*: ſeven children of *Mithridates*, *viz.* five Princes, *Artaphernes*, *Cyrus*, *Oxathres*, *Xerxes*, and *Darius*; and two Princeſſes, *Orſabaris* and *Eupatra*: *Olthaces*, who had reigned in *Colchis*: *Ariſtobulus*, King of the *Jews*, with his ſon *Antigonus*, and two daughters: Some tyrants and the captains of the *Cilician* pirates: Princeſſes of *Scythia*: three *Albanian* generals, two *Iberian*: the hoſtages of thoſe nations and of the King of *Comana*: and laſt of all *Menander*, commander in chief of *Mithridates*'s cavalry.

Several pictures followed, which repreſented the vanquiſhed Kings, or the battles gained either by *Pompey* or his Lieutenants: A detail of the adventures of *Mithridates*, eſpecially the nocturnal battle, wherein he was intirely defeated; his flight; the ſiege that he maintained in *Panticapæum*; his death, and that of his two daughters who choſe to die with him. There were likewiſe the portraits of ſeveral other of his children, of both ſexes, who died before him. This long ſtring of pictures was cloſed by the Gods of the Barbarians, led in triumph, together with their worſhippers. Y. R. 692. Bef. Chr. 60. 391 Conſ.

And now appeared *Pompey* himſelf, mounted on a car, glittering with precious ſtones, and clothed in a military robe, ſaid to be that of *Alexander*, which *Mithridates* had found among the treaſures brought into the iſland of *Cos* by *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Egypt*, grandmother of *Ptolemy Alexander* II. The principal officers of the army followed the car, ſome on foot, ſome on horſeback.

It had been formerly the cuſtom, when the Triumphal Proceſſion was over, to put the captives to death, or condemn them to perpetual impriſonment: but the *Roman* manners were now ſomewhat ſoftened. *Pompey*'s captives were ſent back to their own countries: only *Ariſtobulus* and the younger *Tigranes* were detained, that *Hyrcanus* and the elder *Tygranes* might enjoy peace in their dominions. Liv. Epit. l. ciii.

Y. R. 692. Bef. Chr. 60. 391. Conſ.

public conduct, ſeems never to have had any thing in view but the perpetuating of the uſurped power of the SENATE, an infamous Aſſembly, uſually influenced and governed by him, in conjunction with ſome few others of the *Cornelian* brood, Patriots formed under the diſcipline of *Sylla*, and invariable enemies of the Free Conſtitution of *Rome*. Nor was this the greateſt adverſity they ſuſtained in this ſame year: they loſt the ſupport of the *Equeſtrian Order*. It was one of *Cicero*'s chief glories to have formed a cloſe union between that Order and the SENATE, an union which never could be effected till the *Knights* were become as corrupt and as infamous as the *Senators*. The two gangs of robbers were then, by the perſuaſions of the eloquent Conſul, brought into an agreement to ſupport one another: But as ſuch unions are frequently broke by diſputes about the plunder, ſo it happened in the preſent inſtance. But let us hear *Cicero* himſelf relate the ſad tale in a letter to *Atticus*.

Midd. 271. Ad. Att. i. 17.

"We live here in an infirm, wretched, tottering Republic: for you "have heard, I gueſs, that our Knights are now almoſt diſjoined again "from the Senate. The firſt thing which they took amiſs was *the decree* "*for calling the Judges to account who had taken money in* Clodius's *affair:* "I happened to be abſent when it paſſed; but hearing afterwards that "the whole order reſented it, though without complaining openly, I chid "the Senate, as I thought, with great effect, and in a cauſe *not very* "*modeſt*, ſpoke forcibly and copiouſly. They have now another curious "petition ſcarce fit to be endured; which yet I not only bore with, but "defended. The company who hired the *Aſiatic* revenues of the *Cenſors*, "complained to the SENATE, that, through too great an eagerneſs, they "had given more for them than they were worth, and begged to be re"leaſed from the bargain. I was their chief advocate, or rather indeed "the ſecond; for *Craſſus* was the man who put them upon making "this requeſt. The thing is odious and ſhameful, and a public confeſſion "of their raſhneſs: But *there was great reaſon to apprehend, that, if they* "*ſhould obtain nothing, they would be wholly alienated from the Senate*; "ſo that this point alſo was principally managed by me. For, on the "firſt and ſecond of *December*, I ſpoke a great deal on the dignity of "the two orders, and the advantage of the concord between them, and "was heard very favourably in a full Houſe. Nothing however is yet "done; but the SENATE ſeems well diſpoſed: For *Metellus*, the Con"ſul elect, was the only one who ſpoke againſt us; though that Hero "of ours, *Cato*, was going alſo to ſpeak, if the ſhortneſs of the day "had not prevented him. *Thus, in purſuit of my old meaſures, I am ſup*"*porting, as well as I can, that concord which my Conſulſhip had cemented:* "But ſince no great ſtreſs can now be laid upon it, I have provided my"ſelf another way, and a ſure one, I hope, of maintaining my authority,

"which

" which I cannot well explain by letter, yet will give you a ſhort hint of Y. R. 692.
" it. I am in a ſtrict friendſhip with *Pompey* —— I know already what Bef. Chr.
" you ſay —— and will be upon my guard, as far as caution can ſerve 60.
" me; and give a farther account, ſome other time, of my preſent con- 391 Conſ.
" duct in politics. You are to know, in the mean while, that *Lucretius*
" deſigns to ſue directly for the Conſulſhip; for he will have, it is ſaid,
" but two competitors; *Cæſar*, by means of *Arrius*, propoſes to join with
" him; and *Bibulus*, by *Piſo*'s mediation, thinks of joining with *Cæſar*.
" Do you laugh at this? Take my word for it, it is no laughing matter.
" ——*December* the 5th [a]."

With regard to the firſt of the two affairs above-mentioned, it ſhould be remembered, that the *Knights*, though they ſat in judgment with the *Senators*, were not ſubject to the penalties denounced by the laws againſt Judges who ſuffer themſelves to be corrupted: Indeed the Tribune *Druſus*, in 662, paſſed a law which ſubjected them to thoſe penalties: but he was murdered ſoon after, and all his laws were annulled. *Cato*, on occaſion of the ſcandalous judgment in the caſe of *Clodius*, beſtirred himſelf with ſo much zeal, as to procure a new law of the ſame import with that of *Druſus*. Vid. ſup. p. 196. 198.

As to *the petition of the Knights*, concerning the *Aſiatic* revenues, *Cato*, when he came to ſpeak to it, oppoſed it reſolutely, and (having juſtice and reaſon on his ſide) prevailed to have it rejected: Which *Cicero* often condemns, as contrary to all good policy; and complains ſometimes in his letters, *that* Cato, *though he was the* only *man that had any regard to the* Republic, *yet frequently did miſchief, by purſuing his maxims abſurdly, and without any regard to the times* [b]. Midd. p. 273. Ad. Att. i. 18. it. ii. 1.

[a] This year, 692, produced nothing of importance in affairs abroad; *Scaurus*, whom *Pompey* had left in *Syria*, made an incurſion into *Arabia Petræa*; but, for 300 talents of ſilver, ſold a peace to *Aretas*, King of that country.

Quintus Cicero, brother of the Orator, and brother-in-law of *Atticus* (whoſe ſiſter he had married) had been Prætor the preceding year, and now governed the Province of *Aſia*, which, at the expiration of his Prætorſhip had been aſſigned to him, and there he remained three years. The Orator, in ſome of his letters to *Quintus*, recommends to him the example of *C. Octavius* (*Auguſtus Cæſar*'s father, whoſe ſecond wife was *Atia*, the daughter of *Julia*, ſiſter of *Julius Cæſar*.) *Octavius* was Prætor this year at *Rome*; and *Cicero* aſcribes to him all the qualities of an excellent Magiſtrate.

[b] " It was the fault of *Cato* (ſays a very in-
" genious writer, ſpeaking of this tranſaction)
" not to ſee that *Public affairs are incapable*
" *of perfection*, and that *it is impoſſible to go-*
" *vern a State, without ſubmitting leſſer in-*
" *tereſts to greater*." [How far this doctrine is ſupportable in the two preſent inſtances, the Reader will judge.] " Hence it was that,
" with admirable intentions for the ſervice of
" his Country, he ſometimes did a great deal
" of miſchief, for want of *diſtinguiſhing* be-
" tween what was *good in ſpeculation*, and what
" *in practice*." [A *diſtinction* ſomewhat like that for which the Jeſuits, in their caſuiſtry, have contended, and which has been ſo ſeverely cenſured by M. *Paſchal*.]

Y. R. 693. Bef. Chr. 59. 392 Conſ.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer and *L. Afranius* were now entered upon the Conſulſhip. By the influence of the latter (aſſiſted by ſome of the Tribunes) *Pompey*, whoſe creature he was, imagined he ſhould readily obtain the ratification of his *acts*, together with an *Agrarian Law*, which he was puſhing forward at the ſame time, for the diſtribution of lands to his ſoldiers. But he was vigorouſly oppoſed in both by the other Conſul *Metellus*, his enemy profeſſed, and the more heated by a private reſentment of the affront offered to his ſiſter *Mucia*, whom *Pompey* had lately put away. *Lucullus*, who was perſonally intereſted in the firſt article, all his orders and regulations having been reverſed by *Pompey*, declared that the Senate *ought not to confirm his acts in the groſs, as if they received them from a Maſter, but to conſider them ſeparately, and ratify thoſe only which were found to be reaſonable.* *Craſſus*, *Cato*, and *Metellus Creticus*, joined *Lucullus* in the oppoſition, and the generality of the Senate being of the ſame ſide, *Pompey* could not carry his point there. He wholly employed himſelf now, therefore, to get his *Agrarian Law* paſſed; and, to make it the more palatable, other Citizens, beſides the ſoldiers, were (by a clauſe inſerted therein) to ſhare in the diſtribution.

Ad Att. ii. 19.

Dio, l. xxxvii. 52.

Neverthelefs the Conſul *Metellus*, and his aſſociates, oppoſed this enterprize with no leſs warmth than they had the other. The Tribune *Flavius*, the promoter of the law, impatient of the oppoſition he met with, and animated by *Pompey*'s power, had the hardineſs *to commit* Metellus *to priſon*; *and when all the Senate followed, and reſolved to go to priſon too, he clapped his chair at the priſon-door to keep them out:* But this violence gave ſuch a general ſcandal to the City, that *Pompey found it adviſeable to draw off the Tribune, and releaſe the Conſul.* In order to allay theſe heats, *Cicero* (of whoſe conduct, with regard to the confirmation of *Pompey*'s *acts*, no mention is made in hiſtory; nor in the letters to *Atticus*) offered an amendment to the *Agrarian Law*, which ſatisfied both parties, by ſecuring the poſſeſſions of all private proprietors, and hindering the public lands from being given away. His propoſal was, *That out of the new revenues, which* Pompey *had acquired to the Empire, five years rents ſhould be ſet apart to purchaſe lands for the intended diſtribution.* But the progreſs of the affair was ſuſpended *by the ſudden alarm of a* Gallic *war*, which was always terrible to *Rome*, and being now actually commenced by ſeveral revolted nations, called for the immediate care and attention of the Government.

Midd. 275. Dio, ibid.

A. l Att. i. 19.

Ibid.

The Senate decreed *the two Gauls* ſeverally *to the two Conſuls*, and required them *to make levies without any regard to privilege, or exemption from ſervice: And that three Senators ſhould be choſen by lot, one of them of Conſular rank, to be ſent with a public character to the other* Gallic *Cities, to diſſuade them from joining in the war.* In the allotment of theſe Ambaſſadors, the firſt lot happened to fall upon *Cicero*; *but the whole aſſembly remonſtrated againſt it, declaring his preſence to be neceſſary at* Rome, *and*

that he ought not to be employed on ſuch an errand. The ſame thing happened to *Pompey*, on whom the next lot fell, *who was retained alſo with* Cicero, *as two pledges of the Public Safety.* The three at laſt choſen were, *Q. Metellus Creticus*, L. *Flaccus*, and *Lentulus.* The *Tranſalpine Gaul*, which was the ſeat of the war, *fell to the lot of the* Conſul *Metellus*, who could not contain his joy upon the proſpect of glory which it offered him. *Metellus*, ſays *Cicero*, *is an admirable Conſul: I blame him only in one thing, for not ſeeming pleaſed with the news of peace from* Gaul. *He longs, I ſuppoſe, to triumph. I wiſh that he was as moderate in this, as he is excellent in all other reſpects.* [For he is an admirer and imitator of M.] Y. R. 693. Bef. Chr. 59. Conſ. 392. Ad Att. i. 20. Vid. Supr. p. 386. note (s)

Pompey, finding the Ariſtocratical Faction united as one man againſt him (which rendered all his efforts hitherto ineffectual) and reſolving nevertheleſs to carry his point, gave himſelf up more entirely than ever to the faction of the People, and connected himſelf even with *Clodius*, becauſe a favourite of the multitude.

Clodius, who had been contriving how to revenge himſelf on *Cicero*, began now to give an opening to the ſcheme which he had formed for that purpoſe. His project was to get himſelf choſen *Tribune*, and in that office to drive him out of the City. But as all *Patricians were incapable of the Tribuneſhip* by its original inſtitution, ſo his firſt ſtep was to make himſelf *a Plebeian* by the pretence of *an adoption into a Plebian houſe*, which could not yet be done without the ſuffrage of the People. This caſe was wholly new, and contrary to all the forms, wanting every condition, and ſerving none of the ends, which were required in regular adoptions, ſo that, on the firſt propoſal, it ſeemed too extravagant to be treated ſeriouſly. The ſolicitor of it was one *Herennius*, an obſcure hardy Tribune, who firſt moved it to the Senate, and afterwards to the People; but met with no encouragement from either: For the Conſul *Metellus*, the brother-in law to *Clodius*, though he gave into it at firſt, warmly oppoſed it afterwards, and declared, *That he would ſtrangle him ſooner with his own hands, than ſuffer him to bring ſuch a diſgrace upon his family. Herennius*, however, perſiſted to preſs it, but without any viſible ſucceſs; and ſo the matter hung through the remainder of the year. Mill. 280. Ad Att. ii. 1. Ibid. Pro Cæcin. xxiv.

Cicero affected to treat it with contempt, ſometimes rallying *Clodius* with much pleaſantry, ſometimes admoniſhing him with no leſs gravity: He ſaid to him one day in the Senate, *Your attempt ought to give us no manner of pain: It will be no more in your power, when a Plebeian, to overturn the State, than it was in the power of the Patricians of the ſame ſtamp in the time of my Conſulſhip.* But, whatever face the Orator put outwardly upon this affair, it gave him a real uneaſineſs within, and made him unite himſelf more cloſely with *Pompey*, for the benefit of his protection againſt a ſtorm, which he ſaw ready to break upon him. Imagining, at the ſame time, that this ſtep would be cenſured by many, as a deſertion of his old Ad Att. ii. 1. Mill. 284.

principles,

A. R. 693. Bef. Chr. 59. 59 Conſ. principles, he takes frequent occaſion to explain the motives of it to his friend *Atticus*, declaring, "That the abſolution of *Clodius*, the alienation "of the Knights, the indolence and luxury of the CONSULAR SENATORS, "*who minded nothing but their fiſh-ponds, their carps, and mullets*, and yet "were all envious of him, made it neceſſary for him to ſeek ſome firmer "ſupport and alliance.——That in this new friendſhip he ſhould attend Ad Att. i. 19. "ſtill to what the *Sicilian* wag *Epicharmus* whiſpered, *Be wakeful, and "diſtruſt; for thoſe are the nerves of the mind.*" On another occaſion he Ibid. 20. obſerves, "That his union with *Pompey*, though uſeful to himſelf, was "more uſeful to the Republic, by gaining a man of his power and au- "thority, who was wavering and irreſolute, from the hopes and intrigues "of the factious: That if this could not have been done without drawing "upon himſelf a charge of levity, he would not have purchaſed that, or "or any other advantage at ſuch a price; but he had managed the matter "ſo, as not to be thought the worſe Citizen for joining with *Pompey*, but "*Pompey* himſelf the better by declaring for him. That, ſince *Catu- "lus*'s death, he ſtood ſingle and unſupported by the other Conſulars in "the cauſe of the Ariſtocracy; for, as the Poet *Rhinton* ſays, *ſome of them "were good for nothing, others cared for nothing.* But how much theſe "fiſhmongers of ours envy me, ſays he, I will write you word another "time, or reſerve it to our meeting. Yet nothing ſhall ever draw me "away from the Senate; becauſe to adhere to it is right, and moſt agree- "able to my intereſt, and becauſe I am pleaſed with the marks of re- Ad Att. ii. 1. "ſpect which they give me." In a third letter he ſays, "You chide me "gently for my union with *Pompey*: I would not have you to think, "that I ſought it for my own ſake; but things were come to ſuch a "criſis, that, if any difference had happened between us, it muſt have "cauſed great diſturbance in the Republic, which I have guarded againſt "in ſuch a manner, that, without departing from my old maxims, I have "rendered him the better, and made him remit ſomewhat of his popu- "larity: For you muſt know, that he now ſpeaks of my acts, which "many have been incenſing him againſt, much more gloriouſly than he "does of his own; and declares, That he had only *ſerved* the State ſuc- "ceſsfully, but that I had *ſaved* it. What good this will do me, I know "not; but it will certainly do much to the Republic. What if I could "make *Cæſar* alſo a better Citizen, whoſe winds are now very proſpe- "rous; ſhould I do any great harm by it? Nay, if there were none who "really envied me, but all were encouraging me as they ought, it would "yet be more commendable to heal the vitiated part of the State, than "to cut them off: But now, when that body of Knights, who were "planted by me in my Conſulſhip, with you at their head, as our guard "in the *Capitol*, have deſerted the Senate, and *our* CONSULARS *place their "chief happineſs in training the fiſh in their ponds to feed from their hands, "and mind nothing elſe*; do not you think, that I am doing good ſervice,

"by

" by managing ſo, that thoſe who can do miſchief, will not? For, as Y. R. 693.
" to our friend *Cato*, you cannot love him more than I do; yet, with Bef. Chr. 59
" the beſt intentions and the greateſt integrity, he often hurts the Repub- 392 Conſ.
" lic; for he delivers his opinion as if it were in the polity of *Plato*,
" not in the dregs of *Romulus*. What could be more juſt than to call
" thoſe to an account who had received money for judging? *Cato* pro-
" poſed, the Senate agreed to it: The Knights preſently declared war
" againſt the Senate, not againſt me; for I was not of that opinion.
" What more impudent than to demand a releaſe from their contract? Ad Att.
" yet it was better to ſuffer that loſs, than to alienate the whole order: ii. 1.
" But *Cato* oppoſed it, and prevailed; ſo that now, when the Conſul
" was thrown into priſon, as well as in all the tumults which have lately
" happened, no one of them would ſtir a foot; though under me, and the
" Conſuls that ſucceeded me, they had defended the Republic ſo ſtrenu-
" ouſly," *&c.*

In the midſt of theſe tranſactions, *Julius Cæſar* returned from the government of farther *Spain* [c], with great fame both for his military and political acts. That province had been allotted him from the expiration of his office of Prætor, which he held in 691. He had conquered the Pro Balbo barbarous nations by his arms, and civilized them by his laws; *and having* 19 Suet. J. Cæſ. *ſubdued the whole country as far as the ocean, and been ſaluted Emperor by the* 18 vid. it. *ſoldiers, came away in all haſte to* Rome, *to ſue at the ſame time for the* Dio, l. *double honour of a Triumph and the Conſulſhip.* But his demand of the firſt xxxvii. was incompatible with his pretenſions to the ſecond; the one obliging him p. 54. to continue *without* the City, the other making his preſence neceſſary *within*. Many of the Senators, however, were well inclined to diſpenſe with the Laws in his favour. *Cato* oppoſed this with his uſual ſteadineſs; and, leſt his reaſons ſhould not prevail, he kept talking till the Houſe broke up. The time for the elections was at hand: *Cæſar*, therefore, made no heſitation in preferring the ſolid to the ſpecious; he ceaſed his purſuit of the triumph to ſtand for the Conſulſhip, joining intereſts with Suet. in J. *L. Lucceius*, formerly mentioned [d]; on condition that this candidate, Cæſ. 18, who was rich, ſhould furniſh the money to bribe the centuries. The 19. Senate, that *Cæſar* might not have a collegue ſubſervient to his will, eſpouſed the other candidate *Bibulus* with all their authority, and *made a common purſe to enable him to bribe as high as his competitors: Which bribery even* Cato (if we may believe *Suetonius* [e]) *approved, as thinking it*

[c] *Plutarch* tells us, that in *Cæſar*'s journey to *Spain* at this time, when ſome of his friends took notice of the miſerable condition of the inhabitants of ſome little town on the *Alps*, and one aſked another in pleaſantry, *whether there could be any diſputes in that place about ranks and offices, or any jealouſies among their Chiefs*, *Cæſar*, with an air of ſeriouſneſs, declared, that *he would rather be the firſt man there than the ſecond in* Rome.

[d] Vide ſupra, p. 326.

[e] Plerique pecunias contulerunt, ne Catone quidem abnuente eam largitionem e Rep. eſſe.

for

V R 693. Bef. Chr. 59. 392 Conſ. *for the public good.* By this means they got *Bibulus* elected, a man firm to their intereſt, and determined to obſtruct every attempt of *Cæſar*'s which they ſhould diſlike.

Craſſus, *Pompey*, and *Cæſar*, were at this time the men who bore the greateſt ſway in the State, the firſt by reaſon of his prodigious wealth, *Pompey* for his power with the ſoldiery, and *Cæſar* for his admirable eloquence and a peculiar nobleneſs of ſpirit. Theſe three entered into a ſolemn agreement to let nothing paſs in the Commonwealth without their joint approbation, which *triple league* is commonly called the *Firſt Triumvirate.*

Vell. Pat. ii. 44. *Pompey*'s chief motive to this alliance was to get his acts confirmed by the influence of *Cæſar* in his Conſulſhip.

The aim of *Craſſus* was to maintain, by the aſſiſtance of *Pompey*'s authority and *Cæſar*'s vigour, that rank in the State which, without their aid, he could not hope to preſerve. He had purchaſed the friendſhip of *Cæſar* at the time when the latter, juſt on the point of ſetting out to take poſſeſſion of his government of *Spain*, was grievouſly importuned by his clamorous creditors, who ſought to obſtruct his departure: *Craſſus* became bound for him as far as 200,000 l. ſterling, *(for ſo much did he want to be worth nothing*, as he merrily ſaid of himſelf:) And it is highly probable, that what induced *Craſſus* to act ſo friendly a part at *that time*, was to be enabled to make head againſt his rival *Pompey* by the auxiliary ſtrength of *Cæſar*: But *now* it was become his intereſt to join with *Pompey*, as well as with *Cæſar*, in one common ſcheme.

Plut. in Cæſ. App. de B. Civ. ii. p. 432. Suet. ib. 18.

Vell. Pat. ii. 44.

As for *Cæſar*, he, without queſtion, in giving way to *Pompey*'s glory had the advancement of his own in view: But, whatever private views each of the confederates may have had, if we conſider in what hands[1] the adminiſtration

[1] Dr. *Middleton* begins the fourth ſection of his firſt volume of the Life of *Cicero* with theſe words:

"*Cicero*, being now reduced to the condition of a private Senator, was to take his place on that VENERABLE BENCH of CONSULARS, who were *juſtly* reckoned the *firſt Citizens of the Republic.* They delivered their opinions the firſt always in the Senate, and commonly determined the opinions of the reſt: For, as they had paſſed through all the public offices, and been converſant in every branch of the adminiſtration, ſo their experience gave them great authority in all debates; and having little or nothing further to expect for themſelves, *they were eſteemed not only the moſt knowing, but*, generally ſpeaking, *the moſt diſintereſted of all the other Senators, and to have no other view in their deliberations but the peace and proſperity of the Republic.*

"This was a ſtation exactly ſuited to *Cicero*'s temper and wiſhes; he deſired no foreign governments, or command of armies: his province was the Senate and the Forum; *to guard, as it were, the vitals of the empire*, and *to direct all its counſels to their proper end, the general good*; *and in this advanced poſt* of a CONSULAR SENATOR, *as in a watch tower of the State, to obſerve each threatening cloud and riſing ſtorm, and give the alarm to his fellow Citizens from what quarter it was coming, and by what means its effects might be prevented.*"

To

administration of the Empire had been of late years, it will not, perhaps. seem wonderful that those three men, having a favourable opportunity to do it, should take into their own hands the management of the public affairs. The *Triumvirs* cannot be said to have made attempts on the *Roman* constitution, or indeed on any legal authority or government. Anarchy prevailed. We have seen Senators the most celebrated by the Historians for their patriotism, employing themselves in the infamous practices of corrupting Judges and suborning false witnesses: We have seen a daring ruffian threatening a full Senate with destruction, and yet suffered by the Senate peaceably to go and put himself at the head of an army that was to effect that destruction; yet we have seen the same Senate, presently after, assume a *lawless* power of putting Citizens of the first rank to death, without previous trial and condemnation: we have seen them presume to suspend a *Tribune of the People* from the exercise of his office, and openly, by a common purse, practise that bribery they had so often condemned, as ruinous to the State. *Cato*, that stout champion of the Laws, we have seen him a riotous magistrate, violating the privileges of the Tribuneship in the person of one of his collegues, and, from personal hatred to *Cæsar*, approved of bribery and corruption in the election of magistrates, after he himself had prosecuted *Muræna* for a violation of the Laws in that particular: And, lastly, *Cicero*, the consummate Patriot, pleading in defiance of his own reason and conscience, against punishing, or even calling to account, *Judges*, notoriously guilty of selling the most iniquitous decrees.

Y. R. 693. Bef. Chr. 59. 392 Cons.

Vid. supr. 208--210.

360.

346

366.

387.

Ibid.

369

394.

Midd. p. 281.

The league of the TRIUMVIRS seemed to want a man of *Cicero*'s character to make it complete: For, whenever they should be engaged in foreign governments, or the command of armies abroad, his authority would be of singular use at home, to manage the affairs of the City, and solicit what they had to transact with the Senate or People. *Cæsar*, therefore, just before he entered upon the Consulship, sent him word (by their common friend *Cornelius Balbus*) that he would be governed in

De Prov. Cons. 17. Ad Att. n. 8.

To this *description* of a CONSULAR SENATOR, if we compare it with what *Cicero* himself says of a VENERABLE BENCH, may, I think, be applied, not improperly, a passage in Monsieur Bayle, where, on occasion of some *groundless reflections, delivered in a pompous oratorical stile*, by the Abbé de St. Real, on the conduct of King Lewis XI. of France, he exhorts his readers to *be ware of reflections so adorned*. "Je souhaite que cette remarque "serve d'avertissement au Lecteur, qu'il n'y a "point de pensées dont il faille plus de defier "que de celles qu'on debite d'un maniere "eblouissante, & d'un ton majestueux. Les "reflections de l'Abbé de St. Real que je viens "d'examiner sont les plus propres du monde "à eblouïr; mais otez leur ornemens, regar-"dez-les un peu de prés en elles-mêmes, vous "n'y trouverez rien de solide." *Dict. de Bayle, artic.* LOUIS XI. *rem.* V.

Who would expect that the Doctor's VENERABLE BENCH of CONSULAR SENATORS were, according to *Cicero* himself, only a company of *fishmongers*, of whom *some were good for nothing*, and *others minded nothing but their fish-ponds, their carps, and mullets*, and *placed their chief happiness in training the fish in their ponds to feed from their hands?* See Midd. p. 281, 282, 283: And see what *Cato* says of *their regard for the Republic*, supra, p. 364.

Y. R. 693. Bef. Chr. 59. 392 Conſ.

every ſtep by him and *Pompey*, and would likewiſe *uſe his utmoſt endeavours* (for the Triple League was not yet divulged) to effect a perfect agreement between *Pompey* and *Craſſus*.

An union, formed by *Cæſar*, between *Craſſus* and *Pompey*, gave *Cicero* no pleaſing proſpect with regard to the Public; and he was much at a loſs to know how to act in this criſis, as he ſignifies to *Atticus* in the letter, where he mentions *Cæſar*'s meſſage to him by *Balbus*.

THE

Roman Hiſtory.

NINTH BOOK.

From the end of the Year 693, when that *Triple League* between CRASSUS, POMPEY, and CÆSAR, which is called the FIRST TRIUMVIRATE, was formed, to the beginning of the Civil War in the year 704.

CHAP. I.

The acts of the Triumvirate *during* CÆSAR's *Conſulſhip, year of* Rome 694.

WHEN *C. Julius Cæſar* and *L. Calpurnius Bibulus* entered upon the Conſulſhip, four affairs of very great importance, and much conteſted, were depending: Y. R. 694. Bef. Chr. 58. 393 Conſ.

1. *Pompey Agrarian Law.*
2. The ratification of *Pompey*'s acts in the Eaſt.
3. The petition of the Knights, farmers of the Aſiatic revenues to be releaſed from the contract they had made with the Cenſors (for, though their petition had been once rejected by the Senate, they renewed their ſolicitations:) and,
4. *Clodius*'s project of making himſelf a *Plebeian*, that he might be capable of the Tribuneſhip.

V. R. 694. Ant. Chr. 58. 59 Conſ.

As the political principles of *Cæſar* and *Bibulus* were wholly oppoſite to each other, ſo were their views and proceedings. But the main trial of ſtrength between them was about the *Agrarian law*. *Cæſar* had prepared it, and now reſolved to propoſe it in his own name. He preſented it firſt to the Senate, aſking their conſent to lay it before the People. He repreſented to them, that a diſtribution of lands among the poor Citizens was not only uſeful, but even neceſſary for diſburdening the City of an indigent multitude, ever prone to ſedition, to repeople and cultivate ſeveral parts of *Italy* which were deſerted, and to recompence the ſoldiers who had bravely and faithfully ſerved the Commonwealth.

Dio, l. xxxviii. p. 59, 60.

That the Law, as he had prepared it, could bring no new charge either on the State or on private perſons: That, in the diſtribution of the public lands, he had excepted the territory of *Capua*, ſo valuable by its fertility. That as to thoſe lands which were to be bought of private perſons, he had ordered, that it ſhould be only of ſuch perſons as were willing to ſell; and that the price of the lands ſhould be according to their valuation in the Cenſor's books. That the Republic was enabled to bear this expence, as well by the prodigious ſums that *Pompey* had brought into the Public Treaſury, as by the tribute that he had impoſed upon his new conqueſts.

Cæſar obſerved further, that, for the diſtribution of the lands, twenty commiſſioners were to be elected, a number too large to leave room for the apprehenſion of their agreeing in any thing that might be dangerous to the Public Liberty. That, content with the honour of having propoſed the affair, he had excepted himſelf out of the number of thoſe who might be choſen for the employment: and he concluded with an intimation that there were twenty honourable places, which might be agreeable to ſome of the Senators.

When he had thus repreſented the matter to the Senate in general, he addreſſed himſelf to each of the Senators in particular, deſiring him to declare whether he had any thing to object to the Law propoſed, and offered to retrench thoſe articles that could juſtly diſpleaſe, and even to abandon his project entirely, if it could be ſhewn to be unreaſonable.

To theſe queſtions (if we may believe *Dio*) the Senate could not anſwer a word, nor point out any thing exceptionable in the Law; and he adds, that nothing piqued them ſo much as to find, that a propoſal, which they extremely diſliked, was not liable to cenſure. Even *Cato* was unable to find fault; yet he warmly and obſtinately oppoſed the Law, aſſigning no other reaſon for ſo doing, but that, in his opinion, things ought to remain as they were. It is probable that *Cato* (whom we have formerly ſeen loſe all regard to decency in his treatment of *Cæſar*) provoked him, on this occaſion, with ſome outrageous abuſe, ſuch as might juſtify him, as being then one of the ſupreme Magiſtrates, in committing the offender to priſon. *Cato*, being ordered into cuſtody, left the Senate-Houſe without a word of complaint, but continued talking againſt the

Plut. in Cat. & Cæſ.

Law

Law as he went along[a]. *Cæſar*, either becauſe he condemned his own anger as intemperate, or becauſe he perceived the Senators much diſpleaſed, preſently releaſed the priſoner, and diſmiſſed the Aſſembly; but declared to them at the ſame time, that, ſince they would neither approve his Law, nor ſay what they had to object to it, he would refer it the People. He did as he had threatened: He conſulted the Senate no more in this affair, nor in any other that occured. Y. R. 694. Bef. Chr. 58. 393 Conſ. Dio.

When *Cæſar* brought his Law before the People, he had added to it a clauſe for diſtributing (what he had before excepted) the lands of *Campania* to 20,000 poor Citizens who had three children or more. He had ſeven of the Tribunes on his ſide in this conteſt. *Bibulus* aſſembled all his forces, and came down to the Forum, full of courage and reſolution, guarded by three of the Tribunes and the greater part of the Senate; and as often as *Cæſar* attempted to recommend the Law, he as often interrupted him, and declared, that it ſhould never paſs in his year. *Cæſar* aſked him (when they were both in the Roſtra) whether he found any thing exceptionable in the Law? To which *Bibulus* made this anſwer only, That *he would oppoſe all innovations.* Hereupon *Cæſar* exhorted the People to employ *their* intreaties with his Collegue to deſiſt from his oppoſition to a Law ſo beneficial to them. *Bibulus*, addreſſing himſelf to the multitude, —— *Not a tittle of it ſhall paſs while I am Conſul, though you ſhould all deſire it*; and away he went, as ſoon as he had uttered thoſe words. Then *Cæſar* produced *Pompey* and *Craſſus* into the Roſtra to ſignify their opinion of the Law. *Pompey*, running over the whole, commended every article of it, declaring, that it was highly reaſonable the poor Citizens ſhould partake of the opulence of the State. The People were delighted. *Cæſar*, raiſing his voice, ſaid to *Pompey*, *Since you approve of the Law, I deſire to know whether you will ſupport it, in caſe thoſe who are againſt it employ violence to hinder its being received?* Pompey anſwered, *If they come to oppoſe it with the ſword, I will come with ſword and buckler to ſupport it*: A declaration received with loud applauſe by the multitude. *Craſſus* too applauded what *Pompey* had ſaid, and preſſed the acceptance of the Law. Plut. in Cæs. & Pomp.

Bibulus, now deſpairing of ſucceſs by any other method of oppoſition, had recourſe to the ſtratagem[b] of *proclaiming every day a holiday for the remaining part of the year*, thereby to hinder all tranſacting of buſineſs with the People. *Cæſar* laughed at his collegue's edict, and named a particular day for the People to give their ſuffrages upon the Law. While *Cæſar*, on the day appointed, was ſpeaking to the People *Bibulus* arrived,

[a] *Dio* adds, that ſeveral of the Senators followed *Cato*, and, among the reſt, *M. Petreius*, who, being aſked by *Cæſar*, why he went out before the Houſe broke up, anſwered —— *Becauſe I had rather be with* Cato *in priſon than with you in the Senate.*

[b] *Sylla*, in his firſt Conſulſhip, made uſe of the ſame ſtratagem in a diſpute with the Tribune *Sulpicius*; but the Tribune forced him to revoke his ordinance. Vid. ſupr. p. 125.

V. R. 694. Bef. Chr. 58. 58 Cons. interrupted him, and once more repeated his declaration, that *the Law ſhould never paſs while he was Conſul.* From words the two parties ſoon came to blows: *Bibulus* was roughly treated, his three Tribunes wounded, and his whole faction driven out of the Forum by the Tribune *Vatinius*, at the head of the Triumvir's faction: ſo that the Law paſſed upon the ſpot, without any further contradiction.

Bibulus made his complaint the next day, in the Senate, of the violence offered to his perſon; but finding that nobody cared to enter into the affair, or to move any thing about it, he retired to his houſe in deſpair, and there ſhut himſelf up during all the remaining part of his Conſulſhip, that is to ſay, for eight months entire, exerciſing no one function of his office, except that, whenever *Cæſar* undertook any thing new, he republiſhed his ordinance, by which he had converted every day of the year into a holiday.

Dio. Suet. in Vita.

By a ſpecial clauſe in the new Law, the Senate and all the Magiſtrates were obliged, under grievous penalties, to take an oath to the obſervance of it[c]; which oath *Cato* himſelf, though he had publicly declared that he would never do it, was induced at laſt to take. It is ſaid that *Cicero* brought him to compliance, by repreſenting to him, that *perhaps it was not juſtifiable for a private perſon to declare a diſlike to what had been regulated by the whole nation:* He added, *After labouring for the good of your Country, how can you abandon it at this time, and, inſtead of continuing to fight in its defence, give it up a prey to its enemies, conſulting only your own repoſe? For if* Cato *has no need of* Rome, Rome *has need of* Cato. *All your friends conjure you not to be inflexible, and myſelf the firſt of all, to whom you cannot refuſe your aſſiſtance in the preſent conjuncture, when* Clodius *aſpires to the Tribuneſhip for my deſtruction.*

Plut. in Cat. Cic. pro Sext. 28.

Cicero, nevertheleſs, ſpeaks with great indignation, in a letter to *Atticus*, of the proceedings of the Triumvirs, and wonders at *Pompey*'s policy in ſupporting *Cæſar* in an act ſo odious as that of alienating the beſt revenues of the Republic: and ſays, that he muſt not think to make them amends, by his rents on *Mount Libanus*, for the loſs of thoſe which he had taken from them in *Campania.*

Middl. p. 294.

Ad. Att. xi. 18.

During theſe tranſactions, *Clodius* was puſhing on the affair of his adoption, and ſoliciting the People to confirm the Law which he had provided for that purpoſe. The Triumvirate pretended to be againſt it, or at leaſt to ſtand neuter; but were watching *Cicero*'s motions, in order to take their meaſures from his conduct, which they did not find ſo obſequious as they expected. In this interval it happened, that *C. Antonius*, *Cicero*'s collegue, who had governed *Macedonia* from the time of his Conſulſhip, was now impeached, and brought to a trial, for the *male-*

Middl. p. 291.

[c] The obligation of ſwearing was extended, by the Law, to the candidates for next year's magiſtracies. *M. Juventius Laterenſis* choſe rather to renounce his pretenſions to the Tribuneſhip, than take the oath: But he was the only one who acted that part.

Ad Attic. xi. 18. & pro Planc. 2.

administration of his province, and, being found guilty [d], was condemned to

Y. R. 604. Bef. Chr. 5[illegible]. 395 Conf.

[d] *M. Cælius* (the same *Cælius* for whom *Cicero* afterwards pleaded) was the chief of three accusers who impeached *Antonius*. M. *Crevier* is of opinion, that *Antonius was not prosecuted for male-administration in his province*, but *as an accomplice of* Catiline: And for this he cites *Cic. pro Cæl.* Accusavit [Cælius] C. Antonium, collegam meum: *Cui misero præclari in Rempublicam beneficii memoria nihil profuit, nocuit opinio maleficii cogitati:* Which passage, nevertheless, in conjunction with another, in *Cic. pro Flacco*, (to which the learned Writer likewise refers) seems strongly to oppugn that opinion. *Flaccus*, when Prætor in 690, had been instrumental in suppressing *Catiline*'s Conspiracy; and so had *Antonius*, then Consul, who, for some crime, was afterwards condemned in the beginning of 694. In the same year *Flaccus* was prosecuted for male-administration in his province of *Asia*. His Advocate, *Cicero*, reminds the Judges of his Client's services against *Catiline*, and insinuates, that there were persons who had malicious purposes against all those who had served their Country on that occasion. "*Antonius is already oppressed.* Be it so: "*He had a peculiar infamy upon him*; Yet "even he, if I may be allowed to say it, "would not have been condemned by you: "upon whose condemnation a sepulcre was "dressed up for *Catiline*---Now the death of "*Lentulus* is to be revenged on *Flaccus*. Op-"pressus est *C. Antonius*. Esto: *Habuit quan-"dam ille infamiam suam:* Neque tamen ille "ipse, pro meo jure dico, vobis judicibus "damnatus esset: cujus damnatione sepul-"chrum *L. Catilinæ* celebratum est.—— "Nunc a *Flacco Lentuli* pœnæ per vos expe-"tuntur." What was *the peculiar infamy upon* Antonius, that infamy which lessened his merit, and distinguished it from that of *Flaccus*? Doubtless, it was his being reputed, or rather known, to be a friend to *Catiline* in his heart, while he was acting against him. *Nocuit opinio maleficii cogitati.* "Nevertheless, *you*, (says *Cicero* to the Judges) *when "he was accused of male-administration in Ma-"cedonia*, would have absolved him, on account of the signal service which, *in fact*, "he did to the Republic *when he was Consul.*" This seems to be the sense of the Orator. He supposes both *Antonius* and *Flaccus* to have been prosecuted for male-administration in their provinces, not because there was sufficient ground for such accusation, but on account of what they had done against *Catiline*.

That *Antonius*, notwithstanding all the power of *Cicero*'s eloquence exerted in his defence, was readily condemned, seems owing to that *infamy* which *Cicero* mentions: Though unquestionably guilty of rapine and extortion in his province, he would, probably, have escaped condemnation, had not his *selling* himself to act contrary to his inclinations and engagements, made him universally despised and detested by both the friends and the enemies of the Conspirators. With regard to this *advocation* of *Cicero* for *Antonius*, there are some particulars which may be thought to deserve attention. *Cicero* writes to him (then Governor of *Macedonia* in 691) in these terms: —— "Were I to claim even your highest services, "the demand could by no means be thought "unreasonable, after having contributed every thing on my part for the advancement "of your ease, your interest, and your honour." [This hints at his having resigned the lucrative government of *Macedonia* to him] "But I may safely appeal to your own conscience, whether you have ever made me the "least return: So far from it indeed, that I "have heard, (for I dare not say I have been "*informed* *, as it is an expression, it seems "which you frequently, though, I am sure "injuriously, object to me,) I have heard then "that you have intimated something as if --- "But I leave it to *Atticus* to tell you the rest; "as the report has given him no less concern

Ep. Fam. I. Ep. [illegible] Mem. Trans.

* This alludes to the expression [se comperisse] which *Cicero* had often occasion to employ in the affair of *Catiline*'s Conspiracy. As his principal intelligence arose from some of the Conspirators themselves, who communicated to him, from time to time, the designs of their associates, he was obliged to conceal the Authors of these discoveries:---But though the event proved that his informations were true, yet, in general, this method of accusation was extremely odious, and of dangerous example. *Cicero*'s enemies, therefore, did not fail to take advantage of this popular objection, and were perpetually repeating the phrase, *I am informed*, whenever they were disposed to reproach his conduct in this transaction. See *Mong. Rem.* 19. on the nineteenth Letter of the first Book to *Atticus*. *Plut. in vit. Cic.* *Sallust, Decl. in Cic.* [illegible]

Mem. Vol. I. p. 18

"than

Y. R. 694. Bef. Chr. 58. 193. Conſ.

to perpetual baniſhment. *Cicero* was his advocate; and, in the courſe of

" than it gave myſelf. In the mean time I " will only ſay, that the Senate, and the whole " *Roman* People, have been witneſſes of that " uncommon zeal with which I have entered " into your intereſt.—— Believe me, your " preſent affairs require a much larger pro- " portion of my zeal and pains; the utmoſt " exertion of which ſhall not be wanting, pro- " vided I may have reaſon to think, that they " are not entirely thrown away.—*Atticus* will " inform you in what particular inſtances you " may, probably, have occaſion for my good " offices."——

This letter was written towards the end of 691: *Atticus* was the bearer. On the firſt of *January*, 692, *Cicero* writes to *Atticus* in terms to the following effect: " There is no coming " to any concluſion with *Teucris* [a nickname " for *Antonius*]—Never did I ſee any thing " more impudent, more ſly, more dilatory " than ſhe is.— So much the better, per- " haps, for me: For *Pompey*'s harbingers tell " me, that he will loudly declare for the *re-* " *call* of *Antonius* from his government, and " that the Prætor will, at the ſame time, " move it to the People. Now the caſe is " of ſuch a nature, that I cannot defend him, " without incurring the cenſure not only of " the moſt worthy, but even of the vulgar. " For ſomething has fallen out, which I muſt " deſire you to examine to the bottom. I have " a freedman, a worthleſs fellow, I mean *Hi-* " *larus*, who was your accomptant, and whoſe " patron you are. This *Hilarus*, as *Valerius* " the Linguiſt, and alſo *Chilius*, have ſigni- " fied to me, is now with *Antonius*, who " gives out, that part of the money, which he " exorts from the people of his province, is " for my uſe, and that I have ſent one of my " freedmen to him to be the Keeper of our " Common Purſe. This touched me very " ſenſibly; not that I gave entire credit to the " report: yet ſome word muſt have dropt " from *Antonius* to occaſion ſuch a ſtory. En- " deavour by every method to learn the whole " truth; and do not fail to drive that rogue " [*Hilarus*,] if it be poſſible, out of the " Country. *Valerius* tells me, that he had " the ſtory from *Cn. Plancius*." [He was, at this time, a Tribune of the ſoldiers in *Macedonia*; was afterwards Quæſtor in the time of *Cicero*'s exile, and very ſerviceable to him. He is the ſame *Plancius* for whom *Cicero* afterwards ſpoke the *Oration pro* Plancio.]

L. I. Ep. XII.

" The very judicious *French* Tranſlator of Melm. " the Epiſtles to *Atticus* ſeems to imagine Vol. I. p. " there was ſome foundation for this report; 18. note (a) " as he thinks it probable, that *Antonius* had " agreed to pay *Cicero* a certain ſum, in con- " ſideration of his having relinquiſhed to him " the government of *Macedonia*: But this is " a conjecture altogether unſupported by any " evidence. Thus much, however, is cer- " tain; in the firſt place, that *Cicero* had ſome " demands on *Antonius*, of a nature which " he did not chuſe ſhould be known; as, " whenever he hints at them to *Atticus*, it is " always in a very dark and ænigmatical man- " ner: And in the next place, that he ſacri- " ficed his own judgment, and the good opi- " nion of the world, in order to ſupport *An-* " *tonius* in his preſent government. From " which facts the Reader is left to draw the " concluſion that he ſhall judge reaſonable." *Vid. ad Att. lib.* xii. 13, 14.

In the fifth Letter of the firſt book of Ep. Fam. *Cicero* writes thus to *Publius Seſtius*, Quæſtor, [under *Antonius* in *Macedonia*:] —— " Notwithſtanding all the world " is ſenſible, that *Antonius* has by no means " acted towards me with the gratitude he " ought, yet it did not prevent me from " being his advocate lately in the SENATE: " when, by the influence of my authority, " and the force of what I ſaid, I greatly " diſpoſed the Houſe in his favour."——

" The queſtion in this debate propably Melm. " turned on the recall of *Antonius*: a queſ- " tion, which ſeems either to have been car- " ried in his favour, or to have been drop- " ped during a conſiderable time. For it ap- " pears, by a letter to *Atticus*, written two " years after the date of the preſent, that *An-* " *tonius* was ſtill in his government: And Ad. Att. " *Dion Caſſius* aſſures us, that he was not xi. 2. " brought upon his trial till the Conſulate of " *Cæſar*; that is, not till 694. He was " then arraigned for his *ill conduct in* Mace- " donia, *and as being concerned likewiſe in* Ca- " tiline's *Conſpiracy*. This laſt article of the " impeachment could not be proved; but the " truth of it, nevertheleſs, was generally be- lieved:

of his pleading, happened to fall *into a complaint of the times, and the oppreſſion of the Republic*, in a ſtile that was interpreted to reflect ſeverely upon the preſent rulers. The ſtory was carried directly to *Cæſar*, who diſdaining to conteſt with *Cicero* in the way of invectives and ſmart repartees, yet reſolving to humble him, brought on, without delay, the law to confirm *Clodius*'s adoption, inſtantly calling an Aſſembly of the *Curiæ* for that purpoſe. The miniſtry of one of the Augurs was neceſſary. *Pompey* performed this office, and the affair was carried through all the forms to a concluſion with ſurprizing diſpatch. *Cicero* pleaded for *Antonius* at noon, and at three o'clock *Clodius* was a *Plebeian*. Y. R. 694. Bef. Chr. 58 393 Conſ. Pro Dom. Sueton. in J. Cæſ.

Bibulus, advertiſed of what was going forward, and being an Augur, ſent notice to *Pompey*, *that he was obſerving the heavens, and taking the auſpices*, during which function no buſineſs could legally be tranſacted with the People. But *Pompey*, inſtead of paying any regard to his meſſage, gave a ſanction to the proceeding, by preſiding in it, ſo that it was carried without any oppoſition [c]. Pro Dom. 15.

Cæſar, having made his court to the multitude by the *Agrarian Law*, took the opportunity, which the preſent conjuncture afforded, to conciliate Dio, xxxviii. 62

" lieved: however, he was convicted of the " former, and condemned to perpetual ba- " niſhment. *Cicero* appeared as his Advo- " cate on this occaſion, &c.

Vid. ſupra, p. 407. [I have offered ſome reaſons againſt the ſuppoſition of *Antonius*'s being arraigned as a Conſpirator with *Catiline*.]

Crevier. Strabo, l. x. 455. *Strabo* aſſures us, that *Antonius* choſe the iſle of *Cephalenia* for the place of his exile, of which he acquired the entire Lordſhip, and in which he built a new city, but had not time to put the laſt hand to the work before he was recalled home. If this fact be true, *Antonius* muſt have enriched himſelf prodigiouſly by plundering his province; for he was over head and ears in debt during his Conſulſhip.

Midd. p. 292. [c] Theſe *Laws of adoption* were drawn up in the ſtile of a petition to the People, after the following form:

Vid. A. Gell. lib. v. 19. *May it pleaſe you, Citizens, to ordain, that* P. Clodius *be, to all intents and purpoſes of Law, as truly the ſon of* Fonteius, *as if he were begotten of his body in lawful marriage; and that* Fonteius *have the power of life and death over him, as much as a father has over a proper ſon: This, Citizens, I pray you to confirm in the manner in which it is deſired.*

There were three conditions abſolutely neceſſary to make an act of this kind regular: Firſt, *That the adopter ſhould be older than the adopted, and incapable of procreating children, after having endeavoured it without ſucceſs when he was capable:* Secondly, *That no injury or diminution ſhould be done to the dignity or the religious rites of either family:* Thirdly, *That there ſhould be no fraud or colluſion in it; nor any thing ſought by it, but the genuine effects of a real adoption.* All theſe particulars were to be previouſly examined by *the College of Prieſts*; and if, after a due enquiry, they approved the petition, it was propoſed to the ſuffrage of the Citizens *living in* Rome, who voted according to their original diviſion *into thirty Curiæ*, or wards, which ſeem to have been analogous to *our pariſhes*; where no buſineſs, however, could be tranſacted when *an Augur or Conſul was obſerving the heavens.* Now, in this adoption of *Clodius*, there was not one of theſe conditions obſerved: *The College of Prieſts was not ſo much as conſulted*; *the adopter*, Fonteius, *had a wife and children, was a man obſcure and unknown, not full twenty years old, when* Clodius *was thirty-five, and a Senator of the nobleſt birth in* Rome: Nor was there any thing meant by it, but purely *to procure the Tribuneſhip*: For the affair was no ſooner over, than *Clodius* was *emancipated*, or ſet free again, by his new Father, from all his obligations. Pro Dom. ad Pont. 13.

A.U.C. 694. the *Knights* to him, by *doing* that which *Cicero had blamed the Senate for not doing*; that is to ſay, *by eaſing them of the diſadvantageous contract which they had long, in vain, complained of, and remitting a third part of what they had ſtipulated to pay.*

Vid. ſupr. p. 394.

And laſtly, *Cæſar* procured a ſpecial Law from the People *for the ratification of all* Pompey's *acts in* Aſia; and, in the ſtruggle about it, ſo terrified and humbled *Lucullus*, who was the chief oppoſer, that he brought him to aſk pardon as his feet.

Suet. J. Cæſ. 20.

It does not appear, that any other lands but thoſe of *Campania*, were diſtributed by virtue of the new *Agrarian Law*. Twenty Commiſſioners[f] were choſen to make diſtribution; and *Pompey* did not diſdain to be of the number. One of them (named *Coſconius*[g]) dying before the end of the year, his place was offered to *Cicero*, but he refuſed it: And he tells us, that *Cæſar* often reproached him afterwards with this refuſal, as a proof of his enmity, and that he would receive no favour from him.

Ad Att. ii. 19

Cic. ad Att. ix. 2.

During a great part of the time when theſe things were in agitation, *Cicero* contrived to be out of the way. He ſpent the months of *April* and *May* in the country, moſtly at his villa near *Antium*, where he had placed his chief collection of books, amuſing himſelf with his ſtudies and his children, or, as he ſays jocoſely, *in counting the waves*. For he was under no ſmall difficulty to determine how he ſhould act in relation to the public affairs. If he oppoſed the Triumvirate, he could not expect to continue well with *Pompey*, (with whom he wiſhed, at the ſame time, to engage in a ſeparate alliance, imagining that this would be ſufficient to ſcreen him from the malice of his enemies:) If he made himſelf ſubſervient to the *Triumvirate*, he could not expect to continue well with the SENATE: In the firſt he ſaw his ruin; in the ſecond, the loſs of his credit. He choſe, therefore, a middle way; which was, ſo to temper his behaviour, that, without ſubmitting to explicit approbation of what was doing by the *Triumvirs*, *he might avoid irritating their power to his own deſtruction.* This was the ſcheme of politics, which (as he often laments) *the weakneſs of the honeſt* [the fiſh-pond men] *the perverſeneſs of the envious* [nobody knows who] *and the hatred of the wicked* [the popular party] *obliged him to purſue.*

Ad Att. ii. 6.

Ad Att. ii. 19.

While *Cicero* was in the country, he was deſired by *Atticus* to ſend him the copies of two Orations which he had lately made. His anſwer was,

Ad Att. ii. 7. Middl. 296.

[f] The twenty Commiſſioners eſtabliſhed a colony at *Capua*, and thus drew that City out of the ſubjection in which the *Romans* had kept it for above 150 years. It had all that time borne the puniſhment of its revolt againſt *Rome* after the battle of *Cannæ*, and had continued without Senate, without Magiſtrates, and without an Aſſembly of the People. It was only the retreat of thoſe who cultivated the territory, and every year an officer was ſent from *Rome* to adminiſter juſtice there. Raiſed by *Cæſar* to the rank of a Colony, it was delivered from this kind of ſervitude. The *Roman* Colonies were like little Commonwealths, which governed themſelves in imitation of *Rome*, the metropolis. *Crev.*

[g] *Coſconius* had been Prætor in *Cicero*'s Conſulſhip, and afterwards Proconſul in *Spain*.

that

that he had torn one of them, and could not give a copy; and did not care to let the other go abroad, for the praiſes which it beſtowed on Pompey; *being diſpoſed rather to recant than publiſh them, ſince the adoption of* Clodius.—— He ſeems indeed to have been too ſplenetic at preſent to compoſe any thing but invectives, of which kind, he was now drawing up *certain anecdotes*, as he calls them, or a *Secret Hiſtory of the Times*, to be ſhewn to none but *Atticus*, in the ſtile of *Theopompus, the moſt ſatyrical of all writers. All his politics*, he ſays, *were reduced to this one point, of hating bad Citizens* [the leaders of the popular party] *and pleaſing himſelf with writing againſt them. And ſince he was driven from the helm, he had nothing to wiſh, but to ſee the wreck from the ſhore*; *or, as* Sophocles *ſays:*

Y. R. 694. Ad Att. ii. 9. Ibid. 6. Ibid. 7.

> Under the ſhelter of a good warm roof,
> With mind ſerenely calm, and prone to ſleep,
> Hear the loud ſtorm and beating rain without.

Clodius, having got through the obſtacle of his adoption, began, without loſs of time, to ſue for the *Tribuneſhip*; whilſt a report was induſtriouſly ſpread, which amuſed the City for a while, *of a breach between him and the* Triumvirs. The new Plebeian declared every where loudly, that his chief view, *in deſiring the office of* Tribune, *was to reſcind all* Cæſar's *acts*; and *Cæſar*, on his part, *as openly diſclaimed any ſhare in his adoption, and denied him to be a Plebeian*[h]. This ſtory (whether true or falſe) was eagerly carried to *Cicero* by his dear diſciple, the younger *Curio*[i] (who had aſſured him before, *that he hated, to a prodigious degree, the proud Kings, and that all the young Nobles were as much incenſed againſt them as he himſelf, and would not bear them much longer*) *and that* Memmius *and* Metellius Nepos *had declared againſt them:* Which being confirmed alſo by *Atticus*'s letters, gave no ſmall comfort to *Cicero*; *all whoſe hopes of a change, to the advantage of his cauſe depended upon their quarrelling among themſelves.* The pretended ground of this rupture, as it is hinted in *Cicero*'s letters, was *Clodio's ſlighting an offer, which the Triumvirate made to him, of an Embaſſy to King* Tigranes. *Cicero*, mentioning this affair to *Atticus*, ſays, "I am much delighted with what you write "about *Clodius*: try all means to ſearch into the bottom of it; and ſend "or bring me word whatever you learn or ſuſpect, and eſpecially what "he intends to do about the embaſſy. Before I read your letter, I was

Ibid. 8. Ibid. 12. Ibid. 12. Ibid. 7.

Ad Att. ii. 12.

[h] Negent illi Publium Plebeium factum eſſe. Hoc vero regnum eſt & ferri nullo pacto poteſt. Emittat ad me *Publius* [*Clodius*] qui obſignent: jurabo *Cnæum* noſtrum Collegam *Balbi*, Antii mihi narraſſe, ſe in Auſpicio fuiſſe.——

Balbus was probably named one of the Commiſſioners with *Pompey* for planting a Colony at *Capua*, and accompanied *Pompey* at the time when, in his way thither, *Cicero* ſaw him at *Antium*. *Balbus* had been Prætor. He had married *Cæſar*'s ſiſter, by whom he had a daughter, who married *Octavius*, father of the Emperor *Auguſtus*. *Mong.* Tom. I. p. 394.

[i] He was ſon of *Scribonius Curio*, Conſul in 677.

Y. R. 694. Bef. Chr. 58. 293 Conſ.

" wiſhing that he would accept it; not for the ſake of declining a battle " with him, for I am in wonderful ſpirits for fighting; but I imagined, " that he would loſe by it all the popularity which he has gained, by go- " ing over to the Plebeians.——If he ſlights the embaſſy, and if this, as " you ſay, diſguſts the authors and promoters of the Law, we ſhall have " rare ſport. But, to ſay the truth, *Publius* has been treated ſomewhat " rudely by them; ſince he, who was lately the only man with *Cæſar*, can- " not now find a place among the TWENTY; and, after promiſing one " embaſſy, they put him off with another; reſerving, I ſuppoſe, the lu- " crative ones to be beſtowed upon *Druſus*, or *Vatinius*, while they beſtow " the barren one upon him, whoſe Tribuneſhip was propoſed to be of ſuch " uſe to them. Warm him, I beg of you, on this head, as much as you " can; all our hopes of ſafety are placed on their falling out among them- " ſelves, of which, as I underſtand from *Curio*, ſome ſymptoms begin al- " ready to appear."———But all this noiſe of a quarrel between them was found at laſt to be without cauſe; or if there was any real diſguſt among them, it proceeded not far.

Ad Att. ii. 8. Middl. 299.

Cicero returned to *Rome* in *June* (after an interview with *Atticus*, who went abroad at the ſame time to his eſtate in *Epirus*.) He reſolved to decline all public buſineſs, as much as he decently could, and to give the greateſt part of his time to the bar, and to the defence of cauſes[k]; an employment

Midd. p. 300, & ſeq.

[k] Among the other cauſes which he pleaded this ſummer, he twice defended *A. Thermus*, and once *L. Flaccus*, men of Prætorian dignity, who were both acquitted. The ſpeeches for *Thermus* are loſt; but that for *Flaccus* remains, yet ſomewhat imperfect.

Vid. ſupr. p. 357.

This *L. Valerius Flaccus* had been *Prætor* in *Cicero's Conſulſhip*, and received the thanks of the Senate for his zeal and vigour in ſeizing *Catiline's accomplices*; but was now accuſed by *P. Lælius of rapine and oppreſſion in his province of* Aſia, which was allotted to him from his Prætorſhip. The defence conſiſts chiefly in diſplaying the dignity of the criminal, and invalidating the credit of the *Aſiatic* witneſſes. *Cicero* obſerves, " That the judges, who had " known and ſeen the integrity of *Flaccus's* " life through a ſeries of great employments, " were themſelves the beſt witneſſes of it, " and could not want to learn it of others, " eſpecially from *Grecians*: That, for his " part, he had always been particularly ad- " dicted to that nation and their ſtudies, and " knew many modeſt and worthy men among " them: That he allowed them to have learn- " ing, the diſcipline of many arts, an elegance " of writing, a fluency of ſpeaking, and an " acuteneſs of wit: But as to the ſanctity of " an oath, they had no notion of it, knew " nothing of the force and efficacy of it: " That *all their concern in giving evidence* " *was, not how to prove*, but *how to expreſs* " *what they ſaid.*" [Might not the ſame, with truth, be ſaid of *Cicero's* pleadings for the moſt part?] —" Whereas of the *Roman* wit- " neſſes, who were produced againſt *Flaccus*, " though ſeveral of them came angry, fierce, " and willing to ruin him, yet one could not " help obſerving with what caution and reli- " gion they delivered what they had to ſay; " and though they had the greateſt deſire to " hurt, yet could not do it for their ſcruples: " —— That a *Roman*, in giving his teſti- " mony, was always jealous of himſelf, leſt " he ſhould go too far; weighed all his " words, and was afraid to let any thing drop " from him too haſtily and paſſionately; or " to ſay a ſyllable more or leſs than was ne- " ceſſary."—One part of the charge againſt *Flaccus* was, *for prohibiting the* Jews *to carry out of his province the gold which they uſed to collect annually, through the empire, for the Temple of* Jeruſalem; *all which he ſeized, and remitted it to the treaſury at* Rome. The charge itſelf

Pro Flacc. 4, 5.

employment always popular, which made many friends, and few enemies: Y. R. 694. So that *he was ſtill very much frequented at home, and honourably attended abroad, and maintained his dignity*, he ſays, *not meanly, conſidering the general oppreſſion; nor yet greatly, conſidering the part he had before acted.* Ad Att. ii. 18.

The Triumvirate, if we will believe *Cicero*, (whom, I think, we cannot have any good reaſon to believe) came ſoon to be *dreaded* and *deteſted* by all ranks of men. "Theſe affecters of popularity (ſays the Orator) "have taught even modeſt men to hiſs. *Bibulus*, on the other hand, "is extolled to the ſkies; though I know not why, unleſs he is "thought to ſave the State, like *Fabius*, by doing nothing." This Conſul, from his retreat, was continually teazing the Triumvirs by his edicts, in which he inveighed and proteſted againſt all their acts. "*Bi-* Ibid. 20.

itſelf ſeems to imply, that the *Jews* made no mean figure in the empire; and *Cicero*'s anſwer, though it betrays a great contempt of their religion, through his ignorance of it, yet ſhews, that their number and credit were very conſiderable at *Rome*. The trial was held near the *Aurelian* ſteps, a place of great reſort for the populace, and particularly for the *Jews*, who uſed it, probably, as a kind of exchange, or general rendezvous of their countrymen: *Cicero*, therefore, proceeds to ſay: "It was for this reaſon, *Lælius*, and for "the ſake of this crime, that you have choſen "this place, and all this crowd, for the trial: "You know what a numerous band the *Jews* "are; what concord among themſelves; "what a buſtle they make in our Aſſemblies. "——I will ſpeak ſoftly, that the Judges on- "ly may hear me; for there are people ready "to incite them againſt me and every honeſt "man; and I would not willingly lend any "help to that deſign.——Since our gold, "then, is annually carried out of *Italy*, and "all the provinces, in the name of the *Jews*, "to *Jeruſalem*, *Flaccus*, by a public edict, "prohibited the exportation of it from *Aſia*: "And where is there a man, Judges, who "does not truly applaud this act? The Se- "nate, on ſeveral different occaſions, but "more ſeverely in my Conſulſhip, condemned "the exportation of gold. To withſtand this "barbarous ſuperſtition was a piece therefore "of laudable diſcipline; and, out of regard "to the Republic, to contemn the multitude "of *Jews*, who are ſo tumultuous in all our "Aſſemblies, an act of the greateſt gravity: "But *Pompey*, it ſeems, when he took *Jeru-* "*ſalem*, meddled with nothing in that Tem- "ple: In which, as on many other occaſions, "he acted prudently, that, in ſo ſuſpicious "and ill-tongued a people, he would not give "any handle for calumny; for I can never "believe, that it was the religion of *Jews* "and enemies, which hindered this excellent "General, but his own modeſty." Then, after ſhewing, "that *Flaccus* had not em- "bezzled or ſeized the gold to his own uſe, "but tranſmitted it to the public treaſury, "he obſerves, that it was not therefore for "the ſake of the crime, but to raiſe an envy, "that this fact was mentioned; and that the "Accuſers ſpeech was turned from the Judges, "and addreſſed to the circle around them: "Every city (ſays he) *Lælius*, has its reli- "gion; we have ours: While *Jeruſalem*, "flouriſhed, and *Judea* was at peace with us, "their religious rites were held inconſiſtent "with the ſplendor of this Empire, the gra- Pro Flac. "vity of the *Roman* name, and the inſtitu- 28. "tions of our anceſtors: But much more "ought they to be held ſo now; ſince they "have let us ſee, by taking arms, what opi- "nion they have of us; and, by their being "conquered, how dear they are to the gods." He proceeds, in the laſt place, to ſhew, what he had intimated in the beginning, "that the "real aim of this trial was to ſacrifice thoſe, "who had ſignalized themſelves againſt *Ca-* "*tiline*, to the malice and revenge of the fe- "ditious."——He concluded by applying himſelf, as uſual, to move the pity and clemency of the Bench towards the perſon of the Criminal, by all the topics proper to excite compaſſion; "the merit of his former ſer- "vices, the luſtre of his family, the tears of "his children, the diſcouragement of *the be-* "*neſt*, and the hurt which the Republic would "ſuffer, in being deprived, at ſuch a time, "of ſuch a Citizen."

"*bulus*

A. R. 694. "*bulus* (ſays *Cicero*) is exalted to Heaven by men's love and admira-
"tion. People do nothing but tranſcribe and read his proteſts and ha-
Ad Att. lib. Ep. 20, & 21. "rangues. He has attained to the ſummit of glory by a new way. No-
"thing is now ſo popular, ſo agreeable to the People, as invectives againſt
"our popular men. *Wherever his edicts are fixed up in the ſtreets, it is*
"*ſcarce poſſible to paſs for the crowds which are reading them.*" And this common curioſity the Orator would have paſs for a demonſtration, that the edicts were highly *approved* by THE PEOPLE in general[1].

How

Ibid. Ep. 19. Middl. p. 308. [1] "The inclinations of the PEOPLE (ſays "*Cicero*) were ſhewn chiefly in the theatres "and public ſhews.——In the *Apollinarian* "plays, *Diphilus*, the *Tragedian*, having ſpo-"ken, in an inſolent manner, ſome paſſages "of his part, which were thought to hit the "character of *Pompey*, was forced to repeat "them a thouſand times:

"*Thou by our miſeries art Great* ——
"*The time will come when thou wilt wretch-*
"*edly lament that Greatneſs* ——
"*If neither Law nor Cuſtom can reſtrain*
"*Thee.*

"At each of which ſentences, the whole the-"atre made a mighty roaring and clapping. "When *Cæſar* came in, he was received with "but a dead applauſe: But when the younger "*Curio*, who followed him, appeared, he was "clapped as *Pompey* uſed to be in the height "of his glory. *It is ſaid*, that *Cæſar*, offended "at this, ſent an account of it to *Pompey*, then "at *Capua*."

[Nobody, who remembers what happened, in a late reign, at our theatre, when the tragedy of *Cato* was firſt acted, and theſe words were ſignificantly ſounded forth——

When vice prevails, and impious men bear ſway,
The poſt of honour is a private ſtation,

will infer any thing, concerning the ſenſe and diſpoſition of a NATION, from ſuch roarings and clappings as *Cicero* ſpeaks of.]

Ep. 21. *Cicero*, in another letter to *Atticus*, writes to this effect: "After *ſighing* long in ſecret, "and then *groaning*, ALL have, at laſt, be-"gun to *ſpeak out*, and *complain loudly*. Our "friend, not accuſtomed to be reproached, "but to be praiſed and extolled, is fallen into "a dejection of mind, which ſhews itſelf in "his countenance: He knows not which way "to turn himſelf. He is ſenſible that he has "proceeded too far, and that to recoil will "expoſe him to the charge of inconſtancy. "The *Good* [i.e. the Fiſh-pond-men, and their "creatures and adherents] are his enemies, "and even the *Wicked* are not his friends. I "could not refrain from tears, when I ſaw "him, on the twenty-fifth of *July*, haran-"guing againſt the edicts of *Bibulus*. He, who "never uſed to appear in the *Roſtra* but to "ſpeak magnificently of his own merit, and "to be applauded, what a mean, abject figure "did he make there, diſpleaſing not only the "audience, but himſelf! A ſpectacle agreeable "to none but *Craſſus*. For my own part, as "*Apelles* or *Protogenes* would have been grieved "to ſee one of their capital pieces beſmeared "with dirt, ſo it was a real grief to me to ſee "the man, whom I had painted with all the "colours of my art, become of a ſudden ſo "deformed: For, though nobody can think, "ſince the affair of *Clodius*, that I have any "reaſon to be his friend, yet my love for "him was ſo great, that no injury could ef-"face it."

In another letter—— "I have nothing to Ep. 22. "ſay to you concerning the Republic, but "that all the world hates our preſent Go-"vernors; and yet there is no hope of a "change. *Pompey*, as you may eaſily be-"lieve, is not content with himſelf, and re-"pents moſt heartily of what he has done. I "cannot foreſee what will be the iſſue of "theſe things; but certainly they ſeem to "threaten ſome ſudden calamity."

Again, "Our friend *Pompey* is thoroughly Ep. 23. "diſguſted with his preſent ſituation, and "wiſhes to be reſtored to that from which he "fell: He imparts to me his concern, and "plainly aſks me, WHAT REMEDY?---*I can* "*ſee none.*"——Yet *Cicero*, in his *Second Philippic*, (when *Pompey* and *Cæſar* were both

dead)

How juſt this inference is, we may gather from the following particular: The SENATE (ſeemingly) to put an affront upon *Cæſar*, as well as to leave him *powerleſs* at the expiration of his Conſulſhip, had aſſigned to the Conſuls of this year, inſtead of the government of rich provinces abroad, *the care of the woods and the roads at home.* At the motion of the Tribune *Vatinius*, the PEOPLE [m] granted to *Cæſar* the government of *Ciſalpine Gaul* and *Illyricum*, with three legions, *for the term of five years.* This convinced the SENATE of their own *impotence*; ſo that when, on the death of *Metellus Celer* (ſuſpected to be poiſoned by his wife *Clodia*) the government of *Tranſalpine Gaul* became vacant, and *Cæſar* declared a deſire to have that province added to the other, they themſelves decreed it to him readily, together with a fourth legion, to prevent his recurring a ſecond time to THE PEOPLE.

Y. R. 694. Bef. Chr. 58. 393 Conf.

Sueton. 19. Hiſt. 22.

Cic. pro Cœlio.

And now *Cæſar*, having conſidered that he ſhould be long abſent from *Rome*, that envy was ſtronger than friendſhip, and that, if he proſpered in the war, *Pompey* might grow jealous of him, and depart from the political ſcheme concerted between them, concluded wiſely, that no means would be ſo effectual to hold him faſt as an alliance of affinity, formed by giving to him in marriage his daughter *Julia*, a beautiful and moſt accompliſhed young lady [n]. Nor did *Cæſar* fail of ſucceſs in this meaſure; for *Pompey* became ſo enamoured of his amiable young wife, as to reduce all his politics (if we may believe *Plutarch*) to contrivances how he might amuſe and entertain her in the moſt agreeable manner.

Dio, l. xxxviii. p. 63. Appian de B. C. p. 435.

dead) had the confidence to aſſert, "that he "uſed all arguments, and his utmoſt endea- "vours, in the Conſulſhip of the worthy *Bi-* "*bulus*, to bring *Pompey to a breach with* "Cæſar." [This does not well accord with the letter laſt cited. Dr. *Middleton*, however, places the two paſſages lovingly together, as if they were contiguous parts of one and the ſame diſcourſe, or at leaſt very near neighbours.] "*But* Cæſar *was more ſucceſsful, and* "*drew* Pompey *quite away from him.*"

Middl. 310.

——Illud te ſcire volo, Sampſiceramum, noſtrum amicum, vehementer ſui ſtatus pœnitere, reſtituique in eum locum cupere, ex quo decidit, doloremque ſuum impertire nobis, et *medicinam* interdum aperte quærere; *quam ego poſſum invenire nullam.* Ad Att. L. ii. Ep. 23.

Ego *M. Bibulo*, præſtantiſſimo Cive, Conſule, *nihil prætermiſi, quantum facere nitique potui, quin* Pompeium *a* Cæſaris *conjunctione avocarem.* In quo *Cæſar* felicior fuit: ipſe enim *Pompeium* a mea familiaritate disjunxit. *Philip.* ii. 10.

[m] "This (ſays Dr. *Middleton*) was a cruel "blow to the power of the Senate, and a di- "rect infringement of the old conſtitution, as "it transferred to THE PEOPLE *a right which* "*they had never exerciſed or pretended to be-* "*fore.*" And, in ſupport of this aſſertion, the Doctor cites Cic. in Vatin. 15. Eripuerit Senatui Provinciæ decernendi poteſtatem; Imperatoris deligendi judicium; ærarii diſpenſationem; quæ nunquam ſibi populus Romanus appetivit, qui nunquam hæc a ſummi conſilii gubernatione auferre conatus eſt. How can this be reconciled with the fact of the *Gabinian Law*, or with that of THE PEOPLE's tranſferring to *Pompey*, by the *Manilian Law*, (paſſed through the perſuaſion of *Cicero*) the government of the provinces which had been aſſigned to *Lucullus?* Vid. ſupra, p. 221, 222, & 329; and Vol. II. of this Hiſt. Book VI. Chap. vii. notes [o] and [x].

Middl. 313.

[n] She had been promiſed to *Servilius Cæpio*, and therefore, to comfort him under his diſappointment, *Pompey*'s daughter was now given him for a wife, who had been deſigned for *Fauſtus Sylla*.

Y. R. 694. Bef. Chr. 58. 393 Conſ.

It was, probably, about the ſame time [o], as well as with the ſame *view of leaving behind him in the City powerful friends, who, during his abſence, would, on all occaſions, ſupport him in his enterprizes*, that *Cæſar* himſelf married *Calpurnia*, the daughter of *Calpurnius Piſo*, whom the Triumvirs had fixed upon to be one of the next year's Conſuls. His Collegue was to be *Gabinius*, a creature of *Pompey*'s.

The Ariſtocratic worthies, extremely alarmed at theſe marriages, and much diſſatisfied with the new laws and regulations, uſed great freedom of ſpeech on all thoſe ſubjects in their *private* meetings and table-converſation; and the younger *Curio* had even the boldneſs to declaim *openly*, and make loud invectives againſt the Triumvirate and their proceedings [p]. Thoſe free diſcourſes (which doubtleſs tranſpired) and the temerity of the briſk young man [q], together with the applauſes and careſſes he met with from the faction, ſeem to have brought *Vettius* once more upon the ſtage —— that *Vettius* who had been *Cicero's ſpy, informer*, and *witneſs*, in the affair of *Catiline*'s conſpiracy [*Vettius ille, ille noſter index.*] This wretch, who had formerly accuſed *Cæſar* of being an accomplice with *Catiline*, now took it into his head to ſwear a plot upon the oppoſite faction, and particularly upon the younger *Curio*, whom he accuſed of being at the head of an aſſociation of certain young Nobles, who had combined to aſſaſſinate either *Pompey* or *Cæſar*, or both. Whether ſuch a deſign had been really formed, or whether *Vettius* had been

Ad Att. ii. 24. Vid ſupr. p. 380.

[o] It would be very difficult to aſcertain the *order* of the tranſactions and events of this year, the ancient writers not agreeing in that point, even when they agree in the *facts* (which frequently they do not.) *Appian* and *Dio* have placed *the two marriages* after the People's grant of the province of *Gaul* to *Cæſar*, and have imputed *both* to the motive above-mentioned. But *Suetonius* ſpeaks of thoſe marriages as prior to that grant, aſcribing, in a great meaſure, the grant itſelf to the credit and influence of *Cæſar*'s father-in-law and ſon-in-law. —— Socero igitur generoque ſuffragantibus, ex omni provinciarum copia Gallias potiſſimum elegit, &c. 22.

Plutarch marries *Pompey* to *Julia* preſently after her father's election to the Conſulſhip, and before his entering on that magiſtracy.

From the 17th and 18th epiſtles (lib. ii.] of *Cicero* to *Atticus*, it would ſeem, that the marriage of *Pompey* with *Julia*, the paſſing of the Campanian and other laws propoſed by *Cæſar*, and his obtaining the province of *Gaul*, were much about the ſame time, Prorſus ut ſcribis, ita ſentio. Turbatur Sampſiceramus [*Pompeius.*] Nihil eſt, quod non timendum ſit. ὁμολογημένως τυραννίδα συσκευαζεται. Aperte Tirannidem affectat.] Quid enim *iſta repentina affinitatis conjunctio*, quid *ager Campanus, quid effuſio pecuniæ* ſignificat? [meaning, by the laſt, *the five year's tribute* from the Eaſt, to be employed in purchaſing lands for the poor.]

Ep. xvii.

A Cæſare *valde liberaliter* invitor in legationem illam *ſibi ut ſim Legatus.* Ep. xviii.

[p] Univerſa res eo eſt deducta, ſpes ut nulla ſit, aliquando non modo privatos, verum etiam magiſtratus liberos fore. *Hac tamen in oppreſſione ſermo in circulis duntaxat, et conviviis eſt liberior, quam fuit. Vincere incipit timorem dolor*; ſed ita, ut omnia ſint pleniſſima deſperationis. *Ad Att.* Ep. xviii. Lib. 2.

Unus loquitur, et palam adverſatur adoleſcens Curio. Huic plauſus maximi, conſalutatio forenſis perhonorifica, ſigna præterea benevolentiæ permulta à bonis impertiuntur.---Ibid.

[q] This young man's father, *Scribonius Curio*, had been Conſul in 677, and was a particular friend of *Cicero*'s. The ſon was the Orator's diſciple.

ſuborned to act the part he did, is not to be cleared up by any thing we read in the ancient writers, who mention the diſturbance he made by his information. What appears unqueſtionable is, that he was caſt into priſon upon his own confeſſion of having, contrary to law, carried about him a dagger; that, in a very ſhort time, he was there ſecretly diſpatched, and his carcaſe thrown out into the ſtreet; and that no enquiry was made after the authors of his ſudden death. Y. R. 694. Bef. Chr. 58. 393 Conſ.

Suetonius, to the diſcredit and diſgrace of himſelf as an hiſtorian, tells us, without any heſitation, "that *Cæſar*" [the diſtinguiſhing feature of whoſe character was nobleneſs of ſoul] "to ſtrike a terror into all thoſe "of the oppoſite faction, engaged *Vettius*, by the force of bribes, to depoſe, "that he had been ſolicited by certain perſons to kill *Pompey*." And he adds, "that *Vettius* having been produced in the Roſtra by *Cæſar* to "declare, according to their private agreement, the names of the de- "linquents; and having named two or three, without gaining credit, "*Cæſar*, deſpairing of ſucceſs in ſo raſh an enterprize, took off the in- "former, *it is thought*, by poiſon [intercepiſſe veneno indicem *cre-* "*ditur*[r].]" Suet. in Jul. Cæſ. 20.

If the Hiſtorian had reported, that, when there was a great croud in the Forum, *Cæſar* went thither in diſguiſe to pick a pocket, it would have been as credible as the *ſubornation* and *poiſoning* imputed to him. But, in order to reject this monſtrous tale, we need not have recourſe to *Cæſar*'s unvarying character of magnanimity and generoſity. A very learned and ingenious modern, by no means partial to him, makes no ſcruple to contradict *Suetonius* ſo far as to ſay, "that there is not the leaſt "likelihood of *Cæſar*'s having ſet *Vettius* to work: for, had *Cæſar* been "author of the project, it would have been better conducted." And he obſerves, that *Vettius*'s naming, in his firſt depoſition, *Brutus*, the ſon of *Cæſar*'s miſtreſs *Servilia*, as concerned in the intended aſſaſſination, is a clear proof, that *Cæſar* did not ſuggeſt to the informer the matter of that depoſition[s]. Mong. Tom. I. P. 511, 513.

Plutarch

[r] *Suetonius* tells another ſenſeleſs ſtory of *Cæſar*, "That he *ſtole*, during his Conſul- "ſhip, three thouſand pounds weight of gold "out of the Capitol, putting the like weight "of gilt copper in its place:" As if *Cæſar* would have wanted the reſolution to *ſeize* the treaſure *openly*, upon any urgent occaſion.

[s] Yet *Cicero*'s *Engliſh* Hiſtorian, having ſpoken of the *great diſaffection of* THE PEOPLE to the *Triumvirs* [which, I believe, appears no where but in *Cicero*'s letters] goes on thus: "But, to give a turn to the diſpoſition of the "People, or to draw their attention, at leaſt, "another way, *Cæſar* contrived to amuſe the "City with the diſcovery of a new conſpiracy "to aſſaſſinate *Pompey*." And then relates the ſtory, as it is told in a letter from *Cicero* to *Atticus*; after which, he adds, "But it hap- "pened in this, as it commonly does in all "plots of the ſame kind, that the too great "eagerneſs of the managers deſtroyed its effect: "For, by the extravagance to which it was "puſhed, it confuted itſelf; and was entertain- "ed with ſo general a contempt by all orders, "that *Cæſar* was glad to get rid of it *by ſtran-* "*gling or poiſoning* Vettius *privately in priſon*, "*and giving it out that it was done by the* "*Conſpirators*."

Y. R. 694. Bef. Chr. 58. 393 Conf.

Plutarch makes no mention of this affair, except in his Life of *Lucullus*, where he tells us, " That the friends of *Lucullus* and *Cato*, having expreſſed a very ſharp reſentment of the inſults which thoſe two great men had ſuffered from the oppoſite faction, who had forcibly driven them out of the Forum, the partizans of *Pompey* produced a certain *Bruttian* [*Vettius*] whom they ſaid he had apprehended lying in wait to kill *Pompey:* That *Vettius*, when examined before the Senate, did not accuſe *Lucullus*, but other perſons, of having inſtigated him to the murder: But, when interrogated in an Aſſembly of the People, he named *Lucullus* as the man who had hired him. No body gave credit to what he ſaid, it being ſenſible that he had been ſuborned: and people were confirmed in this perſuaſion, when, after a few days, the carcaſe of the accuſer was ſeen lying at the priſon-door. It was indeed reported that he had killed himſelf; but the mark upon his neck of a halter, and the marks upon his body of blows, ſeem clearly to teſtify, that thoſe who had ſuborned him had likewiſe diſpatched him, that he might not reveal their crime."

De B. C. L. ii. p. 434.

Appian, after mentioning *Cato*'s violent oppoſition to that part of *Cæſar*'s *Campanian* Law, which obliged the Senators to ſwear to the obſervance of it, adds, " that *Vettius*, a man of the lower ſort, ran ſuddenly into the midſt of the croud, brandiſhing a drawn dagger, and declaring aloud, that he had been ſuborned by *Bibulus*, *Cicero*, and *Cato*, to kill both *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, and that the dagger was given him by *Poſthumius*, one of *Bibulus*'s Lictors. *Cæſar*, though the ſtory had not much the air of truth, made advantage of it to exaſperate the multitude, and he put off the further inquiry into the informer's allegations till the next day; but *Vettius* was that very night killed in the priſon. Various conjectures there were concerning the authors of his death.

" *Conſpirators.*" For this laſt fact, *Cic. in Vatin.* and *Plut. in Lucull.* are quoted: Yet the Orator, in his ſpeech againſt *Vatinius*, charges him, not *Cæſar*, with the murder: And *Plutarch*, in ſpeaking of *Vettius*'s information, and of his death, never once names *Cæſar*.

M. *Crevier*, not leſs prejudiced than Dr. Middleton, againſt *Cæſar*, writes to this effect: " Young *Curio*, as I have ſaid, had rendered himſelf odious to *Cæſar*, by declaring againſt the Triumvirate. *Cæſar* reſolved to bring him and ſeveral others into trouble, by contriving to have a weighty ' charge brought againſt them, which would ' make a great noiſe. For this purpoſe he made uſe of that *Vettius*, by whom he himſelf had formerly been impeached, as an accomplice of *Catiline*. —— Then comes the ſtory as related by *Cicero*. — After which he ſays---" The impoſture was too ill concerted to bear the light of a judicial enquiry. *Cæſar* apprehended the conſequences of ſo ſenſeleſs a calumny. One morning ' *Vettius* was found ſtrangled in the priſon. ' *Such were the wages with which* Cæſar *paid* ' *the ſervices of this villain.* He would have ' thrown the ſuſpicion of his death upon ' others; but no body was deceived; and " HISTORY," [not *Cicero*, nor even *Suetonius*, nor any other ancient writer] " charges " him with this murder, horrible in all its circumſtances. *Cicero* (adds M. *Crevier* in a " note) makes *Vatinius* author of the murder; " but that was only a politic caution to avoid " offending *Cæſar*."

" death.

" death. *Cæſar* charged it upon thoſe whoſe guilty conſciences made Y R 693
" them afraid of a diſcovery; and he obtained the People's conſent to Bef. Chr.
" his having a guard, that might defend him from ſuch treacherous at- 58.
" tempts." 393 Conſt.

Cicero's account of the matter is in a letter to *Atticus*.

" In my letter by *Numeſtius* I preſſed you to come hither with ſo much Lib. II.
" earneſtneſs, that nothing could exceed it. Make more haſte, if it be Epiſt.
" poſſible, than I there[t] urged you to uſe. Do not, however, be alarmed xxiv.
" at this (for I know you, and know, that love is always ſolicitous and
" anxious:) the thing, I hope, will not be ſo bad in the event as in the
" report. *Vettius*, that *Vettius* who was my ſpy and informer, had pro-
" miſed *Cæſar* (as I have diſcovered) that he would contrive to make *Cu-*
" *rio, the ſon,* fall under the ſuſpicion of ſome criminal enterprize. Ha-
" ving, therefore, inſinuated himſelf into an intimacy with the young man,
" and having had, as appears, many meetings with him, he went ſo far as
" to tell him in confidence, that he was determined to fall with his ſlaves
" upon *Pompey*, and kill him. *Curio* carried this to his father, who diſ-
" covered it to *Pompey*.

" The matter was laid before the Senate, and *Vettius* brought in.
" At firſt he denied that he ever had any converſation with *Curio*; but did
" not long perſiſt in that. He requeſted to be admitted an evidence, which
" was readily granted. He then informed the Houſe, that there was a
" plot formed by many of the young Nobility, of whom *Curio* was the
" leader: that *Paullus* was engaged in it from the firſt, with *Brutus*
" alſo, and *Lentulus* the ſon of the *Flamen*, with the privity of his
" father: that the Secretary of *Bibulus* had brought him a dagger
" from *Bibulus* himſelf. The Senate laughed at this: that *Vettius*
" could not have been maſter of a dagger, unleſs the Conſul had given him
" one. Another circumſtance helped to diſcredit the information with
" the Houſe, which was, that, on the thirteenth of *May*, *Bibulus* had
" put *Pompey* on his guard againſt treachery, for which he had *Pom-*
" *pey*'s thanks. *Curio* was called in to anſwer to *Vettius*'s allegations,
" and ſoon confounded him upon one article, which was, that the young
" Nobles had agreed to attack *Pompey* in the Forum, on the day when
" *Gabinius* gave his ſhew of gladiators, and that *Paullus* was to be the
" leader in the attack; whereas, it appeared that, at that very time, *Paul-*
" *lus* was in Macedonia. The Senate decreed, that *Vettius*, having
" confeſſed his wearing a dagger, ſhould be laid in irons, and that who-
" ever ſhould ſet him free, ſhould be deemed an enemy to his country.
" It was generally ſuppoſed, that the ſcheme was laid ſo, that *Vettius*
" ſhould be taken in the Forum with a dagger, and the ſlaves likewiſe with
" arms; and that then he ſhould requeſt to be admitted an evidence:

[t] Si dormis, expergiſcere; ſi ſtas, ingredere; ſi ingrederis, curre; ſi curris, advola. *Ad Att.* ii. 23.

Y. R. 694. Bef. Chr. 58. 393. Conſ.

" but the ſcheme was diſconcerted by the information which *Pompey* re-
" ceived from *Curio*. The decree of the Senate was read in an Aſſembly
" of the People.

Vid. ſupr. p. 380.

" The next day, however, *Cæſar*, who, when Prætor, had hindered *Q.*
" *Catulus* from aſcending the Roſtra, produced *Vettius* there, brought him
" into that place where *Bibulus*, the other Conſul, durſt not then appear.
" Here the fellow gave himſelf a looſe to ſay what he pleaſed upon pub-
" lic matters. And now, firſt of all, he omitted *Brutus* in his depoſition,
" whom, in the Senate, he had charged moſt vehemently; which ſhew'ed
" that he had been well ſchooled and inſtructed the night before. In-
" the next place he named, as accomplices, men, againſt whom he had
" not thrown out the moſt diſtant hint when examined in the Senate, par-
" ticularly *Lucullus*, (who, he ſaid, uſed often to ſend to him that *Caius*
" *Fannius*, who had been active in the impeachment againſt *Clodius*) *Lu-*
" *cius Domitius*, from whoſe houſe, he ſaid, the conſpirators were to ſally
" forth. He did not expreſsly name me, but ſaid, that a fine ſpoken
" Conſular, who lived in the neighbourhood of one of the Conſuls, had
" told him, that there was, at preſent, great occaſion for an *Ahala Ser-*
" *vilius*, or a *Brutus*. After the Aſſembly had been diſmiſſed, he was
" called back by *Vatinius*, and then added, that he had heard from
" *Curio*, that my ſon-in-law *Piſo*, and *Marcus Laterenſis* were in the con-
" ſpiracy.

" *Vettius* is now accuſed before *Craſſus Dives* upon the Law *de Vi*.
" Should he be condemned, he will, without queſtion, pretend to make
" new diſcoveries, and pray to be admitted an evidence; and, if this be
" granted, we ſhall have abundance of trials. Though I am not uſed to
" ſlight the ſmalleſt matter, I have no apprehenſion from all this.

" People expreſs much affection for me; but ſo very full is every thing
" of wretchedneſs, that I am abſolutely tired of my life." *&c. &c.*

L. xxxviii. p. 63.

Dio Caſſius gives us quite another ſtory: He writes, " that *Cicero*
" and *Lucullus*, extremely diſpleaſed with the proceedings of the Trium-
" virs, formed a deſign, but without ſucceſs, to take off both *Cæſar*
" and *Pompey* by the hand of *Vettius*[u]: That *Vettius*, being diſcovered
" and apprehended before he could perpetrate the murder, named thoſe
" who had employed him; and that, if he had not named *Bibulus* among
" the conſpirators, it would have gone hard with the other two: But
" having accuſed *Bibulus* out of revenge for his having imparted the
" matter to *Pompey*, he fell under a ſuſpicion of having given falſe evi-

[u] " *Dio* (ſays M. *Mongault*) is ſo *ridiculous* as " to ſpeak of this affair as a real conſpiracy " againſt *Cæſar*, as well as againſt *Pompey*, " *though* Cicero *in this* LETTER (the 24th " of the 2d Book) *and in his* INVECTIVE " *againſt* Vatinius, *ſpeaks only of* Pompey." The Reader, perhaps, will *ſmile* at the reaſon here given for calling *Dio ridiculous*: For, ſurely, nothing which *Cicero* ſays on the ſubject, either in the *Letter* or in the *Invective*, can be deciſive againſt *Dio* with regard to the point in queſtion, if, as *Dio* reports, there was really an Aſſaſſination-plot, and *Cicero* himſelf was in it.

" dence againſt *Lucullus*, and *Cicero*, and of having been ſuborned to ca- Y. R. 694.
" lumniate them. Various rumours concerning theſe things went about Bef. Chr. 58.
" and nothing certain was known. *Vettius*, when he was produced 393 Conſ.
" before the People, having named only thoſe whom I have mentioned,
" was thrown into priſon, and there, in a very ſhort time, privately put
" to death."

It is highly improbable, that *Cicero* (though, by inclination and principle, a murderer of all enemies to the uſurped authority of the Senate) was in any plot to aſſaſſinate *Pompey*; not only becauſe on *Pompey* was his chief dependance for protection againſt *Clodius*, who of late had terribly threatened him; but becauſe (if in any thing he may be credited) he ever loved *Pompey* perſonally, even when he hated his politics. Nevertheleſs, that a deſign to kill both *Pompey* and *Cæſar* had really been formed by the younger *Curio*, in concert with many of the young Nobles (the *Sanguinaria Juventus*, of whom *Cicero* ſays (in Ep. vii. of Lib. II.) that, by the report of *Curio* to him, *they had conceived a mortal enmity to* Pompey[w]; *and would not bear the government of the proud Kings*[x], meaning the Triumvirs, is a fact not without ſome foundation even in *Cicero*'s letters, who frequently[y] ſpeaks of an extreme diſcontent, and even raging

[w] Una ſpes eſt ſalutis, iſtorum inter iſtos diſſenſio, cujus ego quædam initia ſenſi ex *Curione*—Megabocchus [*Pompeius*] & hæc SANGUINARIA JUVENTUS inimiciſſima eſt. L. II. Ep. vii.

[x] Scito *Curionem adoleſcentem veniſſe ad me ſalutatum.* Valde ejus ſermo de Publio [*Clodio*] cum tuis litteris congruebat. *Ipſe vero mirandum in modum Reges odiſſe ſuperbos. Peræque* narrabat INCENSAM ESSE JUVENTUTEM, NEQUE FERRE HÆC POSSE. *Bene habemus*; *nos, ſi in his ſpes eſt, opinor, aliud agamus.* Ego me do Hiſtoriæ. Ep. vii.

N. B. *Cicero* was at this time at *Antium*; and writes that he ſhall be at *Formiæ* the *twenty-firſt of April*; that he ſhall leave *Formiæ* the *firſt of May*, and be at *Antium* the *third*. That from thence he ſhall go to *Tuſculum*, thence to *Arpinum*, and be at *Rome* the *firſt of June*.

[y] Video jam quo invidia tranſeat, et ubi ſit habitatura. Nihil me exiſtimaris, neque uſu, neque à Theophraſto didiciſſe, ni brevi tempore deſiderari noſtra illa tempora videris. Etenim ſi fuit invidioſa ſenatus potentia; cum ea non ad Populum, ſed ad tres homines immoderatos redacta ſit, quidnam cenſes fore? Proinde iſti licet faciant quos volent. Conſules, Tribunos Pleb. denique etiam Vatinii ſtrumam ſacerdotii διφάφῳ [bis tincta purpura] veſtiant; *Videbis brevi tempore* MAGNOS *non modo* EOS, *qui nihil titubarunt, ſed etiam illum ipſum, qui peccavit*, Catonem. Ep. ix.

N. B. He had juſt before, in this letter, laid the blame, in a great meaſure, upon *Cato*, *that the revolution in the Government was ſo ſuddenly made*; becauſe *Cato* had, by his obſtinacy in the affair of the Knight's petition, alienated them from the Senate.

—— In me incurrit Roma veniens *Curio Meus* —— ruum, *Mommi, Metelli Nepotis* exprompſit odium [in *Cæſarem*] ——— Complexus juvenem dimiſi—Ep. x. [Ed. Vulg. xii.] written when on his journey from *Antium* to *Formiæ*.

—— Qui fremitus hominum! Quam irati animi! Quanto in odio noſter amicus magnus! Ep. xii. dated 19th of *April*. From *Formiæ*.

Prorſus, ut ſcribis, ita ſentio. Turbatur *Sampſiceramus* [*Pompeius*.] Nihil eſt quod non timendum ſit. Aperte Tyrannidem affectat. Quid enim illa repentina affinitatis conjunctio, quid ager Campanus, quid effuſio pecuniæ ſignificat? quæ ſi eſſent extrema, tamen eſſet nimium mali, ſed ea natura rei eſt, ut hæc extrema eſſe non poſſint. Quid enim eos hæc

ipſa

V. R. 694. raging anger in the minds of men of all rank, that muſt ſpeedily break forth in ſome violent manner, and produce a change in the ſtate of things.

Ep. ix. Let them [the Triumvirs] ſays he, make what *Conſul* and *Tribunes* they pleaſe, *you will very ſoon ſee Great and in power, not only thoſe* [friends of the Ariſtocracy] *who have made no falſe ſtep, but even* Cato, *who deſerves reprehenſion.*

Ep. xxiv. The account, given by *Cicero* (in his letter to *Atticus*) of *Vettius*'s affair, is by no means ſatisfactory: and there is the leſs reaſon to wonder at this, becauſe he was not preſent when *Vettius* was examined by the Senate, nor when, the next day, he made his depoſition in an Aſſembly of the PEOPLE: For, at this critical juncture, *Cicero* attended none of the

ipſa per ſe delectare poſſunt? Nunquam huc veniſſent, niſi ad alias res peſtiferas aditus ſibi compararent. Dii immortales! verum, ut ſcribis, hæc in Arpinati a. d. vi. circiter Id. Maias non deflebimus, neque operam et oleum Philologiæ noſtræ perierit; ſed conferemus tranquillo animo. Ep. xvii.

N. B. The foregoing letters were all written while *Cicero* was in the country. After his return to *Rome*, which (if he followed his own * intention, Ep. viii.) was the *firſt of June*, he gives an account to *Atticus* of the ſtate in which he found the public affairs.

* Vid. ſup. n. (x)

Ep. xviii. Tenemur undique &c. Scito nihil unquam fuiſſe tam infame, &c.

Ep. xix. —Hoc opinor. Certi ſumus periſſe omnia. —— Iis [edictis *Bibuli*] ardet dolore, et ira noſter *Pompeius*, &c.

Ep. xx. De Republica breviter ad te ſcribam. Jam enim charta ipſa ne nos prodat, pertimeſco. Itaque poſthac, ſi erunt mihi plura ad te ſcribenda, ἀλληγορίαις obſcurabo. Nunc quidem novo quodam morbo civitas moritur; ut cum omnes ea quæ ſunt acta improbent, querantur, doleant, varietas in re nulla ſit, aperteque loquantur, et jam clare gemant; tamen medicina nulla adhibetur. Neque enim reſiſti ſine internecione poſſe arbitramur: *nec videmus, qui finis cedendi, præter exitium, futurus ſit. Bibulus*, hominum admiratione, et benevolentia in cœlo eſt: Edicta ejus et conciones deſcribunt et legunt. Novo quodam genere in ſummam gloriam venit. Popularе nunc nihil tam eſt, quam odium popularium. Hæc quo ſint eruptura, timeo.——Comitia *Bibulus* cum *Archilochio* edicto in ante diem xv. Kal. Novemb. diſtulit.

De Repub. quid ego tibi ſubtiliter? Tota periit: atque hoc eſt miſerior quam reliquiſti, quod *tum videbatur cujusmodi dominatio* civitatem oppreſſiſſe quæ jucunda eſſet *multitudini, bonis autem ita moleſta*, ut tamen ſine pernicie: NUNC repente tanto in odio eſt omnibus, ut quorſum eruptura ſit horreamus: Nam iracundiam atque intemperantiam illorum ſumus experti, qui *Catoni* irati omnia perdiderunt. Sed ita lenibus uti videbantur venenis, ut poſſe vi eremur ſine dolore interire. Nunc vero ſibilis Vulgi, ſermonibus Honeſtorum, fremitu *Italiæ*, vereor ne exarſerint. Equidem ipſe eram, ut ſæpe etiam loqui tecum ſolebam, ſic orbem Reipub. eſſe converſum, ut vix ſonitum audire, vix impreſſam orbitam videre poſſemus: et fuiſſet ita, ſi homines tranſitum tempeſtatis expectare potuiſſent: ſed cum diu occulte ſuſpiraſſent, poſtea jam gemere, ad extremum vero loqui omnes et clamare cœperunt. Ep. xx

N. B. It is in this letter that *Cicero* mourns over *Pompey*, fallen (as he pretends) from the ſummit of glory into contempt, and ſpeaks of the wretched figure he made the 25th of *July*, when haranguing againſt *Bibulus*'s edicts. Vid. ſupr. p. 414.

——— De Repub. nihil habeo ad te ſcribere, niſi ſummum odium omnium hominum in eos qui tenent omnia, mutationis tamen ſpes nulla. Sed quod facile ſentias, tædet ipſum *Pompeium*, vehementerque pœnitet. Non provideo ſatis quem exitum futurum putem. *Sed certe videntur hæc aliquo eruptura.* Ep. xxii

Public Councils, but confined himſelf wholly to *pleading Cauſes* [z]. He ſeems to have wrote to *Atticus* the very day of *Vettius*'s appearing in the *Roſtra*, and before the buſineſs was quite huſhed by the death of that Informant, of whoſe death, though it is ſaid to have happened the night following, he makes no mention; but writes, that he is to be tried before the Prætor, *Craſſus Dives*, for a breach of the law *de Vi*, in carrying about him a dagger. So that, when *Cicero* wrote that letter, he had probably received but a very imperfect relation of what had paſſed; nothing his [illegible], perhaps, than the *Lies of each of the two days.* And this will appear the more probable, if we conſider how very unlikely it is, even ſuppoſing *Vettius* himſelf to have invented all the matter of his information, that he ever charged *Paullus* with a deſign to aſſaſſinate *Pompey* in the *Roman Forum*, at a time when *Paullus* was in *Macedonia*; and no body could be ignorant of his reſidence there, he being Proquæſtor of that province. Vide Pigh.

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And likewiſe how unlikely it is, that *Vettius* ſhould impute to *Paullus* the deſign of killing *Pompey* by the hands of the gladiators of *Gabinius* who was *Pompey*'s creature.

There are, in *Cicero*'s ſtory, other particulars which make it a very lame one:

Bibulus, on the 13th of *May*, gave *Pompey* warning to be upon his guard againſt inſidious attempts. How came *Bibulus* to think that any ſuch attempts were deſigned? Shall we ſay, that the elder *Curio* had imparted to him the intelligence which the younger *Curio* had received from *Vettius*? But then, why was no public notice taken of this murderous deſign for ſeveral months after the diſcovery? *Cicero* ſays not a word of the matter before that letter which ſpeaks of the affair as then recent, and which ſeems to have been written in the beginning of *October*, or thereabout: For *Cicero* in Ep. xxiii. after preſſing *Atticus* moſt earneſtly to come with all haſte to *Rome*——"*If you are ſleeping, awake*; "*if you are ſtanding ſtill, come away*; *if you are coming, run*; *if you* "*are running, fly*;"—he adds, "It is of great importance to me, that "if you cannot be here at the Conſular elections, you be here as ſoon as "*Clodius* ſhall be declared Tribune." The *Comitia* for the elections, which uſed to be held in the end of *July*, or beginning of *Auguſt*, had, by an edict from *Bibulus*, been put off to the 18th of *October*.

Epiſt. xxiv.

Ep. xv.

It is manifeſt, therefore, that the notice, which *Pompey* received from *Bibulus*, of treacherous deſigns againſt his life, muſt have been prior, by many months, to the notice he received from the elder *Curio* of *Vettius*'s purpoſe to aſſaſſinate him, nor could relate to the ſame conſpiracy; nor, conſequently, be any proof of *Vettius*'s impoſture, in the

[z] Rempublicam nulla ex parte attingimus. In cauſis atque in illa opera noſtra forenſi, ſumma induſtria verſamur. Ep. xxii. Nos publicis conſiliis nullis interſumus, totoſque nos ad forenſem operam, laboremque contulimus. Ep. xxiii.

tale

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tale he told to the Senate, when examined there. Notwithſtanding the friendly hint, which *Bibulus* ſent to *Pompey* the 13*th of May*, it is very poſſible that the ſame *Bibulus*, before the month of *October*, might encourage a deſign to deſtroy him.

L. II. Ep. vii. viii. x. [Ed. Vulg. xii.]

By ſome of *Cicero's* Epiſtles, written in the month of *April*, from the country, to *Atticus* at *Rome*, it appears that the younger *Curio*, and other hot-headed, bloody-minded, young Nobles [*Sanguinaria Juventus*] had talked in a ſtrain, as if *determined not to bear the Sovereignty of Triumvirate. Bibulus*, apprehenſive, perhaps, of their engaging ſome raſh and fatal enterprize, and not yet in deſpair of recovering *Pompey* to the intereſt of the Senate, might in order to oblige, or perhaps to frighten him, ſend him an intimation of dangers to which he was expoſed.

But, between the 13th of *May*, when *Pompey* received that intimation, and the month of *October*, there might be a great change in the diſpoſition of *Bibulus*, as there ſeems to have been in the face of things. In a letter, which *Cicero*, about the *end of May*, juſt *before* his return to *Rome*, ſent to *Atticus*, he writes as if under a terrible alarm. "It is as you ſay, "*Pompey*'s head is turned. He aſpires to the Tyranny. *What elſe can* "*be the meaning of his ſudden, unexpected marriage with* Cæſar's *daughter*[b], xviii. "&c.?" And in his next Letter, (written *after* his return to *Rome*, when *Atticus* was gone into *Epirus*) "We are all taken captive and bound, "nor do we refuſe to be ſlaves; we look upon death and baniſhment as "greater evils than ſlavery, though indeed they are far leſs. *Young* Cu- "rio *is the only man who ſpeaks and oppoſes openly.*"

xix. In the next "the Republic is loſt beyond recovery.——*The edicts of* "Bibulus *make* Pompey *flame with anger.*"

xx. In the next, "*Every body ſpeaks out, and there is no variety of ſentiment.* "——Bibulus, *by a ſtinging edict*, has put off the elections to the 18th of "*October.*"

xxii. In the next — "The Republic is ruined, totally ruined, and, in one "reſpect, is in a worſe condition than when you left us. For THEN *the* "*Domination of our Rulers was pleaſing to the multitude, nor was it deſtruc-* "*tive to the better ſort, though they did not reliſh it*[c]. But NOW, *on a ſudden,* "*it is become ſo generally odious, that I dread the conſequence.* We have

Ep. xvi.

[a] By one of *Cicero's* letters, it appears that *Pompey* diſclaimed having any ſhare in that inſult which, in the end of *April*, *Bibulus* ſuffered from *Vatinius*'s mob; and which was his pretext for ſhutting himſelf up in his houſe for the reſt of the year. Vide ſupra. p. 406.

[b] It has been already obſerved, that we have no guide for fixing, with any preciſion, the dates and *order* of the tranſactions of this year. But by this Letter it would ſeem, that the marriage of *Pompey* with *Julia*, which gave a dreadful alarm to the Ariſtocratic Faction, was in the end of *May*. For this Letter is the lateſt of *Cicero*'s Letters from the country, who came to town in the beginning of *June*.

[c] ——Tum videbatur ejuſmodi Dominatio civitatem oppreſſiſſe, quæ jucunda eſſet multitudini, bonis autem ita moleſta, ut tamen ſine pernicie, &c.

"experienced

" experienced the intemperate wrath of thoſe, who, irritated by the op- Y. R. 694.
" poſition they met with from *Cato* [d], have overturned all things. At firſt Bef. Chr.
" they made uſe of ſuch gentle and pleaſant poiſons, that it ſeemed as if 58.
" we ſhould be able to die without pain: But now, I fear, leſt the hiſſes 393 Conſ.
" of the populace, the free diſcourſes of the better ſort, and the murmur-
" ing of all *Italy*, ſhould provoke them even to rage."

Whatever was the principal evil here complained of, it is evident from this letter, that, at the time when it was written, *Bibulus* and his faction thought themſelves in a more deſperate condition than they had been in the month of *May* preceding; and therefore the friendly hint given by *Bibulus* to *Pompey*, on the 13th of that month, can be no proof, that *Bibulus* had the ſame friendly diſpoſition towards him, when *Vettius* charged ſome of the Leaders of the Faction with an Aſſaſſination Plot.

As to the ſecret which the younger *Curio* pretended to have learnt from *Vettius*, the proof of the fact reſting wholly on the VERACITY of *Curio*, one of the perſons accuſed, there is room ſufficient to doubt the truth of it. *Vettius*, even after he had obtained from the Senate a promiſe of pardon, does not confeſs a word of his having imparted that ſecret to *Curio*: Inſtead of pretending that he himſelf, a contemptible wretch, had laid a plot to kill *Pompey*, (which would indeed have been an incredible ſtory) he charges the Conſul *Bibulus*, young *Curio*, and many of the diſcontented Nobles, with having formed ſuch a plot, in the execution of which he was to be employed. He alledged, according to *Cicero*'s report) *that the Conſul ſent him a dagger*: But who can imagine that, by this allegation, he meant to intimate, that he could not have been furniſhed with a dagger any other way? No ſurely, his meaning could only be, that the Conſul gave him that token of his approving the deſign.

It would be difficult, perhaps, to collect any thing, which might be called probable, from this blind ſtory. May we not, however, with ſome appearance of reaſon, conjecture, *that Vettius*, who was, by trade, an Informer and a Witneſs, ready to be employed by any body who would hire him, and who had got money from *Cicero*, in the time of his deſpotiſm, for being a convenient evidence, imagined he had now a fair opportunity to get money from the preſent reigning powers, by ſwearing a plot upon their principal enemies. The ſharp edicts of *Bibulus*, the loud *declamations* of *Curio*, the known hatred which *Lucullus* and *Brutus* bore to *Pompey*, (the firſt for having robbed him of his glory, the ſecond for having murdered * his father) were natural reaſons for

* Vid. ſupr. p. 178, 179.

[d] M. *Mongault* thinks that the oppoſition, here ſpoken of, was to the law which gave to *Cæſar* the government of the two *Gauls* for five years; and that it was *Cato*'s behaviour on this occaſion, which provoked *Cæſar* to ſend HIM to priſon. The ancient writers differ in this particular. If *Cæſar* was irregular in his manner of his purſuing his point, it is not to be doubted but *Cato* was as irregular in his method of oppoſition: He was no Magiſtrate at this time. Ibid.

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Vettius to conſtitute them chief Leaders in the enterprize. Indeed, if he meant to make his court to *Cæſar*, it was a blunder to name *Brutus* among the conſpirators. This miſtake he is ſaid to have rectified in his depoſition from the *Roſtra*; where, the next day after his examination by the Senate, *Cæſar* produced him; not to do him honour, as is evident enough from the iſſue of the affair, but to expoſe to the People the baſeneſs of the faction who had employed ſo infamous an impoſtor to accuſe him of treaſon, and, upon the teſtimony of ſuch a witneſs, would have taken away his life, and did actually take away the lives of many Citizens. It does not appear by whoſe direction, or by whoſe hands, he was murdered; each faction accuſed the other of the deed; and neither of them made any enquiry about it.

Cicero, in the cloſe of that Letter in which he relates the affair of *Vettius*, writes as if it cauſed him no great anxiety; but he had been for ſome time, and was ſtill, under terrible apprehenſions from *Clodius*, who threatened him with all the terrors of *his Tribunate*; to which office he was elected without any oppoſition: and, in proportion as the danger approached, *Cicero*'s apprehenſions were every day more and more alarmed. The abſence of his friend *Atticus* was an additional mortification to him: For *Atticus*, having a great familiarity with all the *Clodian* family, might have been of ſervice, either in diſſuading *Clodius* from any attempt, or, at leaſt, in getting out of him what he really intended. *Cicero* preſſed him therefore, in every letter, to come back again to *Rome*. "If you love me (ſays he) as much as I am perſuaded you do, hold yourſelf ready to run hither as ſoon as I call: Though I am doing, and will do, every thing in my power to ſave you that trouble.——My wiſhes and my affairs require you: I ſhall want neither counſel, nor courage, nor forces, if I ſee you here at the time. I have reaſon to be ſatisfied with *Varro*: *Pompey* talks divinely.——How much do I wiſh that you had ſtaid at *Rome*! as you ſurely would have done, if you had imagined how things would happen: We ſhould eaſily have managed *Clodius*, or learnt at leaſt, for certain, what he meant to do. At preſent he flies about; raves; knows not what he would be at; threatens many; and will take his meaſures at laſt, perhaps, from chance," &c.

Midd. 314.

Ad Att. ii. 20.

Cæſar, knowing the fright that *Cicero* was in, and having no deſire to hurt him, but only to render him more tractable, and better diſpoſed to bridle his tongue, than he had hitherto been, propoſed expedients to him for his ſecurity: *He had* [as has been already mentioned] *offered to put him into the commiſſion for diſtributing the lands of* Campania, *with which twenty of the principal Senators were charged: But, as it was an invitation only into the place of one deceaſed, and not an original deſignation.* Cicero *did not think it for his dignity to accept it.*——Cæſar *had likewiſe offered, in the moſt obliging manner, to make him one of his Lieutenants in* Gaul, *and preſſed it earneſtly upon him; which was both a ſure and honourable*

Ibid. 19.

Ibid. 18, & 19.

way

way of avoiding the danger; and what he might have made uſe of, ſo far only, as it ſerved his purpoſe, without embarraſſing himſelf with the duty of it [c]. *Cicero*, ſenſible of all this, was at firſt inclined to accept of the employment, and would have gone with *Cæſar*, if *Clodius*, perceiving himſelf in danger of miſſing his revenge, had not artfully changed his conduct, and, by ſpeaking honourably of *Cicero* on all occaſions, put on the appearance of having laid aſide his reſentment, and being diſpoſed to a reconciliation. *Cicero*, weak enough to be deceived by this behaviour, and very unwilling (if it could be avoided) to owe the obligation of his ſafety to *Cæſar*, refuſed, after ſome heſitation, the Lieutenancy [f]: which refuſal ſo exaſperated *Cæſar*, that he immediately abandoned him to the fury of *Clodius*; *and of this* Cæſar *uſed afterwards to lay the whole blame on* Cicero *himſelf, for ſlighting ſo obſtinately the friendly offers which he made to him. Pompey*, all this while was giving *Cicero the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, confirmed the oaths and vows, that there was no danger; and that he would ſooner be killed himſelf, than ſuffer him to be hurt; that both* Clodius *and his brother* Appius *had ſolemnly promiſed to act nothing againſt him; and, if they did not keep their word, that he would let all the world ſee, how much he preferred* Cicero's *friendſhip to all his other engagements.* In *Cicero*'s account of this to *Atticus*, *Varro*, ſays he, *gives me full ſatisfaction*; Pompey *loves me, and treats me with great kindneſs. Do you believe him? you will ſay, Yes, I do. He convinces me, that he is in earneſt. —— Yet ſince all men of buſineſs, in their Hiſtorical reflections, and even Poets too in their verſes, admoniſh us always to be upon our guard, not to believe too eaſily; I comply with them in one thing; to uſe all proper caution, as far as I am able; but for the other, find it impoſſible not to believe him.*

Y. R. 694. Bef. Chr. 58. 693 Conſ. —— Plut. in Cic.

Ad Att. ix. 2. Vell. Pat ii. 45. Ad. Quint. Fr. i. 2. Ad Att. ii. 20. Ibid. 32.

Ibid. 20.

[c] *Cicero* (as appears by Ep. xviii.) was likewiſe offered a *Free Legation*, in order to go and accompliſh ſome vow: but he thought that this would not ſufficiently ſkreen him from the attacks of *Clodius*; and it would hinder him from having the pleaſure of ſeeing his brother, who was then on his way to *Rome*.

[f] Though *Cicero* was ſo ſhy of accepting the offices of Commiſſioner and Lieutenant, it ſeems that he would have been very willing to accept of a place, that became vacant, by the death of *Metellus Celer*, in the college of Augurs, if it had been offered him. Ad Att. "Tell me (ſays he in a letter to *Atticus*) "every tittle of news that is ſtirring, and, "ſince *Nepos is leaving* Rome, *who is to have* "*his brother's Augurate: It is the only thing by* "*which they could gain me. Obſerve my* "*weakneſs! But what have I to do with ſuch* "*things, to which I long to bid adieu, and turn* "*myſelf entirely to Philoſophy? I am now in* "*earneſt to do it; and wiſh that I had been ſo* "*from the beginning.*"

His *Engliſh* Hiſtorian will have it, that his inclination to the Augurate, at this time, was nothing elſe but a ſudden ſtart of an unweighed thought; no ſooner thrown out than retracted; and dropt only to *Atticus*, to whom he uſed *to open all his thoughts with the ſame freedom, with which they offered themſelves to his own mind*: "For it is certain (adds the "Hiſtorian) that he might have had *this very* "*Augurate*, if he had thought it worth aſk-"ing for;" that is to ſay, it is certain, that in a letter to *Cato*, written nine years after, to convince *Cato* that he had no vain glory, he writes thus: "I forbore offering myſelf as "a candidate for the office of Augur; tho' "you are ſenſible, I dare ſay, that I might "have ſucceeded without much difficulty."

Midd, p. 319. Ad Att. viii. 14. Ep. Fam. xv 14.

Y. R. 694. Bef. Chr. 58. 393 Conſ.

But, whatever really paſſed between *Clodius* and *Pompey*, *Cicero* perceiving, that *Clodius* talked in a different ſtrain to every body elſe, and denounced nothing but war and ruin to him, began to be very ſuſpicious of *Pompey*; and prepared to defend himſelf by his genuine forces, the Senate and the Knights, with the *honeſt* (as he calls them) of all ranks, who (he pretends) were ready to fly to his aſſiſtance from all parts of *Italy*. This was the ſituation of affairs, when *Clodius* entered upon the *Tribunate*, where his firſt act was to put the ſame affront upon *Bibulus*, which had been offered before to *Cicero*, on laying down that office, *by not ſuffering him to ſpeak to the People, but only to take the accuſtomed oath.*

Ad Att. ii. 20. Ad Quint. Fr. i. 2.

CHAP. II.

CLODIUS, *a Tribune of the People, in the Conſulſhip of* PISO *and* GABINIUS, *year of* Rome 695, *paſſes ſeveral new laws. He diſtreſſes* CICERO; *who, being deſerted by thoſe from whom he expected ſupport, is conſtrained to go into baniſhment. To get rid of* CATO, *the Tribune engages the People to commiſſion him to dethrone* PTOLEMY, *King of* Cyprus, *and ſeize his treaſures; which commiſſion he executes with great punctuality. The next year* (696) LENTULUS SPINTHER *and* METELLUS NEPOS *being Conſuls,* CICERO *is recalled home, and reſtored to his dignity and eſtates: on which occaſion* CLODIUS *raiſes miſchievous riots in the City.*

Y. R. 695. Bef. Chr. 57. 394 Conſ.

THE Conſuls of the new year were *L. Calpurnius Piſo* and *A. Gabinius*; the one the father-in-law of *Cæſar*, the other the creature of *Pompey*. Before their entrance into office, *Cicero had conceived great hopes of both* on account of the influence they were under; but eſpecially of *Piſo*, to whom (by the marriage of his daughter *Tullia* to *C. Piſo*) he was allied, and who had lately given him marks of confidence, having employed him, at the time of the election, *to preſide over the votes of the leading century*; and when he entered into his office, on the firſt of *January*, aſked his opinion *the third in the Senate*, or the next after *Pompey* and *Craſſus*: But he preſently found himſelf deceived: For *Clodius* had already ſecured them to meaſures, *by a private contract, to procure for them, by a grant of the People, two of the beſt governments of the empire: for* Piſo, Macedonia, *with* Greece *and* Theſſaly; *for* Gabinius, Cilicia: And when this laſt was not thought good enough, and *Gabinius* ſeemed to be diſpleaſed with his bargain, *it was exchanged ſoon after for* Syria, *with a power of making war upon the* Parthans. For this price they agreed to ſerve him in all his deſigns, and particularly for the oppreſſion of *Cicero*: who, *on that account*, often calls them not Conſuls, but brokers of provinces, and ſellers of their country [g]

Ad Quint. Fr. i. 2. Poſt Red. in Sen. 7. In Piſ. 5, 6. Pro Sext. 10. Pro Dom. 9. Poſt Red. in Sen. 4.

To

[g] *Piſo* had been accuſed the year before, by *P. Clodius*, of plundering and oppreſſing the Allies: When, by throwing himſelf at the feet of his Judges in the moſt abject manner,

Midd. 321. Val. Max. viii. 1.

To gain the People, *Clodius*, early in the year (*Jan.* 3.) promulgated several new laws, contrived chiefly for their advantage. First, *That corn should be distributed*, gratis *to the Citizens.* Secondly, *That no Magistrate should take the Auspices, or observe the heavens, when the People were actually assembled on public business.* Thirdly, *That the old companies or fraternities of the City, which the Senate had abolished about nine years before, should be revived, and new ones instituted.* Y. R. 695. Vid. Orat. in Piſon 4. & notas Aſcon. Dio, l. xxxviii. p. 67.

And, to please the Citizens of higher rank, *Clodius* published a fourth law — *that the Censors should not expel from the Senate, or inflict a mark of infamy upon any man, who was not first* openly *and* in form *accused, and convicted of some crime by their joint sentence.*

These laws, though generally agreeable, were highly unreasonable in *Cicero*'s opinion; who took them all to be levelled at himself, and contrived to pave the way to his ruin; so that he provided his friend, *L. Ninius*, one of the Tribunes, *to put his Negative upon them*, especially on *the Law of Fraternities*; which, under colour of incorporating those societies, gave *Clodius an opportunity of gathering an army, and enlisting into his service all the scum and dregs of the City. Dion Cassius* says, that *Clodius*, in an amicable conference with *Cicero*, and by a promise not to make any attempt against him, persuaded him to withdraw his Tribune, and give no interruption to the new laws proposed: but we find from *Cicero*'s account, that, *because the laws were popular, and did not personally affect him*, his friends advised him to be quiet; with which advice he complied, though contrary to his own judgment: and we find Midd. p. 324. In Piſ. 4. Dio, l. xxxviii. p. 67.

and in the midst of a violent rain, he is said to have moved the compassion of the bench, who thought it punishment enough for a man of his birth, to be reduced to the necessity of prostrating himself so miserably, and rising so deformed and besmeared with dirt.— *Cicero* says, that *Piso*, in his outward carriage, affected the mien and garb of a Philosopher; and that his aspect greatly contributed to give him the credit of that character: *He was severe in his looks; squalid in his dress; slow in his speech; morose in his manners; the very picture of antiquity, and a pattern of the ancient Republic, ambitious to be thought a Patriot, and a reviver of the old discipline.* But this garb of rigid virtue was only the covering of a dirty, sottish, stupid *Epicurean*; wallowing in all the low and filthy pleasures of life; *tall a false opinion of wisdom, the splendor of his great family, and the smoaky images of ancestors, whom he resembled in nothing but his complexion, recommended him to the Consulship*; which exposed the genuine temper and talents of the man. ro Sext. & 9. Piſ. 1.

His collegue *Gabinius was no hypocrite*, but a professed rake from the beginning; *gay, foppish, luxurious; always curled and perfumed; and living in a perpetual debauch of gaming, wine, and women:* void of every principle of virtue, honour, and probity; and so desperate in his fortunes, through the extravagance of his pleasures, that he had no other resource, or hopes of subsistence, but from the plunder of the Republic. In his Tribunate, when the law by him proposed, which gave the command of the war against the pirates, was depending, he, to pay his court to *Pompey, exposed to the mob the plan of* Lucullus's *house*, to shew what an expensive fabric one of the greatest subject of *Rome* was building, as he would insinuate, *out of the spoils of his country*: yet this vain man, oppressed with debt, and scarce able to shew his head, found means, *from the perquisites of his Consulship, to erect a much more magnificent palace than* Lucullus *himself had done.* Pro Sext. 9. Pro Dom. 39.

likewise

Y. R. 695. Ad Att. iii. 15. likewiſe, that he blamed himſelf afterwards for his indolence, and reproached *Atticus* particularly for having counſelled him to let the *Law of Fraternities* paſs; by which it was quickly evident, that *Clodius* had gained great advantage. The vengeful Tribune, becoming extremely popular on account of his new laws, eagerly ſeized the opportunity which this afforded him of driving his hated enemy into baniſhment: And, for this purpoſe, he provided a ſpecial law, which imported, *that whoever had taken the life of a Citizen uncondemned, and without a trial, ſhould be prohibited from fire and water. The putting* Catiline's *accomplices to death*, though not done by *Cicero*'s ſingle authority, but by *a general vote of the Senate, and after a ſolemn hearing and debate*, was judged to be *illegal, and contrary to the liberties of the People*; and *Cicero*, though not named in the law, was the criminal manifeſtly marked out by it. Terrified, amazed, half out of his wits, he inſtantly changed his habit, and, as if he had been actually impeached, appeared about the ſtreets *in a ſordid or mourning gown*, to excite the compaſſion of the People: whilſt *Clodius contrived to meet and inſult him at every turn; reproaching him for his meanneſs of ſpirit, and unmanly dejection; ſome of the populace even pelting him with dirt and ſtones.* But he ſoon gathered friends enough about him to ſecure him from ſuch inſults, *the whole body of the Knights, and the young Nobility, to the number of twenty thouſand, with young* Craſſus *at their head; who all changed their habit, and perpetually attended him, to implore the protection and aſſiſtance of the People.*

Vell. Pat. ii. 45. Plut. Cic Middl. p. 325. Poſt Red. ad Quint. 5.

The City was now in great agitation, and every part of it engaged on one ſide or the other. The Senate met in *the Temple of* CONCORD; while *Cicero*'s friends aſſembled *in the Capitol*; whence all the Knights and young Nobles went in their habit of mourning to throw themſelves at the feet of the Conſuls; and beg their interpoſition in *Cicero*'s favour. *Piſo* kept his houſe that day on purpoſe to avoid them; but *Gabinius* received them with intolerable rudeneſs, though their petition was ſeconded by the intreaties and tears of the whole Senate: *He treated* Cicero's *character and Conſulſhip with the utmoſt deriſion*, and repulſed the whole company with *threats and inſults for their fruitleſs pains to ſupport a ſinking cauſe.* This raiſed great indignation in the Aſſembly: when the Tribune *Ninnius*, inſtead of being diſcouraged by the violence of the Conſul, made a motion, *that the Senate alſo ſhould change their habit with the reſt of the City; which was agreed to inſtantly by an unanimous vote. Gabinius*, enraged at this, flew out of the Senate into the Forum; where he declared to the People from the *Roſtra, that men were miſtaken to imagine, that the Senate had any power in the Republic; that the Knights ſhould pay dear for that day's work, when, in* Cicero's *Conſulſhip, they kept guard in the Capitol, with drawn ſwords: And that the hour was now come, when thoſe, who lived at that time in fear, ſhould revenge themſelves on their enemies: And to confirm the truth of what he ſaid, he baniſhed* L. Lamia, *a* Roman *Knight, two hundred*

Pro Sext. 11, 12, 13. It. Poſt Red. in Sen. 5.

hundred miles from the City, for his diſtinguiſhed zeal and activity in Cicero's *cauſe*; an act of power *, which no Conſul before him had ever preſumed to exert on any Citizen, which was followed preſently *by an edict from both the Conſuls, forbidding the Senate to put their late vote into execution, and enjoined them to reſume their former dreſs* [h]. Y. R. 695. * Ep. Fam. xi. 16. Pro Sext. 14. Middl. p. 327. Ad Art. iii. 15.

Cicero's reſolution of *changing his gown* was too haſty and inconſiderate, and helped to precipitate his ruin. He was not named in the Law, nor perſonally affected by it: The terms of it were general, and ſeemingly juſt, reaching only to thoſe, *who had taken the life of a Citizen illegally.* Whether this was his caſe, or not, was not yet the point in iſſue, but to be the ſubject of another trial: So that, by making himſelf a criminal, before the time, he ſhortened the trouble of his enemies, diſcouraged his friends, and made his caſe more deſperate than he needed to have done: Whereas, if he had taken the part of *commending or ſlighting the Law, as being wholly unconcerned in it*, and when he came to be actually attacked by a ſecond law, and brought to trial upon it, had ſtood reſolutely upon his defence, he might have baffled the malice of his perſecutors. He was ſenſible of his error when it was too late, and often reproached *Atticus, that, being a ſtander-by, and leſs heated in the game than himſelf, he would ſuffer him to make ſuch blunders.*

As the other Conſul, Piſo, had not yet explicitely declared himſelf, ſo *Cicero*, accompanied by his *ſon-in-law*, who was the Conſul's near kinſman, took occaſion to make him a viſit, in hopes to move him to eſpouſe his cauſe, and ſupport the authority of the Senate. They went to him about eleven in the morning, and found him, as *Cicero* afterwards told the Senate, In Piſ. 6
" coming from a little dirty hovel, freſh from the laſt night's debauch,
" with his ſlippers on, his head muffled, and his breath ſo ſtrong of wine,
" that they could hardly bear the ſcent of it. He excuſed his dreſs,
" and ſmell of wine, on account of his ill health, for which he was
" obliged, he ſaid, to take ſome vinous medicines; but kept them ſtand-
" ing all the while in that filthy place, till they had finiſhed their buſineſs.
" As ſoon as *Cicero* entered into the affair, he frankly told them, that
" *Gabinius* was ſo miſerably poor, as not to be able to ſhew his head;
" and muſt be entirely ruined, if he could not procure ſome rich province;
" that he had hopes of one from *Clodius*, but deſpaired of any thing from
" the Senate; that, for his own part, it was his buſineſs to humour him on
" this occaſion, as *Cicero* had humoured his Collegue in his Conſulſhip;
" and that there was no reaſon to implore the help of the Conſuls, ſince it
" was every man's duty to look to himſelf." Which was all they could get from him.

[h] And " where is there, ſays *Cicero*, in all " hiſtory, a more illuſtrious teſtimony of any " man, than that all the *honeſt* by private " inclination, and the Senate by a public de- " cree, ſhould change their habit *for the ſake " of one ſingle Citizen?*" But this was manifeſtly not the caſe: For the *Honeſt* and the *Senate* were as guilty as he, and had equal need of the People's indulgence. Pro Sext. 12.

Y.R. 695. Bef. Chr. 57. 394 Conſ.

Clodius, all this while, was not idle, but puſhed on his Law with great vigour, and calling the People into the *Flaminian Circus*, ſummoned thither alſo *the young Nobles and the Knights*, who were ſo buſy in *Cicero*'s cauſe, *to give an account of their conduct to that Aſſembly*: But, as ſoon as they appeared, *he ordered his ſlaves and mercenaries to fall upon them with drawn ſwords, and vollies of ſtones*, in ſo rude a manner, *that* Hortenſius *was almoſt killed, and* Vibienus, *another Senator, ſo deſperately hurt, that he died ſoon after of his wounds.* Here he *produced the two Conſuls*, to deliver their ſentiments to the People on the merit of *Cicero*'s Conſulſhip; when *Gabinius declared with great gravity, that he utterly condemned the putting Citizens to death without a trial*: Piſo *only ſaid, That he had always been on the merciful ſide, and had a great averſion to cruelty.* The reaſon of holding this Aſſembly in the *Flaminian Circus* without the gates of *Rome*, was to give *Cæſar* an opportunity of aſſiſting at it, who, *being now inveſted with a military command, could not appear within the walls.* *Cæſar*, therefore, being called upon, after the Conſuls, to deliver his mind upon the ſame queſtion, declared, *That the proceedings againſt* Lentulus *and the reſt were irregular and illegal, but that he could not approve the deſign of puniſhing any body for them: That all the world knew his ſenſe of the matter, and that he had given his vote againſt taking away their lives; yet he did not think it right to propound a law at this time about things that were ſo long paſt* [i].

Pro Sext. 12. Pro Mil. 14. Poſt. Red. in Sen. 6. In Piſ. 6. Poſt. Red. in Sen. 7. Dio, l. xxxviii. p. 69.

In this ſame Aſſembly *Clodius* obtained a repeal of the *Ælian* and *Fufian* laws [k], which had been in force *about a hundred years*, and made it unlawful *to act any thing with the People on the days called* FASTI [l], *or while the Augurs or Conſuls were obſerving the heavens, and taking the auſpices.* Theſe laws were the main ſupport of the Ariſtocratical intereſt, as they proved of excellent uſe for checking any attempt of the Popular Magiſtrates, that gave the Senate an alarm: *Cicero* therefore frequently laments *the loſs of them*, and calls them *the moſt ſacred laws of the State, the fences and bulwarks of the Public Tranquillity.* [But it is no wonder that *Clodius*, in the character of a Popular Tribune, ſhould attempt the repeal of ſuch laws, ſeeing the worthy Conſul *Bibulus* had, the very laſt year, in order to hinder the paſſing of certain laws beneficial to the People, moſt impudently proclaimed all the days of eight months together *Holy Days.*]

Pro Sext. 15. De Haruſp. Reſp. 27. In Vatin. 9. In Piſ. 4. Vid. ſupr. p. 404, 405.

[i] This anſwer, ſays Dr. *Middleton*, was artful, and agreeable to the part which *Cæſar* was then acting; for, while it confirmed the foundation of *Clodius*'s law, it carried a ſhew of moderation towards *Cicero*; or, as an ingenious writer expreſſes it, *left appearances only to the one, but did real ſervice to the other.* Exil. de Cic. p. 133.

[k] The authors of theſe laws are not certainly known. *Manutius* ſays, they were two Tribunes of the People, about a hundred years before *Clodius*'s Tribuneſhip. *Hottomannus* gives them different dates and different authors, aſcribing the firſt to *Q. Ælius Pætus*, Conſul in 586; the ſecond to *P. Fufius* or *Furius*, Conſul in 617.

[l] The *Dies Faſti* were the days on which the Courts of Law were open, and the Prætors ſat to hear cauſes; which days were marked for that purpoſe in the Calendars.

Pompey,

Pompey, who had hitherto been giving *Cicero* the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his friendſhip, and been frequent and open in his viſits to him, began now, as the plot ripened towards a criſis, to grow cool and reſerved; while the *Clodian faction*, fearing leſt he might be induced at laſt to protect him, were employing all their arts *to infuſe jealouſies and ſuſpicions into him of his deſign againſt him from* Cicero. *They poſted ſome of their confidents at* Cicero's *houſe, to watch* Pompey's *coming thither, and to admoniſh him by whiſpers, and billets put into his hands, to be cautious of venturing himſelf there, and to take better care of his life; which was inculcated to him ſo ſtrongly at home by perpetual letters and meſſages from pretended friends, that he thought fit to withdraw himſelf from the City, to his houſe on the Alban hill.* It cannot be eaſily imagined, that he entertained real apprehenſions of *Cicero:* But, if he had any fear, it muſt, as *Cicero* ſays, *have been of the common enemies of them both, leſt they might poſſibly attempt ſomewhat in* Cicero's *name*; and, by the opportunity of charging it upon *Cicero*, hope to get rid of them both at the ſame time: but the moſt probable conjecture is, that, being obliged, by his engagement with *Cæſar, to deſert Cicero*, and ſuffer him to be driven out of the City, he was willing to humour theſe inſinuations, as giving the moſt plauſible pretext of excuſing his perfidy ———."

Y. R. 695. Middl. p. 331---334. Pro Dom. 11. Pro Sext. 18.

Before things came to extremity, *Cicero* thought it adviſeable to preſs *Pompey* in ſuch a manner, as to know for certain what he had to expect from him. Some of his chief friends undertook the taſk; *Lucullus, Torquatus, Lentulus*, &c. who, with a numerous attendance of Citizens, went to find him at his *Alban Villa*, and to intercede with him, *not to deſert the fortunes of his old friend.* He received them civilly, though coldly; referring them wholly to the Conſuls, and declaring, *that he, being only a private man, could not pretend to take the field againſt an armed Tribune, without a public authority; but if the Conſuls, by a decree of the Senate, would enter into the affair, he would preſently arm himſelf in their defence.* With this anſwer they addreſſed themſelves again to the Conſuls; but with no better ſucceſs than before; *Gabinius* treated them rudely; but *Piſo* calmly told them, *that he was not ſo ſtout a Conſul as* Torquatus *and* Cicero *had been; that there was no need of arms, or fighting; that* Cicero *might ſave the Republic a ſecond time, if he pleaſed, by withdrawing himſelf; for, if he ſtaid, it would coſt an infinite quantity of Civil blood; and, in ſhort, that neither he, nor his Collegue, nor his ſon-in-law,* Cæſar, *would relinquiſh the party of the Tribune.*

In Piſon. 31. Ibid.

After this repulſe, *Cicero* reſolved to make his laſt effort on *Pompey, by throwing himſelf in perſon at his feet. Plutarch* tells us, that *Pompey ſlipt out of a back door, and would not ſee him:* But it is certain, from *Cicero*'s account, that he was admitted to an audience; and, *when he began to preſs, and even ſupplicate him, in a manner the moſt affecting, that* Pompey *flatly refuſed to help him; alledging, in excuſe for himſelf, the neceſſity,* Ad. Att. x. 4.

A. R. 695. Bef. Chr. 57. 394 Conſ.

which he was under, of acting nothing againſt the will of Cæſar. This experiment convinced *Cicero*, that he had a much greater power to contend with, than what had yet appeared in ſight: He called, therefore, a council of his friends, with intent to take his final reſolution, agreeably to their advice. The queſtion was, *Whether it was beſt to ſtay, and defend himſelf by force; or to ſave the effuſion of blood, by retreating, till the ſtorm ſhould blow over:* Lucullus [m] *adviſed the firſt, but* Cato, and, above all, *Hortenſius, warmly urged the laſt*; which, concurring with *Atticus*'s *Advice*, as well as *the fears and entreaty of all his own family*, made him reſolve to quit the field to his enemies, and ſubmit to a voluntary exile.

Plut. in Cat.

A little before his retreat, he took *a ſmall ſtatue of Minerva*, which had long been reverenced in his family, as a kind of Tutelar Deity, *and, carrying it to the Capitol, placed it in the Temple of* Jupiter, *under the title of* Minerva, *the Guardian of the City*, that, in the plunder of his goods, which was likely to enſue, this *ſacred* Guardian might not be profaned by impious hands. Nos, qui illam cuſtodem urbis, omnibus ereptis noſtris rebus & perditis, violari ab impiis paſſi non ſumus.

De Leg. ii. 17.

He departed from *Rome* in the night, eſcorted by a numerous guard of friends, who, after a day's journey or two, left him, with the greateſt expreſſions of tenderneſs, to purſue his way towards *Sicily*, which he propoſed as the place of his reſidence, and where, for his eminent ſervices to the iſland, he aſſured himſelf of a kind reception and ſafe retreat.

Midd. p. 338.

As ſoon as it was known that he was gone, *Clodius* publiſhed a ſecond law, conceived in the following terms:

Pro Dom. 18, 19, 20. Poſt Red. in Sen. ii. 10.

Whereas M. T. Cicero *has put* Roman *Citizens to death, unheard and uncondemned; and for that end forged the authority and decree of the Senate: May it pleaſe you to ordain, that he be interdicted from fire and water: That no body preſume to harbour or receive him on pain of death: And that whoever ſhall move, ſpeak, vote, or take any ſtep towards recalling him, he ſhall be treated as a public enemy.*

Midd. p. 339.

It is pretended, that this law was eſſentially null and invalid [n]: For *Cicero*

[m] *Plutarch* writes *Lucullus* without any Prænomen; and ſince the great *Lucullus* died mad very ſoon after the time we are ſpeaking of, and was, therefore, probably, too weak now to be capable of Public affairs, we may well ſuppoſe, that the Hiſtorian means *Marcus Lucullus*, the brother of *Lucius*. Crevier.

Ibid. [n] It is ſaid likewiſe, that the terms of the law were ſo abſurd, that they annulled themſelves; for it enacted, not that *Cicero* may or ſhould be, but that he be interdicted, which was impoſſible; ſince no power on earth, ſays *Cicero*, can make a thing to be done before it be done. *Non tulit ut interdicatur, ſed ut interdictum ſit—Sexte noſter, bona venia quoniam jam dialecticus es—quod factum non eſt, ut ſit factum, ferri ad populum aut verbis ullis ſanciri, aut ſuffragiis confirmari poteſt?* Pro Dom. 18. *Quid ſi iis verbis ſcripta eſt iſta proſcriptio, ut ſe ipſa diſſolvat?* Ib. 9.

N. B. The diſtinction, here intimated, between *interdicatur* and *interdictum ſit*, deſerves the attention of all Grammarians. They are commonly uſed indifferently, as terms wholly equivalent, yet, according to *Cicero*'s criticiſm, the one, we ſee, makes the ſenſe abſurd, where the other is juſt and proper.

Cicero ſays, it was not properly *a law*, but *a privilege*; *or an Act to inflict penalties on a particular Citizen by name, without any previous trial; which was expreſsly prohibited by the moſt ſacred and fundamental conſtitutions of the Republic.* Vetant leges ſacratæ, vetant XII tabulæ leges privatis hominibus irrogari. Id eſt enim privilegium. V. R. 695. Pro Dom. 17.

[This objection to the proceedings againſt *Cicero* ſeems fully to juſtify them; the thing there ſpoken of, as prohibited by the laws of the *Twelve Tables* and the *fundamental conſtitutions of the State*, being the very thing of which he had been notoriouſly guilty. And it ought to be obſerved, that the Authority of THE SENATE, upon which he acted, could not make his act *Legal*; but, by a law of the Twelve Tables, *whatever* THE PEOPLE *decreed laſt was* LAW; *and the votes of the People were their Decree*; ſo that *Cicero* was *legally* baniſhed.] Liv. l. vii. c. 17.

With this Law againſt *Cicero* there was another publiſhed at the ſame time, which *granted to the two Conſuls the provinces above ſpecified, with a proviſion of whatever troops or money they thought fit.* Both the laws paſſed without oppoſition, and *Clodius* loſt no time in putting the firſt of them in execution, but fell immediately to plundering, burning, and demoliſhing *Cicero*'s houſes, both in the City and in the Country. The beſt part of his goods was divided between the two Conſuls; the Marble Columns of his Palatin Houſe were carried publicly to *Piſo*'s father-in-law; and the rich furniture of his *Tuſculan Villa* to his neighbour *Gabinius*; who removed even the trees of his plantations into his own grounds: And, to make the loſs of his houſe in *Rome* irretrievable, *Clodius* conſecrated the Area on which it ſtood to the perpetual ſervice of Religion, and built a Temple upon it to the Goddeſs LIBERTY. Midd. p. 340. Pro Sext. 10 & 24. In Piſ. 16. Poſt Red. in Sen. 7. Pro Dom. 24. Ibid. 40.

" The deſolation of *Cicero*'s fortunes at home, and the miſeries which " he ſuffered abroad, in being deprived of every thing that was dear to " him, ſoon made him repent of the reſolution of his flight; which he " aſcribes *to the envy and treachery of his Counſellors*, who, taking the ad- " vantage of his fears, and the perplexity which he was under, puſhed " him to an act both ruinous and inglorious. This he chiefly charges " on *Hortenſius*; and though he forbears to name him to *Atticus*, on " account of the ſtrict friendſhip between them, yet he accuſes him " very freely to his brother *Quintus, of coming every day inſiduouſly to his* " *houſe, and, with the greateſt expreſſions of zeal and affection, perpetually* " *inſinuating to his hopes and fears, that, by giving way to the preſent* " *rage, he could not fail of being recalled with glory in three days time.* " *Hortenſius* was particularly intimate, at this time, with *Pompey*, and Midd. p. 343--346. Ad Quint. Frat. l. 3. Ibid. 4.

Further, that the penal clauſe being grounded on a ſuggeſtion notoriouſly falſe, *that* Cicero *had forged the decrees of the Senate*; it could not poſſibly ſtand for want of a foundation. *Pro Dom.* 19.

And, laſtly, though it provided that no body ſhould harbour him, yet it had not ordered him to be expelled, or injoined him to quit the City. *Ib.* 20.

Y. R. 695. Bef. Chr. 57. 394. Conſ.

" might poſſibly be employed to urge *Cicero* to this ſtep, in order to ſave " *Pompey* the diſgrace of being forced to act againſt him with a very high " hand. But, let that be as it will, it was *Pompey's* conduct which ſhocked " *Cicero* the moſt: Not for its being contrary *to his Oaths* °, which the " ambitious can eaſily diſpenſe with; but *to his intereſt*, which they never " neglected, but through weakneſs. The conſideration of what was *uſe-* " *ful* to *Pompey*, made him depend on his aſſiſtance. ———

" In this ruffled and querulous ſtate of mind, ſtung with the recollection " of his own miſtakes, and the perfidy of his friends, he often laments, " *that he had not tried the fate of arms, and reſolved either to conquer bravely,* " *or die honourably:* Which he dwells ſo much upon in his letters, as to " ſeem perſuaded, that it would have been his wiſeſt courſe. But this is " a problem, not eaſy to be ſolved: It is certain, that his enemies were " uſing all arts to urge him to the reſolution of retreating; as if they ap- " prehend the conſequences of his ſtay; and the real aim of the *Tri-* " *umvirate* was, not to deſtroy, but to humble him: Yet it is no leſs " certain, that all reſiſtance muſt have been vain, if they had found it ne- " ceſſary to exert their ſtrength againſt him; and that they had already pro- " ceeded too far, to ſuffer him to remain in the City in defiance of them: " And, if their power had actually been employed to drive him away, his " return muſt have been the more deſperate, and they the more intereſted " to keep him out; ſo that it ſeems to have been his moſt prudent part, " and the moſt agreeable to his character, to yield, as he did, to the ne- " ceſſity of the times.

" But we have a full [certainly not a true] account of the motives of " his retreat in the SPEECHES, which he made after his return, both to the

Poſt Red. in Sen. 13. 14.

" SENATE and the PEOPLE. *When I ſaw the Senate,* ſays he, *deprived* " *of its leaders, myſelf partly puſhed, and partly betrayed by the Magiſtrates;* " *the ſlaves enrolled by name, under the colour of fraternities, the remains* " *of* Catiline's *forces brought again into the field, under their old chiefs;* " *the Knights terrified with proſcriptions; the corporate towns with military* " *execution, and with death and deſtruction; I could ſtill have defended myſelf* " *by arms, and was adviſed to do ſo by many brave friends; nor did I want* " *that ſame* COURAGE, *which you had all ſeen me exert on other occaſions:* " *But when I ſaw, at the ſame time, that, if I conquered my preſent enemy,* " *there were many more behind, whom I had ſtill to conquer; that, if I hap-* " *pened to be conquered, many honeſt men would fall both with me and after* " *me; that there were people enough ready to revenge the Tribune's blood, while* " *the puniſhment of mine would be left to the forms of a trial and to poſte-* " *rity; I reſolved not to employ force in defending my private ſafety after I had*

° " I knew him (ſays *Cicero* in a letter " to *Atticus* after *Pompey*'s death) to be an " *honeſt, grave,* and *worthy* man." " *This* " (adds Dr. *Middleton*) *was the ſhort and* " *true character of the man from one who* " *perfectly knew him.*" Midd. life of Cic. Vol. II. p. 132. What inconſiſtencies are theſe! Vid. ſupra, p. 427.

" *defended that of the Republic without it; and was willing that honeſt men* Y. R. 695.
" *ſhould rather lament the ruin of my fortunes, than make their own deſperate* Bef. Chr.
" *by adhering to me: And if, after all, I had fallen alone, that would have* 57.
" *been diſhonourable to myſelf; if amidſt the ſlaughter of the Citizens, fatal to* 394 Conf.
" *the Republic.*"

His letters, written during his exile, to *Terentia* and *Atticus*, diſcover, that all he ſays here, of HIS COURAGE *being reſtrained by his* PATRIOTISM, is falſe. The truth is, he had neither COURAGE nor PATRIOTISM: He would have accepted the Lieutenancy offered him by *Cæſar*, and have become an humble ſervant of the Triumvirate, if *Clodius* had not out-witted him. And when, by refuſing that Lieutenancy, he had loſt the protection of *Cæſar*, he would have commenced a Civil War to preſerve his Station and his fortune, if he had not felt the want of Courage in himſelf, and had not found, that, even in the opinion of his friends, he over-rated his own importance. Vid. ſupra. P. 427.

" *Cicero*, (ſays a very candid and ingenious writer) is perpetually Melm. vol.
" reproaching himſelf in theſe letters to *Terentia*, and thoſe which he I. p. 35.
" wrote at the ſame time to *Atticus*, for not having taken up Arms, note 1, on
" and reſolutely withſtood the Violence of *Clodius*. He afterwards, Let. viii.
" however, in ſeveral of his SPEECHES, made a merit of what he here
" condemns, and particularly in that for *Sextius* he appeals to Heaven
" in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he ſubmitted to a voluntary exile, in
" order to ſpare the blood of his fellow Citizens, and preſerve the pub-
" lic tranquillity. *Te, te, patria, teſtor, et vos, penates patriique Dii,* Pro Sext.
" *me veſtrarum ſedum templorumque cauſa, me propter ſalutem meorum civium,* 20.
" *quæ mihi ſemper fuit mea carior vita, dimicationem cædemque fugiſſe.* But
" *Cicero*'s veracity, in this ſolemn aſſeveration, ſeems liable to be juſtly
" queſtioned. It is certain, that he once entertained a deſign of taking
" up Arms in his own defence: and the ſingle motive that appears to
" have determined him in the change of this reſolution was, his finding
" himſelf moſt perfidiouſly deſerted by *Pompey*. *Si —— quiſquam fuiſſet*
" (ſays he in a letter to *Atticus*) *qui me* Pompeii *minus liberali reſponſo* Ad Att.
" *perterritum* a turpiſſimo conſilio *revocaret*; — *aut occubuiſſem honeſte*; C. 15.
" *aut victores hodie viveremus. Dion Caſſius* aſſerts, that *Cicero*, notwith- Lib.
" ſtanding the unexpected deſertion of *Pompey*, was preparing to put xxxviii.
" himſelf in a poſture of defence; but that *Cato* and *Hortenſius* would
" not ſuffer him to execute his purpoſe. Perhaps this Author may be
" miſtaken as to his having made any actual preparations of this kind;
" but that he had it in his intentions, ſeems clear beyond all reaſonable
" contradiction. The *French* Hiſtorian of our Author's baniſhment has Hiſt. de
" relied therefore too much upon *Cicero*'s pompous profeſſions after his Vertot, de
" return, when he maintains that nothing could be farther from his Cic. p. 132.
" thought than a ſerious oppoſition. The contrary appears moſt evi-
" dently to have been the caſe; and that the patriot-motive, which he ſo

" often

Y.R. 695. Bef. Chr. 57. 394 Conf.

" often aſſigns in his ſubſequent Orations, for leaving his Country, was " merely an after-thought, and the plauſible colouring of artful eloquence. " Why elſe, it may be aſked, is there not the leaſt hint of any ſuch generous " principle of his conduct, in all the letters he wrote during this period? " Why elſe is he perpetually reproaching his friends for having ſuffered " him to take that meaſure? And why, in a word, does he call it, as in " the paſſage above cited, *turpiſſimum conſilium*, the effect of a moſt igno- " minious reſolution? But, were it to be admitted that a regard to his " Country determined him to withdraw from it, ſtill, however, he could " not, with any degree of truth, boaſt of his Patriotiſm on that occaſion: " For the moſt partial of his advocates muſt acknowledge, that he no " ſooner executed this reſolution, than he heartily repented of it. The " truth is, how unwilling ſoever he might be to hazard the Peace of his " Country in maintaining his Poſt, he was ready to renounce all tender- " neſs of that kind in recovering it; and he expreſsly deſires *Atticus* to " raiſe the Mob in his favour, if there were any hopes of making a ſucceſ- " ful puſh for his reſtoration: *Oro te ut, ſi quæ ſpes erit poſſe ſtudiis bonorum,* " *auctoritate* multitudine comparata, *rem confici, des operam ut uno impetu* " *perfringatur.*"

Ad Att. iii 23.

Dyrrachium, Nov. 26.

Midd. p. 347.

Clodius, having ſatiated his revenge upon *Cicero*, propoſed another law [from a like ſpirit of revenge] againſt *Ptolemy*, King of *Cyprus*; to deprive him of his kingdom, and reduce it to a *Roman* province, and confiſcate his whole eſtate. This Prince was brother to the King of *Ægypt*, and reigning by the ſame * right, in full peace and amity with *Rome*; accuſed of no practices, nor ſuſpected of any deſigns, againſt the Republic; whoſe only crime was to be rich and covetous; ſo that the law was an unparalleled act of unjuſtice, and what *Cicero*, in a public ſpeech, did not ſcruple to call a mere robbery: But *Clodius* had an old grudge to the King, for refuſing to ranſom him when he was taken by the pirates; and ſending him only the contemptible ſum of two talents: and what, ſays † *Cicero*, muſt other Kings think of their ſecurity, to ſee their crowns and fortunes at the diſpoſal of a Tribune and ſix hundred mercenaries? The law paſſed, however, without any oppoſition; and, to ſanctify it, as it were, and give it the better face and colour of Juſtice, *Cato* was charged with the execution of it: Which gave *Clodius* a double pleaſure, by impoſing ſo ſhameful ‖ a taſk upon the graveſt man in *Rome*. It was a part likewiſe of the ſame law, as well as *Cato*'s commiſſion, to reſtore certain exiles of *Byzantium*, whom their City had driven out for crimes againſt the public peace. The engaging *Cato* in ſuch dirty work was a maſter-

* Pro Dom. 8. Vid. ſupr. p. 305. note (t)

† Pro Sext. 26, 27, 28, 29. Dio, lib. xxxviii. p. 78. † Pro Sext. 27. App. lib. ii. p. 441. Plut. in Cat.

‖ " It is truly reckoned (ſay Dr. *Prideaux*) " one of the unjuſteſt acts that the *Romans* " to this time ever did. For *Ptolemy* had " been admitted as a Friend and Ally of the " *Roman* People, and had never offended " them, or done them any hurt or diſplea- " ſure, whereby to deſerve this uſage from " their hands." Vol. II. p. 448.

piece,

piece, and ſerved many purpoſes of great uſe to *Clodius:* Firſt, to get rid of a troubleſome adverſary for the remainder of his magiſtracy: Secondly, to fix a blot on *Cato* himſelf, and ſhew, that the moſt rigid pretenders to Virtue might be caught by a proper bate: Thirdly, to ſtop his mouth for the future, as he openly bragged, from clamouring againſt extraordinary commiſſions: Fourthly, to oblige him, above all, to acknowledge the Validity of his Acts, by ſubmitting to bear a part in them. The Tribune had the ſatisfaction to ſee *Cato* taken in his trap. Y.R. 695. Bef. Chr. 57. 394. Conf.

Cato, coming to *Rhodes*, in his way to *Cyprus*, ſent to *Ptolemy* to perſuade him quietly to recede, promiſing him, on that condition, the high-prieſthood of VENUS at *Paphos*, on the revenues of which he might be ſupported in a ſtate of plenty and honour; but of this he would not accept. To reſiſt the *Roman* power he was not able, and to be leſs than King after he had ſo long reigned, he could not bear, and therefore, reſolving to make his Life and Reign end together, he put all his riches on ſhipboard, and, launching out into the ſea, purpoſed, by boring his ſhip through, to make both his Riches and himſelf ſink into the deep, and there periſh together. But, when it came to the execution, he could not bear that his beloved treaſure ſhould be thus loſt; he continued ſtill in the reſolution to deſtroy himſelf, but he could not bring his heart to deſtroy that, which, to him, was far dearer than his dear ſelf; he carried it therefore all back to land, laid it up again in its former repoſitory, and then put an end to his life by poiſon; having this comfort only in death, that he left his Treaſure undiminiſhed, and undivided. Prid. vol. II. p. 449. Plut. in Cat. Val. Max. Dio. Strabo. Appian. Vell. Pat.

Cato executed his commiſſion with fidelity; and returned the year following, in a kind of triumph to *Rome*, with all the King's effects reduced into money, amounting to about a million and a half ſterling, which he delivered with great pomp into the public treaſury. Midd. p. 348. Plut. in Cat.

This proceeding was ſeverely condemned by *Cicero*; though he touches it in his public ſpeeches with ſome tenderneſs for the ſake of *Cato*, whom he labours to clear from any ſhare in the iniquity: "The commiſſion, "ſays he, was contrived not to adorn, but to baniſh *Cato*; not offered, "but impoſed upon him——Why did he then obey it? Juſt as he was "ſworn to obey other laws, which he knew to be unjuſt, that he might "not expoſe himſelf to the fury of his enemies, and, without doing any "good, deprive the Republic of ſuch a Citizen.——If he had not ſubmit-"ted to ſuch a law, he could not have hindered it; the ſtain of which "would ſtill have ſtuck upon the Republic, and he himſelf ſuffered "for rejecting it; ſince it would have been a precedent for invalidating "all the other acts of that year: He conſidered, therefore, that, ſince "the ſcandal of it could not be avoided, he was the perſon the beſt quali-"fied to draw good out of it, to ſerve his Country well, though "in a bad cauſe." But, however plauſible may colour, it cannot juſtify *Cato*'s conduct; who valuably upon his *Cyprian* tranſactions, Midd. p. 349. Pro Sext. 28, 29.

Y. R. 695. actions, and, for the ſake of that commiſſion, was drawn in, as *Clodius* expected, to ſupport the authority from which it flowed, and to maintain *the legality of* Clodius's *Tribunate* in ſome warm debates even with *Cicero* himſelf.

Plut. in Cat. Dio. lib. xxxix. p. 100.

It would ſeem that *Cicero* left *Rome* in the beginning of *April*; for on the eighth of that month he writes to *Atticus*, *From the ſea-coaſt of* Lucania [q], being then on his way to *Vibo*, a town of *Bruttium*, the moſt ſouthern part of *Italy*. At *Vibo* he ſpent ſeveral days with a friend named *Sica*; and here he received a copy of the law made againſt him, which fixed the limits of his exile *to the diſtance of four hundred miles from* Italy. His thoughts at firſt had been wholly bent on *Sicily* [r]; but no part of that iſland being within the diſtance ſpecified by law, he was obliged to turn towards *Brundiſium*, that he might thence paſs into *Greece*. All the towns on his road received him with public marks of reſpect. When he came to *Brundiſium*, where he arrived on the 17th of *April*, he would not enter within the walls of the City, but choſe to lodge in the villa of his friend, *M. Lenius Flaccus*, not far from it. *Flaccus* was not deterred by the penalty of the law from performing towards him all the rights of friendſhip and hoſpitality; ſo that *Cicero* continued here thirteen days, after which he embarked for *Dyrrachium*.

Ad Att. iii. 4.

Plut. in Cic. Pro Planc. 40.

Ibid. 41.

Ep. Fam. xiv. 4.

During his ſtay with *Flaccus*, he was in no ſmall perplexity about the choice of a convenient place for his reſidence abroad. *Atticus* offered him his houſe in *Epirus*, which was a caſtle of ſome ſtrength, and likely to afford him a ſecure retreat. But, ſince *Atticus* could not attend him thither in perſon, he dropt all thoughts of that, and was inclined to go to *Athens*; till he was informed, that it would be dangerous for him to travel into that part of *Greece*, where all thoſe who had been baniſhed for *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy, and eſpecially *Autronius*, then reſided.

Midd. p. 353.

Ad Att. iii. 7.

At *Dyrrachium* he met with a confirmation of what he had heard before in *Italy*, that *Achaia* and the neighbouring parts of *Greece* ſwarmed with thoſe outlaws, who had been driven from *Rome* on *Catiline*'s account. This determined him to go into *Macedonia*, where his friend, *C. Plancius*, was then Quæor; *who, upon the firſt notice of his landing, came directly, unattended by his Lictors, and without any of the pomp of Magiſtracy, to meet him*; *and from* Dyrrachium *conducted him to his head-quarters at* Theſſalonica. *L. Appuleius*, the Prætor or chief Governor of the province, was *Cicero's friend*; *yet he durſt not venture to grant him his protection, or ſhew him any public civility*, but contented himſelf *with only conniving at what his Quæſtor* Plancius *did.*

Pro Planc. 41. Poſt Red. in Sen. 14.

[q] Dat. vi. Id. Apr. in oris Luc. Ad Att. Lib. iii. Ep. 2.

[r] We are told, that, when *Cicero* arrived within ſight of *Sicily*, the Prætor, *C. Virgilius*, an old friend, who had been highly obliged to him, ſent him word that he muſt not ſet foot in it. *Plut. in Cic. Pro Planc.* 40.

While

WHILE *Cicero* ſtaid at *Dyrrachium*, he received two expreſſes from his brother *Quintus*, to inform him of his intented route, in returning homeward from *Aſia*, and to ſettle the place of their meeting: "But *Cicero* "had not reſolution enough to ſee him; finding himſelf unable to bear the "tenderneſs of ſuch a meeting, and much more the miſery of parting; "and he was apprehenſive beſides, that, if they once met, they ſhould "not be able to part at all, whilſt *Quintus*'s preſence at *Rome* was neceſſary "to their common intereſts: So that, to avoid one affliction, he was "forced, he ſays, to endure another moſt cruel one, that of ſhunning the "embraces of a Brother. A. R. 695. Bef. Chr. 57. 394 Conf. Midd. p. 356, 357. Ad Att. iii. 9. Ad Quint. Fr. i. 3.

"*L. Tubero*, however, his kinſman, and one of the brother's Lieu-"tenants, paid him a viſit on his return towards *Italy*, and acquainted "him with what he had learnt in paſſing through *Greece*, that the baniſh-"ed Conſpirators, who reſided there, were actually forming a plot to "ſeize and murther him; for which reaſon he adviſed him to go into "*Aſia*, where the zeal and affection of the province would afford him the "ſafeſt retreat, both on his own and his brother's account. *Cicero* was "diſpoſed to follow this advice, and leave *Macedonia:* For the *Prætor*, "*Apuleius*, though a friend, gave him no encouragement to ſtay; and "*the Conſul* Piſo, his enemy, was coming to the command of it the next "winter: *But all his friends at* Rome *diſſuaded his removal to any place* "*more diſtant from them*; and *Plancius* treated him ſo affectionately [s], and "contrived to make all things ſo eaſy to him, that he dropt the thoughts "of changing his quarters. The only inconvenience that *Cicero* found "in his preſent ſituation, was the number of ſoldiers and concourſe of "people, who frequented the place on account of buſineſs with the "Quæſtor. For he was ſo ſhocked and dejected by his misfortune, that, "though the cities of *Greece* were offering their ſervices and compli-"ments, and ſtriving to do him all imaginable honours, yet he refuſed to "ſee all company, and was ſo ſhy of the public, that he could hardly endure "the light. Pro Planc. 41. Ep. Fam. xiv. 1, 2. Ad. Att. iii. 7.

"For it cannot be denied, that, in this calamity of his exile, he did "not behave himſelf with that firmneſs, which might reaſonably be "expected from one who had borne ſo glorious a part in the Republic; "*conſcious of his integrity, and ſuffering in the cauſe of his country* [t]: For "his

[s] *Cicero* ſeems moſt unworthily to impute the kindneſs, which *Plancius* ſhewed him, to an intereſted view: Me adhuc *Plancius* liberalitate ſua retinet. —— Spes homine eſt injecta, non eadem, quæ mihi, poſſe nos una decedere: quam rem ſibi magno honori ſperat fore. *Ad. Att.* iii. 22.

[t] Whether it was poſſible for *Cicero* to be *conſcious of integrity*, and of *ſuffering in the cauſe of his Country*, or in any cauſe but his own, the whole tenor of his conduct will beſt enable the Reader to determine. Let the Reader, if he pleaſes, compare Mr. *Melmoth*'s Remark, inſerted above in the Text, p. 437, with the following paſſages, extracted from ſome of *Cicero*'s writings by his able Panegyriſt:

"*I have*

Y.R.695. " his letters are generally filled with ſuch lamentable expreſſions of grief
" and deſpair, that his beſt friends, and even his wife, was forced to
Ep. Fam. " admoniſh him ſometimes, to rouſe his courage, and remember his for-
xiv. 4. " mer character. *Atticus* was conſtantly putting him in mind of it";
" and ſent him word of a report, that was brought to *Rome* by one of
" *Craſſus*'s freedmen, that his afflictions had diſordered his ſenſes: To
Ad Att. " which he anſwered, that his mind was ſtill ſound, and he wiſhed only
iii. 13. " that it had been always ſo, when he placed his confidence on thoſe who
Ibid. 15. " perfidiouſly abuſed it to his ruin.

Midd. 360. " *I have twice ſaved the Republic; once*
Pro Sext. " *with glory, a ſecond time with miſery:* For
22. " I will never deny myſelf to be a man; or
" brag of bearing the loſs of a brother, chil-
" dren, wife, country, without ſorrow.—For
" what thanks had been due to me for quit-
Pro Dom. " ting what I did not value?—I own my
36, 37. " grief to have been extremely great, nor do I
" pretend to that wiſdom, which thoſe expec-
" ted from me, who gave out, that I was too
" much broken by my affliction: For ſuch an
" hardneſs of mind, as of body, which does
" not feel pain, is a ſtupidity, rather than a vir-
" tue. — I am not one of thoſe to whom all
" things are indifferent; but love myſelf and
" my friends, as our common humanity re-
" quires: And, *He, who, for the Public Good,*
Midd. 361. " *parts with what he holds the Deareſt, gives*
" *the higheſt proof of Love to his Country.*
" There was another conſideration (ſays
" his *Engliſh* Hiſtorian) which added no ſmall
" ſting to his affliction; to reflect, as he often
Ad. Att. " does, not only on what he had loſt, but
iii. 8. " how he had loſt it, *by his own fault*; in
Vid. 9, 14, " ſuffering himſelf to be impoſed upon, and
15, 19, &c. " deluded *by falſe and envious friends.* ——
" *Though my grief is incredible, yet I am not*
" *diſturbed ſo much by the miſery of what I feel,*
" *as the recollection of my fault.—Wherefore,*
" *when you hear how much I am afflicted, ima-*
" *gine that I am ſuffering the puniſhment of my*
" *folly, not of the event; for having truſted*
" *too much to one whom I did not take to be a*
" *Raſcal.*—*Atticus* would never allow *his*
" *ſuſpicions to be juſt*, not even againſt *Horten-*
" *ſius*, where they ſeemed to lie the heavieſt.
" This is the ſubſtance of what *Cicero* him-
" ſelf ſays, *to excuſe the exceſs of his grief:* and
" the only excuſe indeed which can be made
" for him; that he did not pretend to be
" *a Stoic*, nor aſpire to the character of a
" Hero:" [Yet he often boaſts of his prodi- Midd. 358.
gious courage.]

" Theſe remonſtrances did not pleaſe him; he thought them unkind and unſeaſonable, as he intimated in ſeveral of his letters, where he expreſſes himſelf very movingly on this ſubject. " *As to your* Ad. Att.
" *chiding me*, ſays he, *ſo often and ſo ſevere-* iii. 10.
" *ly, for being too much dejected; what miſery*
" *is there, I pray you, ſo grievous, which I*
" *do not feel in my preſent calamity? Did ever*
" *any man fall from ſuch a height of dignity,*
" *in ſo good a cauſe, with the advantage of*
" *ſuch talents, experience, intereſt; ſuch ſupport*
" *of all honeſt men? Is it poſſible for me to for-*
" *get what I was? or not to feel what I am?*
" *From what honour, what glory, I am driven?*
" *From what children? what fortunes? what*
" *a brother? whom, though I love, and have*
" *ever loved, better than myſelf, yet (that you*
" *may perceive what a new ſort of affliction I*
" *ſuffer) I refuſe to ſee; that I might neither*
" *augment my own grief by the ſight of his, nor*
" *offer myſelf to him thus ruined, whom he had*
" *left ſo flouriſhing: I omit many other things*
" *intolerable to me; for I am hindered by my*
" *tears: Tell me then, whether I am ſtill to be*
" *reproached for grieving; or for ſuffering my-*
" *ſelf rather to be deprived of what I ought ne-*
" *ver to have parted with but with my life;*
" *which I might eaſily have prevented, if ſome*
" *perfidious friends had not urged me to my ruin*
" *within my own walls*, &c." In another let-
ter, " *Continue*, ſays he, *to aſſiſt me, as you*
" *do, with your endeavours, your advice, and* Ibid. 11.
" *your intereſt; but ſpare yourſelf the pains of*
" *comforting, and much more of chiding me:*
" *For, when you do this, I cannot help charging*
" *it to your want of love and concern for me:*
" *whom I imagined to be ſo afflicted with my*
" *misfortune, as to be inconſolable even yourſelf.*"

" When

" When he had been gone a little more than two months, his friend Y.R. 695.
" *Ninnius*, the Tribune, made a motion in the Senate to recall him, and
" repeal the law of *Clodius*; to which the whole Houſe readily agreed, Midd. p.
" with eight of the Tribunes, till one of the other two, *Ælius Ligus*, 362--367.
" interpoſed his negative: They proceeded, however, to a reſolution,
" that no other buſineſs ſhould be tranſacted, till the Conſuls had actual-
" ly prepared a new law for that purpoſe.—*Clodius* was now loſing ground
" apace; being grown ſo inſolent on his late ſucceſs, that even his friends
" could not bear him any longer: For, having baniſhed *Cicero*, and Pro Dom.
" ſent *Cato* out of his way, he began to fancy himſelf a match for 25.
" *Pompey*; by whoſe help, or connivance at leaſt, he had acquired all
" his power: And, in open defiance of him, ſeized by ſtratagem, into
" his own hands, the ſon of King *Tigranes*, whom *Pompey* had brought
" with him from the Eaſt, and kept a priſoner at *Rome* in the cuſtody of
" *Flavius* the Prætor. Inſtead of delivering the Prince up, when *Pompey*
" demanded him, he put him on board a ſhip, having undertaken, for a
" large ſum of money, to give him his liberty, and tranſport him into
" *Aſia*. This, however, did not paſs without a ſharp engagement between
" the Tribune and *Flavius*: For a ſtorm ariſing at the inſtant the Prince
" put off to ſea, he was forced to take ſhelter in the harbour of *Antium*.
" *Flavius* had notice of this, and marched out of *Rome* with a body of Aſcon. in
" men well armed, to recover *Tigranes* by force. The battle was fought Milon. 14.
" in the *Appian way*; many were killed on both ſides, and *Clodius* proved
" victorious. Among the ſlain was *Papirius*, a *Roman* Knight of *Pompey*'s
" intimate acquaintance; and *Flavius* himſelf had ſome difficulty to eſ-
" cape with life.

" This affront rouſed *Pompey* to think of recalling *Cicero*; as well to
" correct the arrogance of *Clodius*, as to retrieve his own credit, and in-
" gratiate himſelf with the Senate: He dropt ſome hints of his inclina-
" tions to *Cicero*'s *friends*, and particularly to *Atticus*, who preſently im-
" parted to him the agreeable news: Upon which *Cicero*, though he had
" no opinion of *Pompey*'s ſincerity, was encouraged to write to him, and Ad Quint.
" *ſent a copy of his letter to* Atticus, telling him, at the ſame time, *that*, Fr. l. 3.
" *if* Pompey *could digeſt the affront which he had received in the caſe of* Ad Att.
" Tigranes, *he ſhould deſpair of his being moved by any thing. Varro* iii. 8.
" likewiſe, who had a particular intimacy with *Pompey*, deſired *Atticus to*
" *let* Cicero *know, that* Pompey *would certainly enter into his cauſe, as ſoon*
" *as he had heard from* Cæſar, *which he expected to do every day.*—This
" ſhews what an extraordinary deference *Pompey* paid to *Cæſar*, that he
" would not take a ſtep in this affair at *Rome*, without ſending firſt to *Gaul*,
" to conſult him about it.

" The City was alarmed, at the ſame time, by the rumour of a ſecond Pro Sext.
" plot againſt *Pompey*'s life, ſaid to be contrived by *Clodius*; *one of* 32.
" *whoſe ſlaves was ſeized at the door of the Senate, with a dagger, which* In Piſon. 12.

Y. R. 695. Bef. Chr. 57. 124. Conſ. ——— " *his maſter had given him, as he confeſſed, to ſtab* Pompey: Which, " being accompanied with many daring attacks upon *Pompey*'s perſon " by *Clodius*'s mob, made him reſolve *to retire from the Senate and the* " *Forum, till* Clodius *was out of his Tribunate, and ſhut himſelf up in his* " *own houſe, whither he was purſued, and actually beſieged, by one of* Clo- " dius's *freedmen,* Damio. An outrage ſo audacious could not be over- " looked by the Magiſtrates, who came out with all their forces, *to ſeize* " *or drive away* Damio; upon which a general engagement enſued, " where *Gabinius,* as *Cicero* ſays, *was forced to break his league with* Clodius, " *and fight for* Pompey; *at firſt faintly and unwillingly, but at laſt heartily; while* Piſo, *more religious, ſtood firm to his contract, and fought on* " Clodius's *ſide, till his faſces were broken, and he himſelf wounded, and* " *forced to run away.*

" Whether any deſign was really formed *againſt* Pompey's *life,* or the " ſtory was contrived to ſerve his preſent views, it ſeems probable at leaſt, " that his fears were feigned, and the danger too contemptible to give " him any juſt apprehenſion; but the ſhutting himſelf up at home made " an impreſſion upon the vulgar, and furniſhed a better pretence for turn- " ing ſo quick upon *Clodius,* and quelling that inſolence which he himſelf " had raiſed: For this was the conſtant tenor of his politics, to give a free " courſe to the public diſorders, for the ſake of diſplaying his own impor- " tance to more advantage; that, when the ſtorm was at the height, he " might appear, at laſt, in the ſcene, like a Deity of the Theatre, and " reduce all again to order; expecting ſtill, that the People, tired and " haraſſed by theſe perpetual tumults, would be forced *to create him Dic-* " *tator,* for ſettling the quiet of the City.

" The Conſuls elect were *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Q. Metellus Nepos:* " The firſt was *Cicero*'s *warm friend,* the ſecond *his old enemy*; the ſame " who put that affront upon him on laying down his Conſulſhip: His " promotion therefore was a great diſcouragement to *Cicero,* who took " it for granted, that he would employ all his power to obſtruct his re- " turn: ——— But *Metellus,* perceiving which way *Pompey*'s inclination, " and *Cæſar*'s alſo, was turning, found reaſon to change his mind, or " at leaſt to diſſemble it; and promiſed, not only to give his conſent, " but his aſſiſtance *to* Cicero's *reſtoration.* His Collegue *Lentulus,* in " the mean while, was no ſooner elected, than he revived the late motion " of *Ninnius,* and propoſed a vote to recall *Cicero*; and when *Clodius* in- Poſt Red. in Sen. 4. " terrupted him, *and recited that part of his law which made it criminal* " *to move any thing about it, Lentulus* declared it to be no law, but *a* " *mere proſcription,* and act of violence. This alarmed *Clodius,* and " obliged him to exert all his arts to ſupport the validity of the law; he " threatened ruin and deſtruction to all who ſhould dare to oppoſe it; Ad Att. iii. 15. " and, to imprint the greater terror, *fixed upon the doors of the Senate-houſe* " *that clauſe which prohibited all men to ſpeak or act in any manner for*

" Cicero's

" Cicero's *return, on pain of being treated as enemies.* This gave a farther Y. R. 695. Ref. Chr. 57
" diſquiet to *Cicero*, leſt it ſhould diſhearten his active friends, and furniſh
" an excuſe to the indolent for doing nothing: He inſinuates, therefore, 394 Conf.
" to *Atticus*, what might be ſaid to obviate it; *that all ſuch clauſes were*
" *only bugbears, without any real force; or otherwiſe, no law could ever be* Ad Att. iii. 23.
" *abrogated; and, whatever effect this was intended to have, that it muſt*
" *needs fall of courſe with the law itſelf.*

" In this anxious ſtate of mind, jealous of every thing that could hurt,
" and catching at every thing that could help him, another little incident
" happened, which gave him a freſh cauſe of uneaſineſs: For ſome of his
" enemies had publiſhed *an invective Oration*, drawn up by him for the
" entertainment only of his intimate friends, againſt ſome eminent Sena-
" tor, not named, but generally ſuppoſed to be *Curio, the Father*, who
" was now diſpoſed and engaged to ſerve him: He was ſurprized and
" concerned, *that the Oration was made public*; and his inſtructions upon
" it to *Atticus* are *ſomewhat curious*; and ſhew how much he was ſtruck
" with the apprehenſion of loſing ſo powerful a friend. *You have ſtunned* Ad Att. iii. 12.
" *me*, ſays he, *with the news of the Orations being publiſhed: Heal the*
" *wound, as you promiſe, if you poſſibly can: I wrote it long ago in anger,*
" *after he had firſt written againſt me; but I had ſuppreſſed it ſo carefully,*
" *that I never dreamt of its getting abroad, nor can imagine how it ſlipt out:*
" *But ſince, as fortune would have it, I never had a word with him in perſon,*
" *and it is written more negligently than my Orations uſually are, I cannot but*
" *think that you may diſown it, and prove it not to be mine. Pray take care of*
" *this, if you ſee any hopes for me; if not, there is the leſs reaſon to trouble*
" *myſelf about it.*

" His principal agents and ſolicitors at *Rome* were his *brother Quintus*,
" his *wife Terentia* [w], his *ſon-in-law Piſo*, *Atticus*, and *Sextius*, one of the
" *Tribunes elect.*

" *Sextius*

Addit. 368.

[w] " The brother and the wife, being both
" of them naturally peeviſh, ſeem to have
" given him ſome additional diſquiet, by
" their mutual complaints againſt each other;
" which obliged him to admoniſh them gently
" in his letters, that, ſince their friends were
" ſo few, they ought to live more amicably
" among themſelves.

" *Terentia*, however, bore a very conſider-
" able part of the whole affair: and, inſtead
" of being daunted by the depreſſion of
" the family, and the ruin of their fortunes,
" ſeems to have been animated rather the
" more to withſtand the violences of their
" enemies, and procure her huſband's reſto-
" ration.

" She had a particular eſtate of her own,
" not obnoxious to *Clodius*'s law, which ſhe
" was now offering to ſale, for a ſupply of
" their preſent neceſſities." But we find that *Cicero*, in ſeveral of his letters, preſſed her not to do it.

" His ſon-in-law, *Piſo*, was extremely af- Poſt Red. in Sen. 15.
" fectionate and dutiful, in performing all Ep. Fam.
" good offices, both to his baniſhed father xiv. 1.
" and the family; and reſigned the Quæſ-
" torſhip of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, on purpoſe
" to ſerve them more effectually by his pre-
" ſence at *Rome*.

" *Atticus*

Y.R. 695. " *Sextius* took the trouble of a journey into *Gaul*, to ſolicit *Cæſar*'s
" *conſent to his Reſtoration*; which though he obtained, as well by his own
Midd. 373. Pro Sext. 32. " interceſſion

" *Atticus* had furniſhed *Cicero* for the exi-
Corn Nep. Vit. Att. 4. " gencies of his flight, with *above two thou-*
" *ſand pounds*; and, upon ſucceeding to the
" great eſtate of *his uncle* Cæcilius *, *whoſe*
" *name he now aſſumed, made him a freſh offer*
" *of his purſe:* Yet his conduct did not whol-
" ly ſatisfy *Cicero*; who thought him *too cold*
" *and remiſs in his ſervices*; *and fancied, that*
" *it flowed from ſome ſecret reſentment, for hav-*
" *ing never received from him, in his flouriſhing*
" *condition, any beneficial proofs of his friend-*
" *ſhip.* In order, therefore, to rouſe his zeal,
Ad. Att. iii. 15. " he took occaſion to promiſe him, in one of
" his letters, that, whatever reaſon he had to
" complain on that ſcore, it ſhould all be made
" up to him, if he lived to return: *If fortune*
" ſays he, *ever reſtore me to my Country, it ſhall*
" *be my ſpecial care, that you, above all my*
" *friends, have cauſe to rejoice at it: And tho'*
" *hitherto, I confeſs, you have reaped little be-*
" *nefit from my kindneſs, I will manage ſo far*
" *for the future, that whenever I am reſtored,*
" *you ſhall find yourſelf as dear to me as my bro-*
" *ther and my children. If I have been want-*
" *ing therefore in any duty to you, or rather,*
Ibid. 20. " *ſince I have been wanting, pray pardon me*;
" *for I have been much more wanting to myſelf.*
" But *Atticus* begged of him to lay aſide all
" ſuch fancies, and aſſured him, *that there was*
" *not the leaſt ground for them; and that he had*
" *never been diſguſted by any thing, which he*
" *had either done, or neglected to do for him*;
" intreating him to be perfectly eaſy on that
" head, and to depend always upon his beſt
" ſervices, without giving himſelf the trouble
" *even of reminding him.*"

Cicero's letters to *Terentia*, (ſo excellently well tranſlated into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Melmoth*) mention the cordial zeal of *Piſo* for his father-in-law, and acquaint us more perfectly than any hiſtorian can do, with the ſtate of *Cicero*'s mind in the time of his baniſhment.

Mr. *Melmoth*, in a note on the firſt of them, writes thus: " The following letters to *Te-* Melm. Vol. 1.
" *rentia* were written in *Cicero*'s exile, and 25.
" will prove, either that he was a philoſopher
" only in ſpeculation, or that philoſophy itſelf
" pretends to more than it has power to per-
" form. Perhaps they will prove both: For as,
" on the one hand, they diſcover the moſt un-
" manly dejection of ſpirit; ſo it is certain,
" on the other, that much weaker minds have
" been able, with the aſſiſtance of better prin-
" ciples, to ſupport, with fortitude, far ſe-
" verer trials."

BOOK I. LETTER VI.*

*Ep. Fam. I. xiv. Ep. 4. Ed. Græv.

To *Terentia*, to my deareſt *Tullia*, and to my Son.

" If you do not hear from me ſo frequently
" as you might, it is becauſe I can neither
" write to you, nor read your letters, without
" falling into a greater paſſion of tears than I
" am able to ſupport: For, though I am at
" all times, indeed, completely miſerable, yet
" I feel my misfortunes with a particular ſen-
" ſibility upon thoſe tender occaſions.

" Oh! that I had been more indifferent to
" life! Our days would then have been, if
" not wholly unacquainted with ſorrow, yet
" by no means thus wretched. However, if
" any hopes are ſtill reſerved to us of recover-
" ing ſome part, at leaſt, of what we have loſt,
" I ſhall not think that I have made alto-
" gether ſo imprudent a choice. But, if our

Midd. 371. * " This *Cæcilius*, *Atticus*'s uncle, was a famous churl and uſurer, (ſometimes mentioned in *Cicero*'s letters)
" who adopted *Atticus* by his will, and left him three fourths of his eſtate, which amounted to 80,000 l. ſterling.
" He had raiſed this great fortune by the favour chiefly of *Lucullus*, whom he flattered to the laſt with a
" promiſe of making him his heir, yet left the bulk of his eſtate to *Atticus*, who had been very obſer-
" vant of his humour; for which fraud, added to his notorious avarice and extortion, the mob ſeized his
" dead body, and dragged it infamouſly about the ſtreets. *Val. Max.* vii. 8. *Cicero*, congratulating *Atticus*
" upon his adoption, addreſſes his letter to *Q. Cæcilius, Q. F. Pomponianus Atticus.* For, in aſſuming the name
" of the adopter, it was uſual to add alſo their own family name, though changed in its termination, as
" from *Pomponius* to *Pomponianus*, to preſerve the memory of their real extraction: To which ſome added alſo
" the ſurname, as *Cicero* does in the preſent caſe." *Ad. Att.* iii. 20.

" preſent

" interceſſion as by *Pompey*'s letters, yet it ſeems to have been with cer- Y. R. 695.
" tain limitations, not agreeable to *Cicero*: For, on *Sextius*'s return Bef. Chr.
" to 57.
394 Conſ.

" preſent fate is unalterably fixed——Ah!
" my deareſt *Terentia*, if we are utterly and
" for ever abandoned by thoſe gods whom
" you have ſo religiouſly adored, and by thoſe
" men whom I have ſo faithfully ſerved, let
" me ſee you as ſoon as poſſible, that I may
" have the ſatisfaction of breathing out my
" laſt departing ſigh in your arms.

" I have ſpent about a fortnight at this
" place, with my friend *Marcus Flaccus*. This
" worthy man did not ſcruple to exerciſe the
" rights of friendſhip and hoſpitality towards
" me, notwithſtanding the ſevere penalties of
" that iniquitous law againſt thoſe who ſhould
" give me reception. May I one day have it
" in my power to make him a return to thoſe
" generous ſervices, which I ſhall ever moſt
" gratefully remember.

" I am juſt going to embark, and purpoſe to
" paſs through *Macedonia* in my way to *Cyzi-*
" *cum*. And now, my *Terentia*, thus wretched
" and ruined as I am, can I intreat you un-
" der all that weight of pain and ſorrow with
" which, I too well know, you are oppreſſed,
" can I intreat you to be the partner and
" companion of my exile? But muſt I then
" live without you? I know not how to recon-
" cile myſelf to that hard condition; unleſs
" your preſence at *Rome* may be a means of
" forwarding my return: if any hopes of
" that kind ſhould indeed ſubſiſt. But ſhould
" there, as I ſadly ſuſpect, be abſolutely none;
" come to me, I conjure you, if it be poſſi-
" ble: For never can I think myſelf com-
" pletely ruined, whilſt I enjoy my *Terentia*'s
" company. But how will my deareſt daugh-
" ter diſpoſe of herſelf? A queſtion which
" you yourſelves muſt conſider: For, as to my
" own part, I am utterly at a loſs what to
" adviſe. At all events, however, that dear
" unhappy girl muſt not take any meaſures
" that may hinder her conjugal repoſe, or
" affect her in the good opinion of the world.
" As for my ſon——let me not at leaſt be de-
" prived of the conſolation of folding him
" for ever in my arms. But I muſt lay down
" my pen a few moments: My tears flow too
" faſt to ſuffer me to proceed.

" I am under the utmoſt ſolicitude, as I
" know not whether you have been able to pre-
" ſerve any part of your eſtate, or (what I ſad-
" ly fear) are cruelly robbed of your whole for-
" tune.——I hope *Piſo* will always continue,
" what you repreſent him to be, entirely ours:
" —As to the manumiſſion of the ſlaves, I
" think you have no occaſion to be uneaſy.
" For, with regard to your own, you may on-
" ly promiſe them their liberty as they ſhould
" deſerve it: But, excepting *Orpheus*, there
" is none of them that have any great claim to
" this favour. As to mine, I told them, if my
" eſtate ſhould be forfeited, I would give them
" their freedom, provided I could obtain the
" confirmation of that grant: But if I preſer-
" ved my eſtate, that they ſhould all of them,
" excepting only a few, whom I particularly
" named, remain in their preſent condition.
" But this is a matter of little conſequence.

" With regard to the advice you give me of
" keeping up my ſpirits, in the belief that I
" ſhall again be reſtored to my country; I only
" wiſh that I may have reaſon to encourage ſo
" deſirable an expectation. In the mean time
" I am greatly miſerable, in the uncertainty
" when I ſhall hear from you, or what hand
" you will find to convey your letters. I would
" have waited for them at this place; but the
" maſter of the ſhip, on which I am going to
" embark, could not be prevailed upon to loſe
" the preſent opportunity of ſailing.

" For the reſt, let me conjure you in my
" turn, to bear up under our afflictions with
" as much reſolution as poſſible. Remember
" that my days have all been honourable;
" and that I now ſuffer, not for my crimes,
" but my virtues. No, my *Terentia*, nothing
" can juſtly be imputed to me, but that I ſur-
" vived the loſs of my dignities. However,
" if it was more agreeable to our children that
" I ſhould thus live, let that reflection teach
" us to ſubmit to our misfortunes with chear-
" fulneſs; inſupportable as upon all other
" conſiderations they would undoubtedly be.
" But, alas! whilſt I am endeavouring to
" keep up your ſpirits, I am utterly unable
" to preſerve my own!

" I have ſent back the faithful *Philotæras*:
" As the weakneſs of his eyes made him in-
" capable of rendering me any ſervice. No-
" thing can equal the good offices I receive
" from *Salluſtius*. *Peſcennius* likewiſe has given
" me ſtrong marks of this affection. And I hope
" he

Y. R. 695. Bef. Chr. 57. 394 Conf.

" to *Rome*, when he drew up *the copy of a law*, which he intended to propoſe upon his entrance into office, conformable, as we may imagine, " to

" he will not fail in his reſpect alſo to you.
" *Sica* promiſed to attend me in my exile:
" But he changed his mind, and has left me
" at this place.

" I intreat you to take all poſſible care of
" your health: And be aſſured, your misfortunes more ſenſibly affect me than my own.
" Adieu, my *Terentia*, thou moſt faithful and
" beſt of wives! Adieu. And thou, my
" deareſt daughter, together with that other
" conſolation of my life, my dear ſon, I bid
" you both moſt tenderly farewell.

Brindiſi. *Brunduſium**, *April* 30.

Ep. Fam. l. xiv. Ep. 2. Ed. Græv.

BOOK I. LETTER VII. †

To *Terentia*, to my deareſt *Tullia*, and to my Son.

" IMAGINE not, my *Terentia*, that I write
" longer letters to others than to yourſelf:
" Be aſſured, at leaſt, if ever I do, it is merely becauſe thoſe I receive from them require a more particular anſwer. The truth
" of it is, I am always at a loſs what to
" write: And as there is nothing in the preſent dejection of my mind that I perform
" with greater reluctance in general, ſo I never attempt it with regard to you and my
" deareſt daughter, that it does not coſt me a
" flood of tears: For how can I think of you
" without being pierced with grief in the reflection, that I have made thoſe completely
" miſerable whom I ought, and wiſhed, to
" have rendered perfectly happy? and I ſhould
" have rendered them ſo, if I had acted with
" leſs timidity.

" *Piſo*'s behaviour towards us, in this ſeaſon of our afflictions, has greatly indeared
" him to my heart: And I have, as well as I
" was able in the preſent diſcompoſure of my
" mind, both acknowledged his good offices, and exhorted him to continue them.

" I perceive you depend much upon the
" new Tribunes: And, if *Pompey* perſeveres
" in his preſent diſpoſition, I am inclined to
" think your hopes will not be diſappointed;
" though, I muſt confeſs, I have ſome fears
" with reſpect to *Craſſus*. In the mean while
" I have the ſatisfaction to find, what indeed
" I had reaſon to expect, that you act with
" great ſpirit and tenderneſs in all my con-
" cerns. But I lament if ſhould be my cruel
" fate to expoſe you to ſo many calamities,
" whilſt you are thus generouſly endeavouring
" to eaſe the weight of mine. Be aſſured it
" was with the utmoſt grief I read the account
" which *Publius* ſent me of the opprobrious
" manner in which you were dragged from
" the temple of *Veſta* * to the office of *Valerius*. Sad reverſe indeed! That thou,
" the deareſt object of my fondeſt deſires,
" that my *Terentia*, to whom ſuch numbers
" were wont to look up for relief, ſhould be
" herſelf a ſpectacle of the moſt affecting
" diſtreſs! and that I, who have ſaved ſo
" many others from ruin, ſhould have ruined
" both myſelf and my family by my own in-
" diſcretion!

" As to what you mention with regard to the
" area belonging to my houſe, I ſhall never
" look upon myſelf as reſtored to my country,
" till that ſpot of ground is again in my poſ-
" ſeſſion. But this is a point that does not de-
" pend upon ourſelves. Let me rather expreſs
" my concern for what does; and lament that,
" diſtreſſed as your circumſtances already are,
" you ſhould engage yourſelf in a ſhare of thoſe
" expences which are incurred upon my ac-
" count. Be aſſured, if ever I ſhould return to
" *Rome*, I ſhall eaſily recover my eſtate: But,
" ſhould fortune continue to perſecute me,
" will you, thou dear unhappy woman, will
" you, fondly throw away, in gaining friends
" to a deſperate cauſe, the laſt ſcanty remains
" of your broken fortunes? I conjure you
" then, my deareſt *Terentia*, not to involve

* " *Terentia* had taken ſanctuary in the temple of *Veſta*, but was forcibly dragged out from thence by the direc-
" tions of *Clodius*, in order to be examined at a public office concerning her huſband's effects." Mr. *Roſs*.

" yourſelf

" to the conditions ſtipulated with *Cæſar*, *Cicero greatly diſliked it*, as " being too general, and without the mention even of his name, not " providing Y. R. 695. Bef. Chr. 57. 394 Conſ.

" yourſelf in any charges of that kind: let " them be borne by thoſe who are able, if " they are willing, to ſupport the weight. In " a word, if you have any affection for me, " let not your anxiety upon my account in- " jure your health, which, alas! is already " but too much impaired. Believe me, you " are the perpetual ſubject of my waking and " ſleeping thoughts: and, as I know the aſ- " ſiduity you exert in my behalf, I have a " thouſand fears leſt your ſtrength ſhould not " be equal to ſo continued a fatigue. I am " ſenſible, at the ſame time, that my affairs " depend entirely upon your aſſiſtance; and, " therefore, that they may be attended with " the ſucceſs you hope, and ſo zealouſly en- " deavour to obtain, let me earneſtly entreat " you to take care of your health.

" I know not whom to write to, unleſs to " thoſe who firſt write to me, or whom you " particularly mention in your letters. —— " As you and *Tullia* are of opinion that I " ſhould not retreat farther from *Italy*, I have " laid aſide that deſign. Let me hear from " you both as often as poſſible, particularly " if there ſhould be any fairer proſpect of my " return. Farewell, ye deareſt objects of my " moſt tender affection. Farewell."

Theſſalonica, Oct. 5.

BOOK I. LETTER VIII.

To *Terentia*, to my deareſt *Tullia*, and to my Son.

" I learn by the letters of ſeveral of my " friends, as well as from general report, " that you diſcover the greateſt fortitude of " mind, and that you ſolicit my affairs with " unwearied application. Oh, my *Terentia*, " how truly wretched am I, to be the occa- " ſion of ſuch ſevere misfortunes to ſo faith- " ful, ſo generous, and ſo excellent a woman! " And my deareſt *Tullia* too!——That ſhe, " who was once ſo happy in her father, " ſhould now derive from him ſuch bitter ſor- " rows! But how ſhall I expreſs the anguiſh " I feel for my little boy! who became ac- " quainted with grief as ſoon as he was ca- " pable of any reflection. Had theſe afflictions " happened, as you tenderly repreſent them, " by an unavoidable fate, they would have " ſat leſs heavy on my heart. But they are " altogether owing to my own folly, in ima- " gining I was loved where I was ſecretly " envied, and in not joining with thoſe who " were ſincerely deſirous of my friendſhip. " Had I been governed, indeed, by my own " ſentiments, without relying ſo much on " thoſe of my weak or wicked adviſers, we " might ſtill, my *Terentia*, have been happy. " However, ſince my friends encourage me " to hope, I will endeavour to reſtrain my " grief, leſt the effects it may have on my " health ſhould diſappoint your tender efforts " for my reſtoration. I am ſenſible, at the " ſame time, of the many difficulties that " muſt be conquered e'er that point can be " effected; and that it would have been much " eaſier to have maintained my poſt than it is " to recover it. Nevertheleſs, if all the Tri- " bunes are in my intereſt; if *Lentulus* is " really as zealous in my cauſe as he appears: " and if *Pompey* and *Cæſar* likewiſe concur " with him in the ſame views, I ought not, " moſt certainly, to deſpair.

" With regard to our ſlaves, I am willing " to act as our friends, you tell me, adviſe. " As to your concern in reſpect to the plague " which broke out here, it is entirely ceaſed: " And I had the good fortune to eſcape all " infection. However, it was my deſire to " have changed my preſent ſituation for ſome " more retired place in *Epirus*, where I " might be ſecure from *Pijo* and his ſoldiers. " But the obliging *Plancius* was unwilling to " part with me; and ſtill indeed detains me " here with the hope that we may return to- " gether to *Rome*. If ever I ſhould live to " ſee that happy day; if ever I ſhould be " reſtored to my *Terentia*, to my children, " and to myſelf, I ſhall think all the tender " ſolicitudes we have ſuffered, during this ſad " ſeparation, abundantly repaid.

" Nothing

Epiſt. Fam. lib. xiv. Ep. i. Ed. Græv.

Y. R. 695. Bef. Chr. 57. 394 Conf.

" providing ſufficiently either for his dignity or the reſtitution of his eſtate; " ſo that he deſires *Atticus* to take care to get it amended.

" In

" Nothing can exceed the affection and " humanity of *Piſo*'s behaviour towards eve- " ry one of us: And I wiſh he may receive " from it as much ſatisfaction as I am perſua- " ded he will honour.——I was far from in- " tending to blame you with reſpect to my " brother: but it is much my deſire, eſpeci- " ally as there are ſo few of you, that you " ſhould live together in the moſt perfect har- " mony.——I have made my acknowledg- " ment where you deſire, and acquainted " the perſons you mention, that you had in- " formed me of their ſervices.

" As to the eſtate you propoſe to ſell; " alas! my dear *Terentia*, think well of the " conſequence: Think what would become " of our unhappy boy, ſhould fortune ſtill " continue to perſecute us. But my eyes " ſtream too faſt to add more: nor would I " draw the ſame tender flood from yours. I " will only ſay, that, if my friends ſhould not " deſert me, I ſhall be in no diſtreſs for mo- " ney: And if they ſhould, the money you " can raiſe by the ſale of this eſtate will little " avail. I conjure you then by all our miſ- " fortunes, let us not abſolutely ruin our poor " boy, who is well nigh totally undone alrea- " dy. If we can but raiſe him above indi- " gence, a moderate ſhare of good fortune " and merit will be ſufficient to open his way " to whatever elſe we can wiſh him to obtain. " Take care of your health, and let me know " by an expreſs how your negotiations pro- " ceed, and how affairs in general ſtand. " ——My fate muſt now be ſoon determi- " ned. I tenderly ſalute my ſon and daugh- " ter, and bid you all farewell."

Durazzo. *Dyrrachium* *, *Nov.* 26.

P. S. " I came hither not only as it is a " free city, and much in my intereſt, but as " it is ſituated likewiſe near to *Italy*. But, " if I ſhould find any inconvenience from " its being a town of ſuch great reſort, I " ſhall remove elſewhere, and give you due " notice."

BOOK I. LETTER IX †.

To *Terentia.*

† Epiſt. Fam. lib. xiv. Ep. iii. Ed. Grav.

" I received three letters from you by the " hands of *Ariſtocritus*, and have wept over " them, till they are almoſt defaced with my " tears. Ah! my *Terentia*, I am worn out " with grief: Nor do my own perſonal miſ- " fortunes more ſeverely torture my mind, " than thoſe with which you and my children " are oppreſſed. Unhappy indeed as you " are, I am infinitely more ſo; as our com- " mon afflictions are attended with this ag- " gravating circumſtance to myſelf, that they " are juſtly to be imputed to my imprudence " alone. *I ought, moſt undoubtedly, either to* " *have avoided the danger by accepting the* " *commiſſion which was offered me; or to have* " *repelled force by force, or bravely to have* " *periſhed in the attempt:* Whereas nothing " could have been more unworthy of my cha- " racter, or more pregnant with miſery, than " the ſcheme, which I have purſued. I am " overwhelmed therefore, not only with ſor- " row, but with ſhame: Yes, my *Terentia*, " I bluſh to reflect that I did not exert that " ſpirit I ought for the ſake of *ſo excellent a* " *wife* and ſuch amiable children. The diſ- " treſs in which you are all equally involved, " and your own ill ſtate of health in particu- " lar, are ever in my thoughts: As I have " the mortification at the ſame time to ob- " ſerve, that there appear but ſlender hopes " of my being recalled. *My enemies in truth,* " *are many; while thoſe who are jealous of me* " *are almoſt innumerable: And though they* " *found great difficulty in driving me from my* " *country, it will be extremely eaſy for them to* " *prevent my return.* However, as long as " you have any hopes that my reſtoration " may be effected, I will not ceaſe to co- " operate with your endeavours for that pur- " poſe, leſt my weakneſs ſhould ſeem upon " all occaſions to fruſtrate every meaſure in " my favour. In the mean while my perſon " (for which you are ſo tenderly concerned) " is ſecure from all danger: As in truth I " am ſo completely wretched, that even my

" enemies

" In the mean while, *on the 28th of October*, eight of the Tribunes jointly offered to the People a law in his favour. But *Cicero* was much more diſpleaſed with this, than with the law drawn up by *Sextius*: It conſiſted of three articles; the firſt of which *reſtored him only to his former rank, but not to his eſtate*: The ſecond was only matter of form, *to indemnify the propoſers of it*: The third enacted, *That, if there was any thing in it which was prohibited to be promulgated by any former law, particularly by that of* Clodius, *or which involved the author of ſuch promulgation in any fine or penalty, in ſuch caſe it ſhould have no effect. Cicero* was ſurprized *that his friends could be induced to propoſe ſuch an act, which ſeemed to be againſt him, and to confirm that clauſe of the* Clodian *law which made it penal to move any thing for him*: Whereas no clauſes of that kind had ever been regarded, or thought

U. R. 697. B. C. 57. 394 Conſ. Ad Att. iii. 20.

" enemies themſelves muſt wiſh, in mere ma-
" lice, to preſerve my life. Nevertheleſs, I
" ſhall not fail to obſerve the caution you
" kindly give me.

" I have ſent my acknowledgments by
" *Dexippus* to the perſons you deſired me; and
" mentioned at the ſame time, that you had
" informed me of their good offices. I am
" perfectly ſenſible of thoſe which *Piſo* exerts
" towards us with ſo uncommon a zeal: As
" indeed it is a circumſtance which all the
" world ſpeaks of to his honour. Heaven
" grant that I may live to enjoy, with you
" and our children, the common happineſs of
" ſo valuable a relation!

" The only hope I have now left ariſes
" from the new Tribunes; and that too de-
" pends upon the ſteps they ſhall take in the
" commencement of their office: For, if they
" ſhould poſtpone my affair, I ſhall give up
" all expectations of its ever being effected.
" Accordingly I have diſpatched *Ariſtocritus*,
" that you may ſend me immediate notice of
" the firſt meaſure they ſhall purſue, together
" with the general plan upon which they
" propoſe to conduct themſelves: I have
" likewiſe ordered *Dexippus* to return to me
" with all expedition, and have written to my
" brother to requeſt he would give me fre-
" quent information in what manner affairs
" proceed. It is with a view of receiving the
" earlieſt intelligence from *Rome*, that I con-
" tinue at *Dyrrachium*: A place where I can
" remain in perfect ſecurity, as I have upon
" all occaſions diſtinguiſhed this city by my
" particular patronage. However, as ſoon
" as I ſhall receive intimation that my enemies
" are approaching, it is my reſolution to re-
" tire into *Epirus*.

" In anſwer to your tender propoſal of ac-
" companying me in my exile, I rather chuſe
" you ſhould continue in *Rome*: As I am
" ſenſible it is upon you that the principal
" burden of my affairs muſt reſt. If your
" generous negotiation ſhould ſucceed, my
" return will prevent the neceſſity of that
" journey: If otherwiſe --- but I need not add
" the reſt. The next letter I ſhall receive
" from you, or at moſt the ſubſequent one,
" will determine me in what manner to act.
" In the mean time I deſire you would give
" me a full and faithful information how
" things go on: Though indeed I have now
" more reaſon to expect the final reſult of
" this affair, than an account of its progreſs.

" Take care of your health, I conjure you;
" aſſuring yourſelf that you are, as you ever
" have been, the object of my fondeſt wiſhes.
" Farewell, my dear *Terentia!* I ſee you ſo
" ſtrongly before me whilſt I am writing, that
" I am utterly ſpent with the tears I have
" ſhed. Once more, farewell."

Dyrrachium, Nov. 30.

[*N. B.* About eleven years after *Cicero*'s return home, and when he was ſixty-one years of age, he repudiated this *moſt excellent*, this *dearly beloved wife, the object of his fondeſt wiſhes*, on the pretence of her being peeviſh and expenſive, and married a pretty young girl, with a good fortune, to whom he had been left guardian.] See Midd. Vol. II. p. 148.

Y. R. 695. " to have any ſpecial force, but fell of courſe when the laws themſelves
" were repealed: He obſerves, *that it was an ugly precedent for the ſucceed-*
Ad Att. iii. 23. " *ing Tribunes, if they ſhould happen to have any ſcruples; and that* Clodius
" *had already taken the advantage of it, when, in a ſpeech to the People, on*
" *the third of* November, *he declared that this act of the Tribunes was a pro-*
" *per leſſon to their ſucceſſors, to let them ſee how far their power extended.*
" *He deſires* Atticus *therefore to find out who was the contriver of it; and*
" *how* Ninnius *and the reſt came to be ſo much overſeen as not to be aware of*
" *the conſequences of it.*

Midd. P. 374. " The moſt probable ſolution of it is, that theſe Tribunes hoped to
" carry their point with leſs difficulty, by paying this deference to *Clo-*
Pro Dom. 16. " *dius*'s law, *the validity of which was acknowledged by* Cato, *and ſeveral*
" *others of the principal Citizens*; and they were induced to make this
" puſh for it, before they quitted their office, from a perſuaſion, that, if
" *Cicero* was once reſtored on any terms, or with what reſtrictions ſo-
" ever, the reſt would follow of courſe; and that the recovery of his
" dignity would neceſſarily draw after it every thing elſe that was wanted;
" *Cicero* ſeems to have been ſenſible of it himſelf on ſecond thoughts, as
Ad Att. iii. 23. " he intimates in the concluſion of his letter: *I ſhould be ſorry*, ſays he, *to*
" *have the new Tribunes inſert ſuch a clauſe in their law; yet let them inſert*
" *what they pleaſe, if it will but paſs, and call me home, I ſhall be content*
" *with it.*

" In this ſuſpenſe of his affairs at *Rome*, the troops which *Piſo* had
" prepared for his government of *Macedonia*, began to arrive in great
Ibid. 22. " numbers at *Theſſalonica*. This greatly alarmed him, and made him
" reſolve to quit the place without delay: And, as it was not adviſeable
" to move farther from *Italy*, he ventured to come ſtill nearer, and
" turned back again to *Dyrrachium*: For though this was within the
Ep. Fam. XIV. 1. " diſtance forbidden to him by law, yet he had no reaſon to apprehend
" any danger in a town particularly devoted to him, and which had al-
" ways been under *his ſpecial patronage and protection.* He came thither
Ibid. 3. " on the *twenty-fifth of November*, and gave notice of his removal to his
" friends at *Rome*, by letters of the ſame date, begun at *Theſſalonica* and
" finiſhed at *Dyrrachium*: Which ſhews the great haſte which he thought
" neceſſary in making this ſudden change of his quarters. Here he re-
" ceived another piece of news, which diſpleaſed him; *that, with the*
" *conſent and aſſiſtance of his managers at* Rome (and particularly of
Ad Att. iii. 24. " *Atticus*) *the provinces of the Conſuls elect had been furniſhed with money*
" *and troops by a decree of the Senate*; proviſions which had never before
" been made until the entrance of the Conſuls into office." This diſturbed him extremely, fearing leſt the Tribunes elect, who had all profeſſed good-will to him, ſhould be offended, becauſe they had not been conſulted in the affair, though they had undertaken his cauſe, and had deſired the power of furniſhing out the Conſuls, merely to have an oppor-

opportunity of ſecuring them to his intereſt; whereas now, if the new Conſuls had a mind to be perverſe, they might be ſo without any riſk; but, let them be never ſo well diſpoſed, they could do nothing without the conſent of the Tribunes.——Another inconvenience followed from this meaſure, that the Senate, having broken through that reſolution which they had taken in his cauſe, *That they would enter into nothing till his affair was ſettled*, were now at liberty to proceed to any other buſineſs as they pleaſed. *Cicero*, nevertheleſs, in his letter to *Atticus* on this head, adds, "It is not however to be wondered at, that my friends, who were applied "to, ſhould conſent to it; for it was hard for any one to declare openly "againſt a motion ſo beneficial to the two Conſuls; it was hard, I ſay, "to refuſe any thing to *Lentulus*, who has always been my true friend; "or to *Metellus*, who has given up his reſentments with ſuch humanity; "yet I am apprehenſive that we have alienated the Tribunes, and cannot "hold the Conſuls: Write me word, I deſire you, what turn this has "taken, and how the whole affair ſtands; and write with your uſual frank-"neſs; for I love to know the truth, though it ſhould happen to be diſ-"agreeable. The tenth of *December*."

Y. R. 695. Bef. Chr. 57. 394 Conſ.

But *Atticus*, inſtead of anſwering this letter, or rather indeed before he received it, having occaſion to viſit his eſtate in *Epirus*, took his way thither through *Dyrrachium*, on purpoſe to ſee *Cicero*, and explain to him in perſon the motives of their conduct. Their interview was but ſhort; and after they parted, *Cicero*, upon ſome new intelligence, which gave him freſh uneaſineſs, ſent another letter after him into *Epirus*, to call him back again: "After you left me (ſays he) I received letters from *Rome*, "from which I perceive that I muſt end my days in calamity; and to "ſpeak the truth (which you will take in good part) if there had been "any hopes of my return, you, who love me ſo well, would never have "left the City at ſuch a conjuncture: But I ſay no more, leſt I be "thought either ungrateful, or deſirous to involve my friends too in my "ruin. One thing I beg; that you would not fail, as you have given "your word, to come to me, wherever I ſhall happen to be, before the "firſt of *January*."

Midd. 377. 378, 379. Ad Att. iii. 25.

While he was thus perplexing himſelf with perpetual fears and ſuſpicions, his cauſe was proceeding very proſperouſly at *Rome*, and ſeemed to be in ſuch a train, that it could not be obſtructed much longer: For the new Magiſtrates, who were coming on with the new year, were all, except the Prætor *Appius*, ſuppoſed to be his friends; while his enemy *Clodius* was ſoon to reſign his office, on which the greateſt part of his power depended: *Clodius* was ſenſible himſelf of the daily decay of his credit, through the ſuperior influence of *Pompey*, who had drawn *Cæſar* away from him, and forced even *Gabinius* to deſert him. ſo that, out of rage and deſpair, and the deſire of revenging himſelf on theſe new and more powerful enemies, he would willingly have dropt the purſuit of *Cicero*;

or

Y.R.695. or consented even to recall him, if he could have persuaded *Cicero*'s friends and the Senate to join their forces with him against the Triumvirate. For this end *he produced* Bibulus *and the other Augurs in an Assembly of the People, and demanded of them, whether it was not unlawful to transact any public business, when any of them were taking the Auspices?* To which they all answered in the affirmative. *Then he asked* Bibulus, *whether he was not actually observing the heavens as often as any of* Cæsar's *laws were proposed to the People?* To which he answered in the affirmative: But, being produced a second time by the Prætor *Appius*, he added, *that he took the Auspices also, in the same manner, at the time when* Clodius's *act of adoption was confirmed by the People:* But *Clodius*, while he gratified his present revenge, little regarded how much it turned against himself; but insisted, *that all* Cæsar's *acts ought to be annulled by the Senate, as being contrary to the Auspices; and on that condition declared publicly, that he himself would bring back* Cicero, *the guardian of the City, on his own shoulders.*

Pro Dom. 15.

In the same fit of revenge he fell upon the Consul *Gabinius*; and in an Assembly of the People, which he called for that purpose, *with his head veiled, and a little altar and fire before him, consecrated his whole estate.* This had been sometimes done against traiterous Citizens; and, when legally performed, had the effect of a confiscation, by making the place and effects ever after sacred and public: But in the present case it was considered only as an act of madness; and the Tribune *Ninnius*, in ridicule of it, consecrated *Clodius*'s estate in the same form and manner that, whatever efficacy was ascribed to the one, the other might justly challenge the same.

Pro Dom. 47, 48.

Middl. p. 381--388.

All the ten new Tribunes had solemnly promised to serve *Cicero*; yet *Clodius* found means to corrupt two of them, *S. Attilius Serranus*, and *Numerius Quinctius Gracchus*, by whose help he was enabled still to make head against *Cicero*'s party, and retard his restoration some time longer: But *Piso* and *Gabinius*, perceiving the scene to be opening apace in his favour, and his return to be unavoidable, thought it time to get out of his way, and retire to their several governments: So that they both left *Rome*, with the expiration of their year; and *Piso* set out for *Macedonia*, *Gabinius* for *Syria*.

Y.R.696. On the first of *January*, the new Consul *Lentulus*, after the ceremony of his inauguration, and his first duty paid, as usual, to religion, entered directly into *Cicero*'s affairs, and moved the Senate for his restoration, while his collegue *Metellus* declared, with much seeming candour, *that, though* Cicero *and he had been enemies, on account of their different sentiments in politics, yet he would give up his resentment to the authority of the Fathers, and the interest of the Republic.* Upon which, *L. Cotta*, a person of *Consular* and *Censorian* rank, being asked his opinion first, said, "That nothing had been done against *Cicero* agreeably to right, or law, "or

Post Red. ad Quir. 5.

Pro Sext. 32.

Ibid. 34.

" or the cuſtom of their anceſtors: That *no Citizen could be driven out* Y. R. 696.
" *of the City without a trial**, and that the People could not condemn, Bef. Chr. 56.
" nor even try a man capitally, but in an Aſſembly of their Centuries: 395 Conſ.
" That the whole was the effect of violence, turbulent times, and an
" oppreſſed Republic: That, in ſo ſtrange a revolution and confuſion of
" things, *Cicero* had only ſtept aſide, to provide for his future tranquil-
" lity, by declining the impending ſtorm; and, ſince he had freed the
" Republic from no leſs danger by his abſence than he had done before
" by his preſence, that he ought not only to be reſtored, but to be adorned
" with new honours: That what his mad enemy had publiſhed againſt
" him was drawn ſo abſurdly, both in words and ſentiments, that, if it
" had been enacted in proper form, it could never obtain the force of a
" law: That, ſince *Cicero* therefore was expelled by no law, he could
" not want a law to reſtore him, but ought to be recalled by a vote of the
" Senate." ——— *Pompey*, who ſpoke next, having highly applauded what *Cotta* had ſaid, added, " That, for the ſake of *Cicero*'s future quiet,
" and to prevent all farther trouble from the ſame quarter, it was his
" opinion, that the People ſhould have a ſhare in conferring that grace,
" and their conſent be joined to the authority of the Senate." After many others had ſpoken likewiſe with great warmth in the defence and praiſe of *Cicero*, they all came unanimouſly into *Pompey*'s opinion, and were proceeding to make a decree upon it, when *Serranus*, the Tribune, roſe up and put a ſtop to it; not flatly interpoſing his negative, for he had not the aſſurance to do that, againſt ſuch a ſpirit and unanimity of the Senate, but deſiring only a night's time to conſider of it. This unexpected interruption incenſed the whole Aſſembly; ſome reproached, others entreated him; and his father-in-law *Oppius* threw himſelf at his feet, to move him to deſiſt: But all they could get from him, was a promiſe to give way to a decree the next morning; upon which they broke up. *But the Tribune*, ſays *Cicero*, *employed the night, not, as people fancied he* Post Red. ad Quir.
would, in giving back the money which he had taken, but in making a better bargain, and doubling his price; for the next morning, being grown more hardy, he abſolutely prohibited the Senate from proceeding to any act. This conduct of *Serranus* ſurprized *Cicero*'s friends, being not only perfidious, and contrary to his engagements, but highly ungrateful to *Cicero*; who, in his Conſulſhip, had been his ſpecial encourager and bene- Ibid.
factor.

The Senate, however, though hindered at preſent from paſſing their decree, were too well united, and *too ſtrongly ſupported*, to be baffled much longer by the artifices of *Clodius*; and having reſolved to propound a law to the People for *Cicero*'s reſtoration, they appointed the twenty- Pro Sext. 35, 36, 37, 38.
ſecond of the month for the promulgation of it. When the day came, *Fabricius*, one of *Cicero*'s Tribunes, marched out with a ſtrong guard,

* This ſeems to be a ſtrange plea for *Cicero*, who had *put Citizens to death without trial.*

before

Y. R. 696. Bef. Chr. 56. 395 Conſ. before it was light, to get poſſeſſion of the *Roſtra*: But *Clodius* was too early for him; and having ſeized all the poſts and avenues of the Forum, was prepared to give him a warm reception: He had purchaſed *ſome gladiators for the ſhews of his Ædileſhip*, to which he was now pretending, and *borrowed another band of his brother* Appius; and with theſe well armed, at the head of his ſlaves and dependents, he attacked *Fabricius*, killed ſeveral of his followers, wounded many more, and drove him quite out of the place; and happening to fall in at the ſame time with *Ciſpius, another Tribune, who was coming to the aid of his collegue, he repulſed him alſo with a great ſlaughter.* The gladiators, heated with this taſte of blood, *opened their way on all ſides with their ſwords in queſt of* Quintus Cicero, *whom they met with at laſt, and would certainly have murdered, if, by the advantage of the confuſion and darkneſs, he had not hid himſelf under the bodies of his ſlaves and freedmen, who were killed around him, where he lay concealed till the fray was over.* The Tribune *Sextius* was treated ſtill more roughly: *For, being particularly purſued and marked out for deſtruction, he was ſo deſperately wounded as to be left for dead upon the ſpot; and eſcaped death, only by feigning it:* But while he lay in that condition, ſuppoſed to be killed, *Clodius* reflecting that the murder of a Tribune, whoſe perſon was ſacred, would raiſe ſuch a ſtorm as might occaſion his ruin, *took a ſudden reſolution to kill one of his own Tribunes, in order to charge it upon his adverſaries, and to balance the account by making both ſides equally obnoxius.* The victim doomed to this ſacrifice was *Numerius Quinctius*, an obſcure fellow, raiſed to this dignity by the caprice of the multitude, who, to make himſelf the more popular, had aſſumed the ſurname of *Gracchus: But the crafty clown*, ſays *Cicero, having got ſome hint of the deſign, and finding that his blood was to wipe off the odium of* Sextius's *murder, diſguiſed himſelf preſently in the habit of a muletier, the ſame in which he came to* Rome, *and with a baſket upon his head, while ſome were calling out for* Numerius, *others for* Quinctius, *paſſed undiſcovered by the confuſion of the two names: But he continued in this danger till* Sextius *was known to be alive.* According to the account of this day's tragedy, *the* Tiber *and all the common ſewers were filled with dead bodies, and the blood wiped up with ſponges in the Forum, where ſuch heaps of ſlain had never before been ſeen but in the civil diſſentions of* Cinna *and* Octavius.

Pro Mil. 27. Parad. 4. De Haruſp. Reſp. 27. *Clodius*, flushed with this victory, *ſet fire with his own hands to the Temple of the Nymphs, where the books of the Cenſors and the public regiſters of the City were kept, which were all conſumed with the fabric itſelf.* He then attacked the houſes of *Milo* the Tribune, and *Cæcilius* the Prætor, with fire and ſword; but was repulſed in both attempts with loſs: *Milo took ſeveral of* Appius's *gladiators priſoners, who, being brought before the Senate, made a confeſſion of what they knew, and were ſent to jail; but were preſently releaſed by* Serranus. Upon theſe outrages, *Milo impeached* Clodius *in form, for the violation of the public peace:* But the

Pro Sext. 39.

Conſul *Metellus*, who had not yet abandoned him, with the *Prætor* Appius, and *the Tribune* Serranus, reſolved to prevent any proceſs upon it; *and by their edicts prohibited either the criminal himſelf to appear, or any one to cite him.* Their pretence was, *that the Quæſtors were not yet choſen, whoſe office it was to make the allotment of the Judges, while they themſelves kept back the election*, and were puſhing *Clodius* at the ſame time into *the Ædileſhip*; which would ſcreen him of courſe for one year from any proſecution. *Milo*, therefore, finding it impracticable to bring him to juſtice in the legal method, reſolved to oppoſe force to force, and for this end purchaſed a band of gladiators, with which he had daily ſkirmiſhes with him in the ſtreets. It was much to his honour (ſays *Cicero* ridiculouſly enough) that he bought gladiators for *the defence of the Republic, whoſe preſervation depended upon* MINE. [y]. Y. R. 696. Pro Sext. 41.

This obſtruction given to *Cicero*'s return made the Senate only the more reſolute to affect it: They paſſed *a ſecond vote* therefore, *that no other buſineſs ſhould be done till it was carried*; and to prevent all further tumults, and inſults upon the Magiſtrates, ordered the Conſuls to ſummon *all the people of* Italy, *who wiſhed well to the State, to come to the aſſiſtance and defence of* Cicero. This drew a vaſt concourſe to *Rome* from all parts of *Italy*, where there was not a corporate town of any note, which did not teſtify its reſpect to *Cicero* by ſome public act or monument. *Pompey* was at *Capua, acting as chief Magiſtrate of his new colony, where he preſided in perſon at their making a decree to* Cicero's *honour, and took the trouble likewiſe of viſiting all the other colonies and chief towns in thoſe parts*, to appoint them a day of general rendezvous at *Rome*, to aſſiſt at the promulgation of the law. Poſt Red. in Sen. 3. Ibid. 9. Pro Sext. 60. Poſt Red. in Sen. 11. Pro Dom. 12.

Lentulus, at the ſame time, was entertaining the City with ſhews and ſtage-plays, in order to keep the People in good humour, whom he had called from their private affairs in the country to attend the public buſineſs. The ſhews were exhibited in *Pompey*'s *Theatre*, while the Senate, for the convenience of being near them, was held in *the adjoining temple of* Honour *and* Virtue, *built by* Marius *out of the* Cimbric *ſpoils*, and called, for that reaſon *Marius*'s *monument*: Here; according to *Cicero*'s *dream* [z] *a decree now paſſed in proper form for his reſtoration*; when, under the joint influence of thoſe deities, *Honour*, ſays he, *was done to Virtue*; *and the monument of* Pro Sext. 56.

[y] Honori ſummo *Miloni* noſtro nuper fuit, quod gladiatoribus emptis Reipub. cauſa, quæ ſalute noſtra continebatur, omnes *P. Clodii* conatus furoreſque compreſſit. *De Off.* ii. 17.

[z] *Cicero*, at the time of his flight, being lodged in the villa of a friend, had a morning-dream, which, when he awaked, (about eight o'clock) he told to thoſe about him: "That, as "he ſeemed to be wandering diſconſolate in a lonely place, *C. Marius*, with his faſces wreathed with laurel, accoſted him, and demanded why he was ſo melancholy; and when he anſwered, that he was driven out of his country by violence, *Marius* took him by the hand, and, bidding him be of good courage, ordered the next Lictor to conduct him into his monument, telling him that there he ſhould find ſafety." *De Divin.* i. 28.

Y. R. 696. Bef. Chr. 56. Marius, *the preſerver of the empire, gave ſafety to his country-man, the defender of it.*

Cons. Conſ. *Clodius* had ſtill the courage and addreſs to hinder this decree of the Senate from paſſing into a law: He took all occaſions of haranguing the multitude againſt it, and uſed to demand of them aloud, whether they would have *Cicero* reſtored or not; upon which his *mercenaries*, ſays

Pro Sext. 59. *Cicero*, anſwering with low feeble voices [*ſemivivis vocibus*] in the negative, he inſtantly declared the propoſal to be rejected by *Roman People.* But the Senate, aſhamed to ſee themſelves thus baffled, reſolved

Midd. p. 391. to take ſuch meaſures in the ſupport of their decrees, that it ſhould not be poſſible to defeat them. *Lentulus* therefore ſummoned them *into the*

Poſt Red. in Sen. 10. *Capitol on the twenty-fifth of May*; where *Pompey* began the debate, and renewed the motion for recalling *Cicero*; and in a grave and ela-

Pro Sext. 61. borate ſpeech, which he had prepared in writing, and delivered from his notes, gave him the honour *of having ſaved his Country.* All the leading men of the Senate ſpoke after him to the ſame effect; but the Conſul *Metellus*, notwithſtanding his promiſes, had been acting hitherto a double part; and was all along the chief encourager and ſupporter of *Clodius:* When *Servilius*, therefore, a Conſular, who had been honoured with a Triumph and the Cenſorſhip, roſe up, he addreſſed himſelf to his kinſman *Metellus*, and, having laid before him the glorious acts of his anceſtors, together with the excellent conduct and unhappy fate of his brother *Celer*, *Cicero*'s friend, ſuppoſed to have been poiſoned by his wife, (the ſiſter of *Clodius*) preſſed him ſo earneſtly, and in ſuch moving terms, to

Ibid. 62. concur with the Senate in their preſent meaſures, *that he could not hold out any longer, but, with tears in his eyes, gave himſelf up to* Servilius, *and profeſſed all future ſervices to* Cicero; in which he proved very ſincere,

Poſt Red. in Sen. 10. and from this moment aſſiſted his collegue in promoting *Cicero*'s reſtoration: *So that in a very full houſe of* 417 *Senators, when all the Magiſtrates were preſent, the decree paſſed without one diſſenting voice but* Clodius's. It is probable that the two Tribunes, who had hitherto been *Cicero*'s enemies, were induced, by *Metellus*'s change of conduct, to ceaſe their oppoſition, and acquieſce.

Midd. p. 393 The Conſul *Lentulus* aſſembled the Senate again the next day, to concert ſome effectual method for preventing all farther oppoſition, and getting the decree enacted into a law: But, before they met, he called the People to the *Roſtra*, where all the principal Senators in their turns repeated the ſubſtance of what they had ſaid before in the Senate, in order

Poſt Red. ad Quir. 7. to prepare them for the buſineſs of the day: *Pompey* particularly exerted himſelf in the praiſe of *Cicero*; declaring, *That the Republic owed its preſervation to him, and that their common ſafety was connected with his*; *exhorting them to defend and ſupport the decree of the Senate, the quiet of the City, and the fortunes of a man who had deſerved ſo well of them: That this was the general voice of* THE SENATE; *of* THE KNIGHTS; *of all* Italy;

and,

and, laſtly, that it was his own earneſt and ſpecial requeſt to them, which he not only deſired, but implored them to grant. Y. R. 696. Bef. Chr. 56.

When the Senate afterwards met, they proceeded to ſeveral new and vigorous votes, to facilitate the ſucceſs of their enterprize. 395. Cont.

Firſt, *That no Magiſtrate ſhould preſume to take the auſpices, ſo as to diſturb the Aſſembly of the People, when* Cicero's *cauſe was to come before them: And that if any one attempted it, he ſhould be treated as a public enemy.* Pro Sext. 60, 61.

Secondly, *That, if, through any violence or obſtruction, the law was not ſuffered to paſs,* Cicero *ſhould then be at liberty to return without any farther authority.*

Thirdly, *That public thanks ſhould be given to all the people of* Italy *who came to* Rome *for* Cicero's *defence, and that they ſhould be deſired to come again on the day when the ſuffrages of the People were to be taken.*

Fourthly, *That thanks ſhould be given likewiſe to all the ſtates and cities which had received and entertained* Cicero; *and that the care of his perſon ſhould be recommended to all foreign nations in alliance with them; and that the* Roman *generals, and all who had commanded abroad, ſhould be ordered to protect his life and ſafety.*

The law, now prepared for *Cicero*'s reſtoration, was to be offered to *the ſuffrages of the Centuries*; where *a decree of the Senate* was previouſly neceſſary to make the act valid: In the preſent caſe there ſeem to have been four or five ſeveral decrees provided at different times, which had all been fruſtrated by the intrigues of *Clodius* and his friends; but theſe laſt votes proved effectual; *Clodius* being left ſingle in the oppoſition after *Metellus* dropt him; for even his brother *Appius* choſe to be quiet: Nevertheleſs it was above two months from the laſt decree before *Cicero*'s friends could bring the affair to a general vote, which they effected at laſt *on the fourth of Auguſt.* The Aſſembly was held in the field of *Mars*, for the more convenient reception of a great multitude, and *Cicero*, after ſixteen months exile, was recalled by the unanimous ſuffrage of all the Centuries. Middl. 395.

" This, ſays *Cicero*'s *Engliſh* Hiſtorian*, was one of the laſt genuine " acts of FREE *Rome*; one of the laſt efforts of PUBLIC LIBERTY, " exerting itſelf to do honour to its patron and defender: for the union " of the Triumvirate had already given it a dangerous wound: and the " diſſenſion, which not long after enſued, entirely deſtroyed it." By which words it would ſeem, that, in the Hiſtorian's opinion, the *Triumviral League* did not deſtroy *Public Liberty*; or, at leaſt, that *Rome*, even under the domination of the *Triumvirs*, was *ſometimes free*; ſeeing it was *free* when the People recalled *Cicero* from baniſhment; though it had been enſlaved the year before, when, under the domination of the ſame Triumvirate, the People baniſhed him: *For in the midſt of all his joy, on his return home, he could not help grieving*, he ſays, *within himſelf to reflect that a City, ſo grateful to the defender of its liberty, had been ſo miſerably enſlaved and oppreſſed.* * Middl. P. 397.

Y. R. 696. " *One cannot help pauſing a while,* ſays the ſame hiſtorian * a little before,
* Midd. p. 394. " *to reflect* on the GREAT IDEA which theſe facts imprint of the character
" and dignity of *Cicero*; to ſee ſo vaſt an empire in ſuch a ferment on
" his account, as to poſtpone all their concerns and intereſts, for many
" months ſucceſſively, to the Safety of a ſingle Senator, who had no other
" means of exciting the zeal, or engaging the affections of his Citizens,
" but the genuine force of his perſonal virtues, and the merit of his emi-
" nent ſervices: As if the Republic itſelf could not ſtand without him,
" but muſt fall into ruin, if he, the main pillar of it, was removed; whilſt
Poſt. Red. in Sen. 3. " the greateſt monarchs on earth, who had any affairs with the People of
" *Rome* were looking on, to expect the event, unable to procure any an-
" ſwer or regard to what they were ſoliciting, till this affair was decided.
" *Ptolemy*, the King of *Ægypt*, was particularly affected by it, who, being
" driven out of his kingdom, came to *Rome* about this time, to beg help
" and protection againſt his rebellious ſubjects; but, though he was
" lodged in *Pompey*'s houſe, it was not poſſible for him to get an audience,
" till *Cicero*'s cauſe was at an end."

Now, with regard to this *unavoidable pauſe*, and the GREAT IDEA on which the hiſtorian reflects, I ſhall once more refer the reader to the paſ-
* Vid. ſup. p. 401. ſage above tranſcribed from Mr. *Bayle**. Moſt certainly this ſhining piece of oratory *n'a rien de ſolide.* The fact was plainly this: The ſame *Triumvirs*, who, to puniſh *Cicero*'s incontinence of ſpeech, gave him up to the fury of the enemy, and ſuffered him to be baniſhed, did now call him home again to puniſh the inſolence of *Clodius*, who affected an independency on thoſe who had hitherto been his ſupport.

If there be any thing in the tranſaction which ſhould excite wonder, it is, that a man of ſuch rare talents and tranſcendent merit as our eloquent Conſular, who is ſuppoſed to have been moſt unjuſtly baniſhed for well-doing, could not, by the ſolicitation of all his friends, obtain a *reſtoration*, even after his cauſe was favoured by the *Triumvirs*, the two *Conſuls*, the whole *Senate*, and eight of the *Tribunes*, until, through the influence of all theſe, ſuch multitudes of voters flocked to *Rome* from the remote parts of *Italy*, as were ſufficient to outvote thoſe who reſided in the City and in its neighbourhood: So that, according to what is ſaid by the hiſtorian himſelf in another part of his work, *it was impoſſible to know, whether the act in* Cicero's *favour had paſſed regularly by the genuine ſuffrage of the People.* Vid. Midd. Vol. I. p. 21. and vid. ſupra, p. 119.

Ad Att. iii 26. *Cicero* had reſolved to come home, in virtue of the Senate's decree, whether the law had paſſed or not; but perceiving, from the accounts of all his friends, that it could not be defeated any longer, he embarked
Ibid. iv. 1. for *Italy on the fourth of Auguſt*, the very day on which it was enacted, and landed the next day at *Brunduſium*, where he found his daughter *Tullia* already arrived to receive him. He took up his quarters again with his old hoſt *Lenius Flaccus*, and here in four days he received

from

from *Rome* the welcome news, that the law was actually ratified by the People; with an incredible zeal and unanimity of all the Centuries. This obliged him to purſue his journey without delay. The fame of his landing, and progreſs towards the City, drew infinite multitudes from all parts to ſee him as he paſſed, and congratulate him on his return: So that the whole road was but one continued ſtreet from *Brunduſium* to *Rome*, lined on both ſides with crowds of men, women, and children; nor was there a præfecture, town, or colony, through *Italy*, which did not decree him ſtatues, or public honours, and ſend a deputation of their principal members to pay him their compliments: That it was rather leſs than the truth, as *Plutarch* ſays, what *Cicero* himſelf tells us, that all *Italy* brought him back upon its ſhoulders. [Nor can this appear in any degree wonderful, if we conſider, that, when Conſul, he had, in *Pompey*'s opinion, *preſerved* not only the *Roman* empire, but, *the whole globe of the earth* [a].]

Y. R. 696. Bef. Chr. 56. 395 Conſ.

In Piſ. 22. Poſt Red. in Sen. 17. Pro Sext. 63.

The modern hiſtorian, ſo often cited above, tells us, that "*Cicero*'s re- Midd. p. "turn was truly, what he himſelf calls it, the beginning of a NEW LIFE to 401. "him; which was to be governed by *new maxims*, and a *new kind of policy*, "*yet ſo as not to forfeit* his OLD CHARACTER. He had been made to feel in "what hands the weight of power lay, and what little dependance was to "be placed on the help and ſupport of his ariſtocratical friends: *Pompey* "had ſerved him on this important occaſion very ſincerely, and with the "concurrence alſo of *Cæſar*, ſo as to make it a point of gratitude, as well "as prudence, to be more obſervant of them than he had hitherto been: "The Senate, on the other hand, with the Magiſtrates, and the honeſt of "all ranks, were zealous in his cauſe; and the Conſul *Lentulus*, above "all, ſeemed to make *it the ſole end and glory of his adminiſtration.* The Poſt. Red. "uncommon conſent of oppoſite parties in promoting his reſtoration drew in Sen. 4. "upon him *a variety of obligations, which muſt needs often claſh and interfere* Pro Planc. "*with each other*, and which it was his part ſtill to manage ſo, as to make 3. "them conſiſtent with his honour, his private and his public duty: Theſe "were to be the ſprings and motives of his NEW LIFE, the hinges on which "his future conduct was to turn; and to do juſtice ſeverally to them all, "and aſſign to each *its proper weight and meaſure of influence*, required his "utmoſt ſkill and addreſs."

Another ingenious writer deſcribes, in colours ſomewhat leſs favourable, Crevier. Tom. XI. the NEW LIFE which *Cicero* entered upon at this time. in fine.

"It was the caſe of this great man, as of many others, that his glory "would have been brighter, if his life had been ſhorter. Had he died "immediately after his Conſulſhip, no ſtain had remained upon his "memory. But it cannot be concealed, that his ſucceſs elated him too "much, and that he expected, on quitting his office, to be *the ſoul of the*

[a] ——*Pompeium* adduxi in eam voluntatem, ut in Senatu, non ſemel ſed ſæpe, multis-que verbis hujus mihi ſalutem imperii, atque orbis terrarum adjudicarit. *Ad Att. lib.* i. *Ep.* 19.

"*public*

A.R. 696. Bf. Chr. 56 Conſ. "*public deliberations*, and to *govern* by the State his counſels. His baniſhment dejected him entirely; and his return did not reinſtate him in that ariſtocratical conſtancy, by which he had acquired ſo much honour. He was reduced to ſubmit to the yoke, make his court for a while to *Pompey*, and then become the ſlave of *Cæſar*."

Of the court which he paid to *Pompey*, we have a ſpecimen in his ſpeech to the People *on the ſixth of September*, two days after his return home.

On the *fifth* he had, in the Senate, profeſſed his obligations to that auguſt Aſſembly in general, and to each Magiſtrate by name. The number of his private friends *was too great to make it poſſible for him to enumerate or thank them all, ſo that he confined himſelf to the Magiſtrates, with exception only to* Pompey, whom, for the eminence of his character, though at preſent only a private man, he took care to diſtinguiſh by a perſonal addreſs and compliment. But as *Lentulus* was the firſt in office, and had ſerved him with the greateſt affection, ſo he gives him *the firſt ſhare of his praiſe*; and, in the overflowing of his gratitude, ſtiles him *the parent and the god of his life and fortunes.*

The next day he paid his thanks to the People in a ſpeech from the *Roſtra*, where he celebrated the particular merits and ſervices of his principal friends, eſpecially of *Pompey*, whom he declares to be the *greateſt man for virtue, wiſdom, glory, who was then living, or had lived, or ever would live; and that it was but barely poſſible, ſcarce lawful, for one man to owe to another ſo much, as on this occaſion, he owed to him* [b].

This affair being happily over, the Senate had leiſure again to attend to public buſineſs; and there was now a caſe before them of a very urgent nature, which required a preſent remedy; an unuſual ſcarcity of corn and proviſions in the City, which had been greatly increaſed by the late concourſe of people from all parts of *Italy* on *Cicero*'s account, and was now felt very ſeverely by the poorer ſort, who began to grow clamorous. *Clodius*, to create freſh trouble to *Cicero*, charged the calamity to his ſcore, and employed a number of young fellows to run all night about the ſtreets, and make a lamentable outcry for bread, calling up *Cicero* to relieve them from the famine to which he had reduced them. *Metellus* having ſummoned the Senate to the Temple of *Concord*, *Clodius*'s mob crouded thither; but happening to meet with *Metellus* in the way, they preſently attacked him with volleys of ſtones, and the Conſul was wounded. For the greater ſecurity, he immediately adjourned the Senate into the *Capitol*. The leaders of this rabble were *M. Lollius* and *M. Sergius*; the firſt had, in *Clodius*'s Tribunate, undertaken the taſk of killing *Pompey*; *Sergius* had been Captain of the guard to *Catiline*.

[b] *Cn. Pompeius*, vir omnium qui ſunt, fuerunt, erunt, princeps virtute, ſapientia ac gloria.—— Huic ego homini, Quirites tantum debeo, quantum hominem homini debere vix fas eſt. *Poſt Red. ad Quir.* 7.

But

But *Clodius*, encouraged by this hopeful beginning, put himſelf at their head in perſon, and purſued the Senate into the *Capitol*, in order to diſturb their debates, and hinder their providing any relief for the preſent evil. —— But the People themſelves, ſeeing through his deſign, were ſo provoked at it, *that they turned univerſally againſt him, and drove him out of the field with all his mercenaries*; when, perceiving that *Cicero was not preſent in the Senate, they called out upon him by name, with one voice, and would not be quieted till he came in perſon to undertake their cauſe, and propoſe ſome expedient for their relief. He had kept his houſe all that day, and reſolved to do ſo, till he ſaw the iſſue of the* tumult; but when he underſtood that *the mob was repulſed and diſperſed, and that his preſence was univerſally required, by the Conſuls, the Senate, and the whole People, he came to the Senate-houſe in the midſt of their debates, and, being preſently aſked* [c] *his opinion*, propoſed, *that* Pompey *ſhould be engaged to undertake the province of reſtoring plenty to the City; and that, to enable him to do it effectually, he ſhould be inveſted with an abſolute power over all the public ſtores and corn-rents of the empire.* The motion was readily accepted, and a vote immediately paſſed, that a law for that purpoſe ſhould be offered to the People. Except *Meſſala* and *Afranius*, all the Conſular Senators were abſent: They pretended to be afraid of the mob; but the real cauſe was their unwillingneſs to concur in granting this commiſſion to *Pompey*. The Conſuls carried the decree with them into the *Roſtra*, and read it to the People; who, on the mention of *Cicero*'s name in which it was drawn, gave an univerſal ſhout of applauſe; upon which, at the deſire of all the Magiſtrates, *Cicero* made a ſpeech to them, ſetting forth the reaſons and neceſſity of the decree, and giving them the hope of a ſpeedy relief, from the vigilance and authority of *Pompey*. The abſence, however, of the Conſular Senators, who were the principal members of the Houſe, occaſioned ſome cenſure: It was ſaid, that the Senate's vote had not been free *; that it had been extorted by fear; and the very next day a motion was made to revoke the decree: But, though all the Conſular Senators were then preſent, the motion was unanimouſly rejected; and the Conſuls were ordered to draw up a law, by which the whole adminiſtration of the corn and proviſions of the Republic was granted to *Pompey* for five years, with a power of chuſing fifteen Lieutenants to aſſiſt him in it.

This furniſhed *Clodius* with freſh matter for declaiming againſt *Cicero*, whom *he charged with ingratitude towards the Senate, which had always been firm to him, and which he now deſerted, in order to pay his court to a man who had betrayed him:* Adding, *that he was ſo ſilly as not to know his own ſtrength and credit in the City, and how able he was to maintain his authority without the help of* Pompey. *Cicero* defended himſelf by ſaying,

Y. R. 695. Bef. Chr. 56. 39 Conſ.

Middl. p. 407, 408.

Pro Dom. 3 & 7.

Ibid. 7.

Ad Att. iv. 1.

Ibid.

* Pro Dom. 4. Ad Att. iv. 1. Pro Dom. 4.

Ibid. 2.

Ibid. 11.

[c] Veni expectatus multis jam ſententiis dictis, rogatus ſum ſententiam; dixi Reipub. ſaluberrimam, *mihi neceſſariam.*

Y.R.696. Bef. Chr. 56. 395 Conſ.

"That they muſt not expect, now that he was reſtored, to deceive him by "the ſame arts whereby they had ruined him before, raiſing jealouſies "between him and *Pompey*; that he had ſmarted for it too ſeverely already, "to be caught again in the ſame ſnare; that in decreeing this commiſſion "to *Pompey*, he had diſcharged both his private obligation to a friend, and "his public duty to the State; *that thoſe who grudged all extraordinary "power to* Pompey, *muſt grudge the victories, the triumphs, the acceſſion of "dominion and revenue, which their former grants of this ſort had procured "to the empire; that the ſucceſs of thoſe ſhewed what fruit they were to ex-"pect from this* [d]."

Pro Dom. 8.

Ad Att. iv. 1.

How extenſive an authority ſoever this law conferred on *Pompey*, he, or his creatures, were not ſatisfied with it; for *Meſſius*, one of the Tribunes, propoſed another, to give him the additional power of raiſing what money, fleets, and armies he thought fit; with a greater command through all the provinces than their proper governors had in each. "*Our Conſular Law*, "ſays *Cicero*, *now ſeems modeſt; that of* Meſſius *inſufferable:* Pompey *declares "for the firſt; all his dependants are for the ſecond. The Conſulars exclaim "with indignation againſt it: I hold my peace; and the rather as the Ponti-"fices have decreed nothing yet concerning my houſe* [e]."

Crevier. Tom. xii.

Cicero does not tell us which of the two laws paſſed: But *Dio*, in comparing the command which was given to *Pompey* on this occaſion, with that which he had in the war againſt the pirates, gives us reaſon to believe that it was the law of *Meſſius*.

Midd. 410. Ad. Att. iv. 2.

Pompey named *Cicero* for his firſt Lieutenant, declaring that he ſhould conſider him as a ſecond ſelf, and act nothing without his advice. *Cicero* accepted the employment, on condition that he might be at liberty to uſe or reſign it at pleaſure, as he found it convenient to his affairs: And he ſoon after quitted it to his brother, and choſe to continue in the City, where he had the pleaſure to ſee the end of his law effectually anſwered; for the credit of *Pompey*'s name immediately reduced the price of proviſions in the market; and his vigour and diligence in proſecuting the affair eſtabliſhed at length a general plenty.

Plut. in Pomp.

Cicero was reſtored to his former dignity, but not to his former fortunes, nor was any ſatisfaction yet made to him for the ruin of his houſes and eſtates: A full reſtitution indeed had been decreed, but was reſerved to his return; which came now before the Senate to be conſidered and ſettled by public authority, where it met ſtill with great obſtruction. The chief difficulty was about his *Palatin Houſe*, which he valued above all the reſt, and which *Clodius* for that reaſon had contrived to alienate, as he hoped, irretrievably, by demoliſhing the fabric, *and dedicating a Temple upon the area to the goddeſs* LIBERTY; where, to make his work

[d] Certainly this is not the language of a true Republican.

[e] —— Nos tacemus; et eo magis, quod de domo noſtra nihil adhuc Pontifices reſponderunt. *Ad. Att.* iv. 1.

the more complete, he pulled down alſo the adjoining *portico of* Catulus [f], that he might build it up anew, of the ſame order with the Temple; and by blending the public with private property, and *conſecrating the whole to religion*, might make it impoſſible to ſeparate or reſtore any part to *Cicero*; ſince a conſecration, legally performed, made the thing conſecrated unapplicable ever after to any private uſe. Y. R. 696. Bef. Chr. 56. 395 Conſ.

The affair was to be determined by the college of Prieſts, who were the judges in all caſes relating to religion: For the Senate could only make a proviſional decree, *that, if the Prieſts diſcharged the ground from the ſervice of religion, then the Conſuls ſhould take an eſtimate of the damage, and make a contract for rebuilding the whole at the public charge, ſo as to reſtore it to* Cicero *in the condition in which he left it.* The *Prieſts* therefore of all orders were called together *on the laſt of September*, to hear this cauſe, which *Cicero* pleaded in perſon before them: They were men of the firſt dignity and families in the Republic; and there never was, as *Cicero* tells us, ſo full an appearance of them in any cauſe ſince the foundation of the City: He reckons up nineteen by name, a great part of whom were of Conſular rank.——The queſtion on which the cauſe ſingly turned, *was about the efficacy of the pretended conſecration of the houſe, and the dedication of the Temple:* To ſhew the nullity therefore of this act, he endeavours to overthrow the foundation of it, "and prove *Clodius*'s "Tribunate to be originally null and void from the *invalidity of his adop-* "*tion*, none of the conditions of a regular and legal adoption having been "obſerved in his caſe——that, if the *adoption* was regular and illegal, the "*Tribunate* muſt needs be ſo too, which was entirely built upon it: But "granting the Tribunate to be valid, becauſe ſome eminent men would "have it ſo, yet the act made afterwards for his baniſhment could not "poſſibly be conſidered as a law, but as a *privilege* only made againſt "a particular perſon; which the ſacred laws and the laws of the Twelve "Tables had utterly prohibited.———When he comes to ſpeak of the "dedication of the Temple, he obſerves that the Goddeſs LIBERTY, to "which it was dedicated, was the known ſtatue of a celebrated ſtrumpet, "which *Appius* brought from *Greece* for the ornament of the Ædileſhip: "And, upon dropping the thoughts of that Magiſtracy, gave it his bro- "ther *Clodius* to be advanced into a Deity: That the ceremony was "performed without any licence, or judgment obtained from the college "of Prieſts, by the ſingle miniſtry of a raw young man, the brother-in- "law of *Clodius*, who had been made Prieſt but a few days before; a "meer novice in his buſineſs, and forced into the ſervice: But if all had "been tranſacted regularly, and in due form, that it could not poſſibly "have any force, as being contrary to the ſtanding laws of the Republic:

Midd. p. 411. Ad Att. iv. 1.

Del Haruſp. Reſp. 6, 7. Midd. p. 412.

Pro Dom. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. Vid. ſupr. p. 434. Midd. p. 413. De Leg. iii. 18. Vid. ſupra, p. 435. Midd. p. 415.

Pro Dom. 37, 38, 43, 45, 49, 54, 55.

[f] This portico was built on the ſpot where *Fulvius Flaccus* formerly lived, whoſe houſe was publicly demoliſhed for the ſuppoſed treaſon of its maſter. Vid. Vol. II. Y. of R. 632. Pro Dom 38.

V.R. 696. Bef. Chr. 56. 395 Conſ.

" For there was an old Tribunician law, made by *Q. Papirius*, which " prohibited the conſecration of houſes, lands, or altars, without the ex- " preſs command of the People; which was not obtained, nor even pre- " tended, in the preſent caſe: That great regard had always been paid to " this law in ſeveral inſtances of the graveſt kind," which he cited, and

Midd. p. 416.

then proceeded—" that, after all this, it was to no purpoſe to mention, " that the dedication was not performed with any of the ſolemn words " and rites which ſuch a function required; but by the ignorant young " man before-mentioned, without the help of his collegues, his books, or " any to prompt him: Eſpecially when *Clodius*, who directed him, that " impure enemy of all religion, who often acted the woman among " men, as well as the man among women, huddled over the whole cere- " mony in a blundering precipitate manner, faultering and confounded in " mind, voice and ſpeech; often recalling himſelf, doubting, fearing, he- " ſitating, and performing every thing quite contrary to what the ſacred " books preſcribed: Nor is it ſtrange," ſays he, " that, in an act ſo mad " and villainous, his audaciouſneſs could not get the better of his fears:

Ibid. 417.

" For what pirate, though never ſo barbarous, after he had been plun- " dering temples, when, pricked by a dream or ſcruple of religion, he " came to conſecrate ſome altar on a deſert ſhore, was not terrified in his " mind, on being forced to appeaſe that Deity by his prayers whom he " had provoked by his ſacrilege? In what horrors then, think you, muſt " this man needs be, the plunderer of all temples, houſes, and the whole " City, when, for the expiation of ſo many impieties, he was wickedly " conſecrating one ſingle altar?" Then [for *to ſwear falſely* was, by ha-

*Vid. ſupr. p. 437.

bitude, become eaſy to the Orator *] he makes a ſolemn invocation and appeal to all the Gods, who peculiarly favoured and protected that City, to bear witneſs to the integrity of his zeal and love to the Republic, and *that, in all his labours and ſtruggles, he had conſtantly preferred the public benefit to his own*; and concludes with *committing the juſtice of his cauſe to the judgment of the venerable bench.*——

Ad Att. iv. 2.

The ſentence of the Prieſts turned wholly on what *Cicero* had alleged about the force of the *Papirian law*, viz. *that if he, who performed the office of conſecration, had not been ſpecially authoriſed and perſonally appointed to it by the People, then the area in queſtion might, without any ſcruple of religion, be reſtored to* Cicero. This, though it ſeemed ſomewhat evaſive, was ſufficient for *Cicero*'s purpoſe; and *his friends congratulated him upon it, as upon a clear victory*; while *Clodius* interpreted it ſtill in favour of himſelf; and, being produced into the *Roſtra* by his brother *Appius*,

Midd. 418, 419.

acquainted the People, *that the Prieſts had given judgment for him*; *but that* Cicero *was preparing to recover poſſeſſion by force, and exhorted them therefore to follow him and* Appius *in the defence of their liberties.* But his ſpeech made no impreſſion on the audience; *ſome wondered at his impudence, others laughed at his folly, and* Cicero *reſolved not to trouble himſelf*

himſelf or the People about it till the Conſuls, by a decree of the Senate, had contracted for rebuilding the portico of Catulus. Y. R. 696.

The Senate met the next day, in a full Houſe, to put an end to this affair; when *Marcellinus*, one of the *Conſuls elect*, being called upon to ſpeak firſt, addreſſed himſelf to the Prieſts, and *deſired them to give an account of the grounds and meaning of their ſentence:* Upon which, *Marcus Lucullus*[s], in the name of the reſt, declared, *that the Prieſts indeed were the judges of religion, but the Senate of the law; that they therefore had determined only what related to the point of religion, and left it to the Senate to determine whether any obſtacle remained in point of law:* All the other Prieſts ſpoke largely after him in favour of *Cicero*'s cauſe: When *Clodius* roſe afterwards to ſpeak, he endeavoured to waſte the time ſo as to hinder their coming to any reſolution that day; but, after he had been ſpeaking *for three hours* ſucceſſively, the Aſſembly grew ſo impatient, and made ſuch a noiſe and hiſſing, that he was forced to give over: Yet, when they were going to paſs a decree in the words of *Marcellinus*, *Serranus* put his negative upon it: This raiſed an univerſal indignation; and a freſh debate began, at the motion of the two Conſuls, *on the merit of the Tribune's interceſſion*; when, after many warm ſpeeches, they came to the following vote; "That it was the reſolution of the Senate, that *Cicero*'s "houſe ſhould be reſtored to him, and *Catulus*'s portico rebuilt, as it had "been before; and that this vote ſhould be defended by all the Magiſtrates; "and if any violence or obſtruction was offered to it, that the Senate would "look upon it as offered by him who had interpoſed his negative." This ſtaggered *Serranus*, and the late farce was played over again; his father threw himſelf at his feet, to beg him to deſiſt; he deſired a night's time; which at firſt was refuſed, but, on *Cicero*'s requeſt, granted; and the next day he revoked his negative, and without farther oppoſition, ſuffered the Senate to paſs a decree, that *Cicero*'s damage ſhould be made good to him, and his houſes rebuilt at the public charge. Ad Att. iv. 2.

The Conſuls began preſently to put the decree in execution; and having contracted for the rebuilding *Catulus*'s *portico*, ſet men to work *upon clearing the ground, and demoliſhing what had been built by* Clodius: But as to *Cicero*'s buildings, it was agreed to take an eſtimate of his damage, and pay the amount of it to himſelf, to be laid out according to his own fancy: In which *his Palatin houſe was valued at ſixteen thouſand pounds; his Tuſculan at four thouſand; his Formian only at two thouſand.* This was a very deficient valuation; for the Palatin houſe had coſt him not long before near twice that ſum: But *Cicero* reſolved to appear ſatisfied with the award, becauſe he perceived, or Ibid.

s The famous *Lucius Lucullus* died this year. He had fallen mad ſome ſhort time before; but it is not known whether it was a natural diſeaſe, or the effect of ſome liquor given him by one of his freedmen. *Plut. in Luc.*

Y.R. 696. Bef. Chr. 56. 395 Conf.

imagined, *that thoſe who had clipt his wings had no mind to let them grow again* [h].

But, though *Cicero* acquieſced in the low valuation of his houſes, he could not reſt till he had deſtroyed all the public monuments of his late diſgrace. It was inſufferable, that the law of his exile ſhould remain, with the other acts of *Clodius*'s Tribunate, hanging up in the Capitol, engraved, as uſual, on tables of braſs: Watching therefore the opportunity of *Clodius*'s abſence, he went to the Capitol with a ſtrong body of friends, and, taking the tables down, conveyed them to his own houſe. This occaſioned a ſharp conteſt in the Senate between him and *Clodius* about the validity of thoſe acts; and drew *Cato* alſo into the debate; who, without defending the man, defended the legality of his Tribunate, and of his acts in that Magiſtracy: For otherwiſe his own *Cyprian* commiſſion muſt be deemed null, and all he did in virtue of it as done without authority. This created a coldneſs between the two Patriots. *Dio* ſpeaks of a prior attempt by *Cicero* to take away the regiſters, which was defeated by *Clodius*, aſſiſted by his brother *Caius*, then *Prætor*: And that hiſtorian ſpeaks of both attempts as made in the Conſulſhip of *Marcellinus* and *Philippus*, (Y. of R. 697.) when *P. Clodius* was *Ædile*. But *Dio*'s authority is not deciſive for the *order* of events; and it is more likely that *Cicero*, intoxicated with his proſperity, ſhould venture to do this *illegal riotous* act before the two brothers entered on their Magiſtracies, than when they were in office. Be that as it will, it is no wonder that *Clodius*'s fury, when thus provoked, carried him to thoſe acts of vengeful violence which are going to be related.

Plut. in Cic. Dio, 100.

Midd. 422, 423, 424. Ad Att. iv. 3.

Catulus's *portico* and *Cicero*'s houſe were riſing again apace, and carried up almoſt to the roof; when *Clodius*, without any warning, led thither, *on the ſecond of* November, *a band of armed men, who demoliſhed the portico, drove the workmen out of* Cicero's *ground, and, with the ſtones and rubbiſh of the place, began to batter* Quintus's *houſe, with whom* Cicero *then lived, and at laſt ſet fire to it*; ſo that the two brothers, with their families, to ſave themſelves, were forced to fly in the utmoſt haſte. *Milo* had already accuſed *Clodius* for his former violences, and reſolved, if poſſible, to bring him to juſtice: *Clodius*, on the other hand, was ſuing for the *Ædileſhip*, to ſecure himſelf, for one year more at leaſt, from any proſecution: He was ſure of being condemned, if ever he was brought to a trial; ſo that whatever miſchief he did in the mean time was all clear gain, and could not make his cauſe the worſe: He now therefore gave a free courſe to his natural fury; was perpetually ſcouring the ſtreets with his incendiaries, and threatened fire and ſword to the City itſelf, if an Aſſembly was

[h] Iidem, mi *Pomponi*, iidem, inquam, illi, qui mihi pennas inciderunt, nolunt eaſdem renaſci——*Ad Att.* iv. 2.

It appears, by Ep. ii. Lib. ii. ad Q. Fr. that thoſe of whom *Cicero* here complains were *Pompey* and *Lentulus*, the perſons who had been moſt inſtrumental in his reſtoration.

not

not called for the election of *Ædiles*. In this humour, about a week after his laſt outrage, on the eleventh of *November*, happening to meet with *Cicero* in *the ſacred ſtreet*, he preſently aſſaulted him *with ſtones, clubs, and drawn ſwords: Cicero* was not prepared for the encounter, and took refuge in the veſtibule of the next houſe; where his attendants, rallying in his defence, beat off the aſſailants, and could eaſily have killed their leader, but that *Cicero was willing*, he ſays, to *cure by diet, rather than ſurgery*[1]. The day following *Clodius* attacked *Milo*'s houſe with ſword in hand and lighted flambeaux, with intent to ſtorm and burn it: But *Milo* was never unprovided for him; and *Q. Flaccus*, ſallying with a ſtrong band of ſtout fellows, killed ſeveral of his men, and would have killed *Clodius* too, if he had not hid himſelf in the inner part of *P. Sylla*'s houſe, which he made uſe of on this occaſion as his fortreſs. Y. R. 696. Bef. Chr. 56. 395 Conſ.

The Senate met, on the fourteenth, to take theſe diſorders into conſideration; *Clodius* did not think fit to appear there; but *Sylla* came, to clear himſelf probably of the ſuſpicion of encouraging him in the violences, on account of the freedom which he had taken with his houſe. Many ſevere ſpeeches were made, and vigorous councils propoſed. *Marcellinus*'s opinion was, that *Clodius* ſhould be impeached anew for theſe laſt outrages; and that no election of Ædiles ſhould be ſuffered till he was brought to a trial: *Milo* declared, that as long as he continued in office, the Conſul *Metellus* ſhould make no election; for he would take the auſpices every

[1] On this paſſage of Dr. *Middleton*'s work the Poet-Laureat (before cited) makes the following remark, "If we had not the evi- "dence of *Cicero*'s own words for this fact, "would it be credible? But *Cicero*'s behavi- "our and ſentiments upon the occaſion are "almoſt as extraordinary: for though his "attendants rallied where he was forced to "take refuge and beat off the aſſailants, and "could eaſily have killed their leader, yet I "was willing, ſays he, to cure by diet rather "than by ſurgery; *i. e.* he rather choſe to "cut him down with a long ſpeech than a "broad ſword.——To be quite grave up- "on the matter, the fact will plainly ſtand "thus: That *Clodius* was as deſperate a ruffi- "an as ever broke the peace upon the high- "way, and *Cicero* was afraid of him.

"This being the wretched ſtate of affairs "in *Rome*, how ſhall we unravel ſo perplexing "a part of our hiſtory? How came this gi- "gantic Republic, theſe formidable *Romans*, "that ſo ſtrongly governed the world, ſo "weakly to govern themſelves? That, with- "out regard to law, juſtice, humanity, or "the public peace, every licentious leader of "a faction might commit whatever conve- "nient outrage his conſcience had a mind to, "without ſhame, puniſhment, or ſcarce pub- "lic notice? Or if any notice at all hap- "pened to be taken of it, that very notice "was more aſtoniſhing than the criminal com- "plained of; for when at laſt (p. 423.) the "Senate were reduced to bear the public "enormities of *Clodius* no longer, they man- "fully met upon it, and many ſevere ſpeeches "were made, and vigorous counſels pro- "poſed; and what was the end of them? "Why, they vigorouſly reſolved to adjourn, "without coming to any reſolution at all in "the matter.——NOW DID NOT THIS "GOVERNMENT WANT A CÆSAR? Yet "theſe were the rough reformers, who have "frequently been applauded for ſacrificing "the firſt *Cæſar* to their precious ſelf-abuſed "liberty; a worſe tyranny than his condemned "ambition ever wiſhed to impoſe upon them, "Yet were they not leſs rationally happy for "forty following years, under their ſecond "abſolute maſter *Auguſtus*——than they "knew how to make themſelves, when inde- "pendent guardians of their native liberty."

ibber, har. and ond. of ic. p. 53.

day,

Y. R. 696. Bef. Chr. 56. 595 Conſ.

day, on which an Aſſembly could be held; but *Metellus* contrived to waſte the day in ſpeaking, ſo that they were forced to break up without making any decree. *Milo* was as good as his word, and, having gathered a ſuperior force, took care to obſtruct the election; though the Conſul *Metellus* employed all his power and art to elude his vigilance, and procure an Aſſembly by ſtratagem; calling it to one place and holding it in another, ſometimes in the field of *Mars*, ſometimes in the Forum; but *Milo* was ever beforehand with him; and, keeping a conſtant guard in the field from midnight to noon, was always at hand to inhibit his proceedings, by *obnouncing*, as it was called, or declaring, that he was *taking the auſpices on that day*; ſo that the three brothers were baffled and diſappointed [k]; though they were perpetually haranguing and labouring to inflame the People againſt thoſe who interrupted their Aſſemblies and right of electing; where *Metellus*'s ſpeeches were turbulent, *Appius*'s raſh, *Clodius*'s furious. *Cicero*, who gives this account to *Atticus*, was of opinion "that there would be no election; and that *Clodius* would be brought "to trial, if he was not firſt killed by *Milo*, which was likely to be his "fate, *Milo*," ſays he, "makes no ſcruple to own it; being not deterred "by my misfortune, and having no envious or perfidious Counſellors "about him, nor any lazy Nobles to diſcourage him. It is commonly "given out by the other ſide, that what he does is all done by my advice; "but they little know how much conduct, as well as courage, there is in "this Hero."

An affair which very much employed the public attention about this time, was the re-eſtabliſhment of *Ptolemy Auletes* [l] on the *Egyptian* throne.

Prideaux, Part II. p. 422.

Before *Pompey* left *Aſia*, there had happened great diſturbances and revolutions in *Egypt*. The *Alexandrians*, weary of *Alexander* their King, roſe in mutiny againſt him, drove him out of the kingdom, and called to the crown *Ptolemy Auletes*, who was a baſtard ſon of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*; for *Lathyrus* left no male iſſue by his wife, but ſeveral by his concubines. *Alexander*, on his expulſion, fled to *Pompey*, offered him great gifts, and promiſed him greater, on condition he would undertake his reſtoration:

Midd. p. 425.

[k] From theſe facts it appears, that what is ſaid above, of *Clodius*'s repealing the *Ælian* and *Fuſian laws*, and prohibiting the Magiſtrates from obſtructing the Aſſemblies of the People, is to be underſtood only in a partial ſenſe; and that his new law extended no farther than to hinder the Magiſtrates from diſſolving an Aſſembly after it was actually convened, and had entered upon buſineſs: For it was ſtill unlawful, we ſee, to convene an Aſſembly while the Magiſtrate was in the act of obſerving the heavens.

Prid.

[l] This *Auletes* had uſed himſelf to play on a flute or pipe, called *Aulos*, and was ſo vain of his ſkill therein, that he would expoſe himſelf to contend for victory in the public ſhews: Hence he had the name of *Auletes*, i. e. *the piper*. And he would often imitate the effeminacies of the Bacchanals, and, in a female dreſs, dance to the ſame meaſures as they; and from hence he was called *Dionyſius Neos*, or the *New Bacchus*. He is reckoned to have as much exceeded all of his race that reigned before him, in the effeminacy of his manners, as his grandfather *Phyſcon* did in the wickedneſs of them.

But

But *Pompey* refuſed to meddle in the matter, it being without the limits of his commiſſion. *Auletes* got poſſeſſion of the throne; but his title being precarious, he found means, by the intereſt of *Cæſar* and *Pompey* in the beginning of the Triumvirate, to be declared an Ally of the *Roman* Republic; for which piece of ſervice they were to receive no leſs than 1,162,500 pounds. Y. R. 696. Vid. ſupr. p. 305, note (t)

While *Cato* was at *Rhodes*, in his way to *Cyprus*, *Auletes* came thither to him. For when the *Alexandrians* heard of the intention of the *Romans* to ſeize *Cyprus*, they preſſed *Auletes* to demand the reſtoration of that iſland to *Egypt*, as being an ancient appendage of the kingdom; or, in caſe of denial, to declare war againſt them. *Auletes* refuſed to do either; and this refuſal, joined with what they had ſuffered from him by his exactions, in order to raiſe the money with which he had purchaſed the favour of *Pompey* and *Cæſar*; angered them ſo far, that they drove him out of the kingdom, and he was then going to *Rome*, there to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the Senate for his reſtoration. On his coming to *Cato*, and entering into diſcourſe with him about his affairs, *Cato* blamed him for quitting that ſtate of honour and happineſs which he was poſſeſſed of in his kingdom, and thus expoſing himſelf to the diſgrace, trouble, and contempt, which, as an exile, he muſt expect to meet with. And as to the help he expected from *Rome*, he laid before him what great gifts and preſents, for the obtaining of it, would be extorted from him by the great men of that city, whoſe greedy expectations, he freely told him, were ſuch, that, although *Egypt* were to be ſold, the purchaſe-money would not be ſufficient fully to ſatisfy them. And therefore he adviſed him to return again into *Egypt*, and there make up all differences with his people; offering himſelf to go with him to help him herein. *Ptolemy* at firſt approved of the advice, and reſolved to be guided by it; but, being afterwards diſſuaded from it by thoſe about him, he went forward to *Rome*, where he ſoon found, by full experience, all to be true that *Cato* had told him [m]. Prideaux, 450. Plut. in Cat. Dio, l. xxxix.

[m] The *Alexandrians*, after *Auletes*'s departure, not knowing what was become of him, placed *Berenice*, his daughter, on the throne, for his two ſons were yet very young, which made them prefer her. They ſent an embaſſy into *Syria*, to *Antiochus Aſiaticus*, who by his mother *Selene*, was the next male heir of the family, to invite him to come into *Egypt*, and there marry *Berenice*, and reign with her; but the Ambaſſadors on their arrival in *Syria*, found him juſt dead. Prid. p. 450 & 451. Dio, lib. xxxix. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796. Porphyr. in Græc. Euſeb. Scalig.

Underſtanding that *Seleucus Cibioſactes*, his brother, was ſtill living, they ſent an embaſſy to him with the ſame propoſal, which he readily accepted of. *Gabinius* (who was now come into his province) at firſt hindered his going; however, either with or without the conſent of the Proconſul, he afterwards went; but, being a very ſordid and baſe ſpirited man (of which he had given a ſpecial inſtance in robbing the ſepulchre of *Alexander* of the golden caſe in which his body was depoſited) *Berenice* ſoon grew weary of him, and cauſed him to be ſtrangled, and ſhe afterwards married *Archelaus*, high-prieſt of the *Moon*, the great goddeſs of the *Comanians* in *Pontus*: he was the ſon of that *Archelaus* who had the chief command of *Mithridates*'s forces in *Greece*, during his firſt war with the *Romans*; but after that, falling into diſgrace with his maſter, fled to them. Suet. in Veſp. Strabo, l. xvii. Ibid. l. xii. p. 558. Plut. in Syll.

When

Y. R. 696. Bef. Chr. 56. 395 Conf.

When the *Alexandrians* learnt that *Ptolemy* was at *Rome*, they ſent thither a numerous embaſſy, compoſed of a hundred of their principal Citizens, to plead their cauſe before the Senate; but the King, having notice of this deputation, procured ſome of them to be aſſaſſinated on the road, others as ſoon as they arrived at *Rome*; and others he ſilenced by proper applications to their fears and their avarice. The Senate ordered, that *Dio*, the chief of the embaſſy, an Academic philoſopher, ſhould be called and heard. But this *Dio* was ſoon after aſſaſſinated; and *Ptolemy*'s money, aided by the power of *Pompey*, who lodged the King in his own houſe, and openly protected him, ſtifled this odious affair almoſt intirely. Some perſons indeed were brought to a trial, as having been concerned in the aſſaſſination of *Dio*; and this was one of the chief articles of accuſation againſt *Cælius*, whom *Cicero* defended the year following. Theſe murders, and the notion of the King's having bribed all the Magiſtrates, had raiſed ſo general an averſion to him among the People, that he found it adviſable to quit the City, and leave the management of his intereſt to his agents. The Conſul *Lentulus*, who had obtained the provinces of *Cilicia* and *Cyprus*, whither he was preparing to ſet forward, was very deſirous of the commiſſion *of replacing him on his throne*; for which he had already procured *a vote of the Senate:* The opportunity of a command, almoſt in ſight of *Egypt*, made him generally thought to have the beſt pretenſions to that charge; and he was aſſured of *Cicero*'s warm aſſiſtance in ſoliciting the confirmation of it.

Midd. p. 427.

In this ſituation of affairs, the new Tribunes entered into their office: *Caius Cato*, of the ſame family with his name-ſake *Marcus*, was one of the number; a bold, turbulent man, of no temper or prudence [n]; yet a tolerable ſpeaker, and generally on the ſide of the Senate.

He opened his Magiſtracy by declaring loudly againſt King *Ptolemy*, and all who favoured him; eſpecially *Lentulus*, whom he ſuppoſed to be under ſome private engagement with him, and for that reaſon was determined to baffle all their ſchemes.

The Senate (as has been juſt mentioned) had granted to *Lentulus* the commiſſion for reſtoring the King; yet it would ſeem that *Pompey* was intriguing to get it for himſelf. An accident which happened at this time, threw an obſtacle in the way of their ambition. The ſtatue of *Jupiter* on Mount *Alba* having been ſtruck by thunder, the books of the Sibyls were conſulted; and there it was read, *If the King of* Egypt *comes to deſire your help, deny him not your friendſhip; but aid him not with your forces; if you do, you ſhall have trouble and danger.* This Oracle, ſo pat to the purpoſe, left no room to doubt of its being forged; but *Cato*,

Midd. p. 430.

Ad. Quint. Fr. 1, 2.

[n] Before he had borne any public office, he attempted to impeach *Gabinius of bribery and corruption; but not being able to get an audience of the Prætors, he had the hardineſs to mount the Roſtra*, which was never allowed to a private Citizen, and, in a ſpeech to the People, *declared* Pompey *Dictator:* But his preſumption had like to have coſt him dear; for it raiſed ſuch an indignation in the audience, *that he had much difficulty to eſcape with his life.*

who

who was fiercely zealous against reſtoring the King by any means, and had the greater part of the Senate on his ſide, called up the guardians of the books into the *Roſtra*, to teſtify the paſſage to be genuine. To the People it was publicly read and explained; and then laid before the Senate, who greedily received it; and after a grave debate on this ſcruple of religion, came to a reſolution, *that it ſeemed dangerous to the Republic to reſtore the King by a multitude.* It cannot be imagined, that they laid any real ſtreſs on this admonition of the Sibyl; but it was a fair pretext for defeating a project generally diſliked: They were unwilling to gratify any man's ambition of viſiting the rich country of *Egypt* at the head of an army; and were perſuaded, that, without an army, no man would be ſolicitous about going thither. Y. R. 696. Bef. Chr. 56. 395 Conſ. Ad Quint. Fr. i. 2. Ep. Fam. i. 4.

Lupus, likewiſe, one of *C. Cato*'s Collegues, ſummoned the Senate, and raiſed an expectation of ſome uncommon propoſal from him: It was indeed of an extraordinary nature; *to reviſe and annul that famed act of* Cæſar's *Conſulſhip, for the diviſion of the* Campanian *lands: He ſpoke long upon it, and was heard with much attention*; *gave great praiſes to* Cicero, *with ſevere reflections on* Cæſar, *and expoſtulations with* Pompey, who was now abroad in the execution of his late commiſſion; in the concluſion he told them, *that he would not demand the opinions of the particular Senators, becauſe he had no mind to expoſe them to the reſentment and animoſity of any*; *but from the ill humour, which he remembered, when that act firſt paſſed, and the favour with which he was now heard, he could eaſily collect the ſenſe of the Houſe.* Upon which *Marcellinus* ſaid, *that he muſt not conclude from their ſilence, either what they liked or diſliked: That, for his own part, and he might anſwer too, he believed, for the reſt, he choſe to ſay nothing on the ſubject at preſent, becauſe he thought that the cauſe of the* Campanian *lands ought not to be brought into debate in* Pompey's *abſence.* Midd. 248. Ad Quint. Fr. ii. 1

This affair being dropt, *Racilius*, another Tribune, roſe up and renewed the debate about *Milo*'s *impeachment* of *Clodius*, and called upon *Marcellinus*, the Conſul elect, to give his opinion upon it; who, after inveighing againſt all the violences of *Clodius*, propoſed, *that, in the firſt place, an allotment of Judges ſhould be made for the trial*; *and after that, the election of Ædiles*; *and if any one attempted to hinder the trial, that he ſhould be deemed a public enemy.* The other Conſul elect, *Philippus*, was of the ſame mind; but the Tribunes, *C. Cato* and *Caſſius*, ſpoke againſt it, and *were for proceeding to an election before any ſtep towards a trial.* When *Cicero* was called upon to ſpeak, *he ran through the whole ſeries of* Clodius's *extravagancies, as if he had been accuſing him already at the bar, to the great ſatisfaction of the Aſſembly*; *Antiſtius*, the Tribune, ſeconded him, and declared, *that no buſineſs ſhould be done before the trial*; and when the Houſe was going univerſally into that opinion, *Clodius began to ſpeak, with intent to waſte the reſt of the day*; *while his ſlaves and followers without, who had ſeized the ſteps and avenues of the Senate, raiſed ſo great a noiſe of a ſudden,* Ibid.

Y. R. 696. Bef. Chr. 56. 395 Conf. *in abuſing ſome of* Milo's *friends, that the Senate broke up in no ſmall hurry, and with freſh indignation at this new inſult.*

There was no more buſineſs done through the remaining part of *December*, which was taken up with holidays. *Lentulus* and *Metellus*, whoſe Conſulſhip expired with the year, ſet forward for their ſeveral governments; the one for *Cilicia*, the other for *Spain*: *Lentulus* committed the whole direction of his affairs to *Cicero*; and *Metellus*, unwilling to leave him his enemy, made up all matters with him before his departure, and wrote an affectionate letter to him afterwards from *Spain*.

Ep. Fam.

CHAP. III.

Debates and conteſts in the Senate about reſtoring King PTOLEMY.

CLODIUS *is choſen Ædile. He impeaches* MILO. POMPEY *pleads* MILO's *cauſe.* CLODIUS *turns the fury of his anger againſt* POMPEY. *Civil feuds and conflicts enſue.*

CICERO *defends* SEXTIUS, *inveighs againſt* VATINIUS, *and moves to have* CÆSAR's Act *relating to the* Campanian lands *reconſidered; but ſoon deſiſts from this purſuit. The Senate refuſes to decree a* Thankſgiving *for a victory obtained by* GABINIUS *in* Judæa. *Prodigies are reported to have happened: Various interpretations of them.* PISO *is recalled from his government of* Macedonia. CÆSAR *is continued in his command in* Gaul. *He comes to* Luca: POMPEY *and* CRASSUS *meet him there. The Tribune* CATO *hinders the proceeding to an election of new Conſuls. The government falls into an* Interregnum.

Y. R. 697. Bef. Chr. 55. 396 Conf.

IN the beginning of the new year, when the Conſular faſces were tranſferred to *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus*, and *L. Marcius Philippus*, the queſtion concerning *the perſons, by whom, and the manner, in which*, King *Ptolemy ſhould be replaced* on the throne of *Ægypt*, came under deliberation. *Cicero*'s letters to his friend *Publius Lentulus Spinther* (who had the beſt claim to the commiſſion, and was Proconſul of *Cilicia*) being almoſt wholly *narrative* of what paſſed at *Rome* in relation to that affair, will probably be more ſatisfactory to the Reader, than any abridgment of the matter therein contained could be; eſpecially as we have ſo good a tranſlation of thoſe letters into our language.

To *Publius Lentulus* Proconſul.

Ep. Fam. l. 1. Ep. 1. Ed. Græv. b. 1. let. 12. Melmoth.

"I find it much eaſier to ſatisfy the world than myſelf, in thoſe ſacred "offices of friendſhip I exert in your behalf. Numberleſs indeed are the "obligations you have conferred upon me: And as you perſevered with

" unwearied zeal till you had affected my recall from exile, I eſteem it Y. R. 697.
" the greateſt mortification of my life, that I cannot act in your affairs Bef. Chr.
" with the ſame ſucceſs. The truth is, *Ammonius*, who reſides here 55.
" as Ambaſſador from *Ptolemy*, defeats all my ſchemes, by the moſt 396 Conſ.
" ſhameleſs and avowed bribery: And he is ſupplied with money for
" this purpoſe, from the ſame quarter as when you were in *Rome*. The
" party in the King's intereſt (though their number, it muſt be owned,
" is inconſiderable) are all deſirous that *Pompey* may be employed to
" re-inſtate him in his dominions. The Senate, on the other hand, fall
" in with the pretended Oracle; not indeed as giving any credit to its
" predictions, but as being in general ill-inclined to this Prince, and
" deteſting his moſt corrupt practices. In the mean while, I omit no
" opportunity of admoniſhing *Pompey* with great freedom, and conjuring
" him not to act ſuch a part in this affair as would caſt the deepeſt ſtain
" upon his character. I muſt do him the juſtice at the ſame time to
" acknowledge, that ſo far as his own conduct is concerned, there does
" not appear the leaſt foundation for any remonſtrances of this ſort. On
" the contrary, he is perpetually expreſſing the higheſt zeal for your
" intereſt: As he lately ſupported it in the Senate, with the utmoſt force
" of eloquence, and the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of friendſhip. *Marcelli-*
" *nus* [a], I need not tell you, is a good deal diſpleaſed at your ſoliciting
" this commiſſion: In all other reſpects, I dare venture to ſay, he will
" very ſtrenuouſly promote your intereſt. We muſt be contented to take
" him in his own way: For I perceive it is impoſſible to diſſuade him
" from propoſing, that the injunction of the Oracle ſhall be complied
" with: And, in fact, he had already made ſeveral motions to that
" purpoſe.

" I write this early *on the thirteenth*, and I will now give you an
" account of what has hitherto paſſed in the Senate. Both *Hortenſius*
" and *Lucullus* agreed in moving, that the prohibition of the Oracle
" ſhould be obeyed: And indeed it does not ſeem poſſible to bring this
" matter to bear upon any other terms. But we propoſed, at the ſame time,
" that, in purſuance of the decree, which was made on your own motion,
" you be appointed to re-eſtabliſh *Ptolemy* in his kingdom; the ſituation
" of your province lying ſo conveniently for that purpoſe. In a word,
" we conſented that army ſhould be given up, in deference to the Oracle;
" but inſiſted nevertheleſs, that you ſhould be employed in effecting
" this reſtoration. *Craſſus*, on the other ſide, was for having this com-
" miſſion executed by three perſons, to be choſen from among the Gene-
" rals: And, conſequently, he did not mean to exclude *Pompey*. *Marcus*
" *Bibulus* joined with him as to the number; but thought, that the per-
" ſons to be nominated ſhould not bear any military command. All the
" reſt of the Conſulars were in the ſame ſentiments, except *Servilius*

[a] One of the preſent Conſuls.

Y. R. 697. "*Afranius* and *Volcatius*. The firſt abſolutely oppoſed our engaging
"in *Ptolemy*'s reſtoration upon any terms whatſoever: But the two
Vid. infra. "laſt were of opinion, that, agreeable to the motion of *Lupus*, this
p. 477. "commiſſion ſhould be given to *Pompey*. This circumſtance has in-
"creaſed the ſuſpicion concerning the real inclination of the latter: As
"his moſt particular friends were obſerved to concur with *Volcatius*,
"they are labouring this point with great aſſiduity: And, I fear, it will
"be carried againſt us. *Libo* and *Hypſæus* are openly ſoliciting for
"*Pompey*: And, indeed, the conduct of all his friends at this juncture
"make it generally believed, that he is deſirous of the office. Yet the
"misfortune is, thoſe who are unwilling it ſhould fall into his hands, are
"not the more inclined to place it in yours: As they are much diſpleaſed
"at your having contributed to the late advancement of his power [b].
"For myſelf, I find I have the leſs influence in your cauſe, as it is ſup-
"poſed I am ſolely governed by a principle of gratitude: At the ſame
"time, the notion which prevails, that this affair affords an opportunity
"of obliging *Pompey*, renders my applications likewiſe not altogether ſo
"effectual as they might otherwiſe prove. It is thus I am labouring in this
"perplexed buſineſs: Which the King himſelf, long before you left
"*Rome*, as well as the friends and dependants of *Pompey*, had artfully
"embarraſſed. To this I muſt add the avowed oppoſition I meet with
"from the *Conſulars*; who repreſent our aſſiſting *Ptolemy* with an army, as
"a meaſure that would highly reflect upon the dignity of the Senate: be
"aſſured, however, I ſhall employ every means in my power of teſtifying
"both to the world in general, and to your friends in particular, the ſin-
"cerity of that affection I bear you. And were there any honour in thoſe
"who ought to have ſhewn themſelves influenced by its higheſt and moſt
"refined principles, I ſhould not have ſo many difficulties to encounter.
"Farewell."

To the ſame.

Lib. i. Ep. 2. Ed. Græv. B. i. Let. 14. Melm. "The Senate met *on the thirteenth of January*, but came to no reſo-
"lution; the greateſt part of that day having been ſpent in ſome warm
"conteſts which aroſe between *Marcellinus* the Conſul, and *Caninius*,
"one of the Tribunes of the People. I had myſelf alſo a very conſider-
"able ſhare in the debates: And I repreſented the zeal you have always
"ſhewn towards the Senate, in terms that influenced them, I am per-
"ſuaded, much to your advantage. The next day, therefore, we thought
"it ſufficient briefly to deliver our opinions: as I perceived, not only by
"the favourable manner in which I was heard the day before, but alſo
"by enquiring into the ſentiments of each particular member, that the

[b] *Lentulus*, during his Conſulate, had propoſed and carried that law, which, that *Pompey* might provide corn in a time of ſcarcity, inveſted him with the whole power of the *Roman* empire.

"majority

" majority was clearly on our ſide. The buſineſs of the day opened with Y. R. 697.
" reporting to the houſe the ſeveral opinions of *Bibulus*, *Hortenſius*, and Bef. Chr.
" *Volcatius*. The reſpective queſtions, therefore, were, 55.
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" 'In the firſt place, whether three commiſſioners ſhould be nominated for
" reſtoring the King, agreeable to the ſentiments of *Bibulus?*

" In the next, whether, according to thoſe of *Hortenſius*, the office
" ſhould be conferred upon you, but without employing any forces?

" Or, laſtly, whether, in conformity to the advice of *Volcatius*, this
" honour ſhould be aſſigned to *Pompey?*

" The points being thus ſtated, it was moved, that the opinion of
" *Bibulus* might be referred to the deliberation of the houſe in two ſepa-
" rate queſtions. Accordingly, as it was now in vain to oppoſe his mo-
" tion ſo far as it related to paying obedience to the declaration of the
" Oracle, the Senate in general came into his ſentiments: But as to his
" propoſal of deputing three commiſſioners, it was rejected by a very conſi-
" derable majority. The opinion next in order was that of *Hortenſius*.
" But, when we were going to divide upon it, *Lupus*, a Tribune of the
" People, inſiſted that in virtue of his office he had the privilege of calling
" to a diviſion of the Houſe, prior to the Conſuls; and therefore demand-
" ed that the voices ſhould be firſt taken upon the motion he had made Vid. ſupra,
" in favour of *Pompey*. This claim was generally and ſtrongly oppoſed: P. 476.
" As indeed it was both unprecedented and unreaſonable. The Conſuls
" themſelves, however, did not greatly conteſt that point: Nor did they
" abſolutely give it up. Their view was to protract the debates: And
" they ſucceeded accordingly. They perceived indeed, that, notwith-
" ſtanding the majority affected to appear on the ſide of *Volcatius*,
" yet, upon a diviſion, they would certainly vote with *Hortenſius*.
" Nevertheleſs, ſeveral of the members were called upon to deliver their
" opinions; though, in truth, much againſt the inclinations of the Con-
" ſuls, who were deſirous that the ſentiments of *Bibulus* ſhould prevail.
" The debates continuing till night, the Senate broke up without coming
" to any reſolution. I happened to paſs the ſame evening with *Pompey:*
" And as I had that day ſupported your cauſe in the Senate with more
" than ordinary ſucceſs, I thought it afforded me the moſt favourable op-
" portunity of ſpeaking to him in your behalf. And what I ſaid, ſeem-
" ed to make ſo ſtrong an impreſſion, that I am perſuaded I have brought
" him wholly over to your intereſt. To ſay the truth, whenever I hear
" him mention this affair himſelf, I entirely acquit him of being ſecretly
" deſirous of this commiſſion. On the other hand, when I obſerve the
" conduct of his friends of every rank, I am well convinced, (and indeed
" it is now evident likewiſe to the whole world) that they have been gain-
" ed by the corrupt meaſures which a certain party, with the conſent of
" *Ptolemy* and his adviſers, have employed.———I write this before ſun-
" riſe *on the 16th of January:* And the Senate is to meet again on

" this

Y. R. 697. Bef. Chr. 55. 396 Conſ.

"this very day. I hope to preſerve my authority in that Aſſembly, as "far at leaſt as is poſſible amidſt ſuch general treachery and corruption "which has diſcovered itſelf upon this occaſion. As to what concerns "the bringing this matter before the People; I think we have taken ſuch "precautions as will render it impracticable, unleſs by actual violence, "and in direct and open contempt both of our civil and religious inſtitu- "tions. For this purpoſe a very ſevere ORDER *of the* SENATE[c] (which I "imagine was immediately tranſmitted to you) was entered yeſterday in "our journals, notwithſtanding the Tribunes, *Cato* and *Caninius*, inter- "poſed their negatives.

"You may depend upon my ſending you a faithful account of every "other occurrence which may ariſe in this affair: And be aſſured I ſhall "exert the utmoſt of my vigilance and my credit, to conduct it in the moſt "advantageous manner for your intereſt. Farewell."

To the ſame.

Lib. i. Ep. 4. Ed. Grav. B. i. Let. 16. Melm.

"When the Senate met *on the ſixteenth of this month*, your affair ſtood "in a very advantageous poſture. We had ſucceeded the day before "againſt the motion of *Bibulus* for appointing three commiſſioners, and "had now only to contend with *Volcatius*; when our adverſaries pre- "vented the queſtion from being put, by artfully protracting the debates: "For, they ſaw we had in a very full Houſe, and amidſt great contrariety "of opinions, carried our point, to the conſiderable mortification of thoſe, "who were for taking the King's affairs out of your direction, and tranſ- "ferring them to another hand. *Curio* oppoſed us upon this occaſion "with great warmth; while *Bibulus* ſpoke with more temper, and indeed "ſeemed almoſt inclined to favour our cauſe. But *Cato* and *Caninius* ab- "ſolutely refuſed to ſuffer any decree to paſs, till a general Aſſembly of "the People ſhould be convened.

"By the *Pupian* law, as you well know, there cannot be another "meeting of the Senate till the *firſt of February*: Nor indeed throughout "that whole month, unleſs all the foreign Ambaſſadors ſhould have re- "ceived, or be refuſed, audience. In the mean while, a motion prevails "among the People, that your adverſaries have inſiſted upon this pretend- "ed Oracle, not ſo much with an intent of obſtructing your particular "views, as in order to diſappoint the hopes of thoſe who may be deſi- "rous of this expedition to *Alexandria*, merely from the ambition of "commanding an army. The whole world is ſenſible indeed of the regard

[c] "When an act paſſed the Senate in a "full Houſe, held according to the pre- "ſcribed forms, and without any oppoſition "from the Tribunes, (who had the privi- "lege of putting a negative upon all pro- "ceedings in the Senate) it was called a *Se- "natus conſultum*, a decree of the Sen.. "But if any of theſe eſſentials were wanting, "or a Tribune interpoſed, it was then only "ſtiled a *Senatus auctoritas*, an order of the "Senate, and conſidered as of leſs authority." *Melm.* from *Manutius.*

"which

" which the Senate has ſhewn to your character: And it is notoriouſly Y. R. 697.
" owing to the artifices of your enemies, that the Houſe did not divide up- Bef. Chr.
" on the queſtion propoſed in your favour. But ſhould the ſame perſons, 55.
" under a pretended zeal for the public (though, in fact, upon the moſt 396. Com.
" infamous motives) attempt to bring this affair before a general Aſſem-
" bly of the People, we have concerted our meaſures ſo well [d], that they
" cannot poſſibly effect their deſign without having recourſe to violence;
" or at leaſt without ſetting the ordinances of our country, both civil and
" religious, at avowed defiance——But—if methods of violence ſhould
" be employed, I cannot pretend, in this general contempt of all legal au-
" thority, to anſwer for the event: In every other reſpect I will venture
" to aſſure you, that both the Senate and the People will pay the higheſt
" attention to your dignity and character. Farewell."

To the ſame. Lib. i. Ep. 5. Ed. Græv. Book i. Let. 17. Melm.

" —— You are ſenſible, as I perceive by your laſt letter, that you
" have been treated with the ſame inſincerity by thoſe who ought to
" have concurred in ſupporting your dignities, as I formerly experienced
" from ſome of my pretended friends, in the affair of my baniſhment.
" Thus, whilſt I was exerting the utmoſt efforts of my vigilance, my
" policy, and my intereſt, in order to ſerve you in the article relating to
" *Ptolemy*, I was unexpectedly alarmed in a point of much more important
" concern, by the infamous law which *Cato* has lately propoſed to your Ad Q. Fr.
" prejudice." [*Caius Cato*, to cut off all hopes at once from *Lentulus* i. 3.
of obtaining this commiſſion, had propoſed a law to the People for re-
calling him from his government.] " Where affairs are thus embroiled,
" every thing is, undoubtedly, to be feared: Yet my principal apprehen-
" ſion, I confeſs, ariſes from the treachery of your falſe friends. But how-
" ever that may be, I am earneſtly endeavouring to counteract the male-
" volent deſigns of *Cato*.

" As to the *Alexandrian* commiſſion, both yourſelf and your friends
" will, I truſt, have abundant reaſon to be ſatisfied with my conduct. But
" at the ſame time I muſt ſay, I greatly fear it will either be taken out of
" your hands, or entirely dropped: And I know not which of theſe al-
" ternatives I ſhould leaſt chuſe."——

To the ſame[e] Lib. i. Ep. 5 Ed. Græv. Book i. Let. 18. Melm.

" You are informed, I imagine, by many hands, of what paſſes here.
" I leave it therefore to your other friends to ſupply you with an account

[d] *i. e.* They had engaged ſome Tribune to ſay *Vito*, or ſome Magiſtrate to *obſerve the Heavens.*

[e] This and the foregoing letter are blended together in the common editions: But they are here ſeparated upon the authority of *Manutius* and *Gronovius.* Melm.

" of

Y. R. 697. Bef. Chr. 55. 936 Conf.

" of our tranſactions, and content myſelf with only ſending you my con-
" jecture. To this end I muſt previouſly acquaint you, that, *on the ſixth*
" *of February*, *Pompey* made a ſpeech in a general Aſſembly of the Peo-
" ple in favour of *Milo*, during which he was inſulted with much clamour
" and abuſe. *Cato* afterwards inveighed in the Senate againſt *Pompey*
" with great acrimony, and was heard with the moſt profound ſilence and
" attention: Both which circumſtances ſeem to have affected him very
" ſenſibly. *Now from hence I ſurmiſe, that he has laid aſide all thoughts*
" *of being employed in the* Alexandrian *expedition. That affair remains as*
" *yet entirely open to us: For the Senate has hitherto determined nothing to*
" *your prejudice but what they are obliged, in deference to the Oracle, to re-*
" *fuſe to every other candidate for this office. It is my preſent hope therefore,*
" *as well as endeavour, that the King may throw himſelf into your hands,*
" *when he ſhall find that he cannot, as he expected, be reſtored by* Pompey;
" *and that, unleſs he is replaced upon the throne by your aſſiſtance, his affair*
" *will be entirely dropped. And this ſtep he will undoubtedly take, if* Pom-
" pey *ſhould give the leaſt intimation of its being agreeable to him. But*
" *I need not tell you the difficulty of diſcovering the ſentiments of a man of*
" *his reſerve.* However, I ſhall omit no method in my power to effect
" this ſcheme; as I ſhall eaſily, I truſt, be able to prevent the injurious
" deſigns of *Cato.*

" I do not find that any of the Conſulars are in your intereſt, except
" *Hortenſius* and *Lucullus:* All the reſt of that rank, either openly, or in
" a more concealed manner, oppoſe your views. Nevertheleſs, my friend,
" be not diſcouraged: On the contrary, let it be ſtill your hope, not-
" withſtanding the attempts of the worthleſs *Cato*, that you will again ſhine
" out in all your former luſtre. Farewell."

L. I. Ep. vi. Ed. Græv. Book I. Let. xix. Melm.

To the ſame.

" You will receive a full account from *Pollio* of all that has been tranſ-
" acted in your affair, as he was not only preſent, but a principal manager.
" *Believe me, I am much concerned at the unfavourable aſpect of this buſineſs.*
" However, it affords me a very ſenſible conſolation, that there is ſtrong
" reaſon to hope the prudence of your friends will be able to elude the
" force of thoſe iniquitous ſchemes which have been projected to your pre-
" judice. Even time itſelf will probably contribute to this end; as it of-
" ten wears out the malevolence of thoſe who either profeſſedly or in a diſ-
" guiſed manner mean one ill."——

Midd. p. 433.

The Senate grew at length ſo weary of this affair, that they reſolved to leave the King to ſhift for himſelf, without interpoſing at all in his reſtoration; and ſo the matter hung; whilſt other affairs more intereſting were daily riſing at home, and engaging the attention of the City.

THE election of *Ædiles*, which had been induſtriouſly poſtponed through all the laſt ſummer, could not eaſily be kept off any longer: The City was impatient for its Magiſtrates, and eſpecially for the plays and ſhews with which they uſed to entertain them; and ſeveral alſo of the new Tribunes being zealous for an election, it was held at laſt *on the twentieth of January*, when *Clodius* was choſen *Ædile* without oppoſition[f]. Y. R. 697. Ad Quint. Frat. ii. 2.

This Magiſtracy, which freed him from all apprehenſion of Judges, and a trial, gave him a great advantage over his antagoniſt *Milo*, who was become a private man. He now accuſed *Milo* of the ſame crime of which *Milo* had accuſed him, *of public violence and breach of the laws, in maintaining a band of gladiators to the terror of the City.* *Milo* made his appearance to this accuſation *on the ſecond of February*, when *Pompey*, *Craſſus*, and *Cicero* appeared with him; and *M. Marcellus*, though *Clodius*'s collegue in the Ædileſhip, ſpoke for *Milo* at *Cicero*'s deſire; and the whole paſſed quietly and favourably for him on that day. The ſecond hearing was appointed *on the ninth*, when *Pompey* undertook to plead his cauſe; but no ſooner ſtood up to ſpeak, than *Clodius*'s mob, *by a continual clamour of reproaches and invectives, endeavoured to hinder him from going on, or at leaſt from being heard:* Yet *Pompey*, with a preſence of mind which, in ſpite of their attempts, commanded ſilence, ſpoke for near three hours. When *Clodius* roſe up to anſwer him, *Milo*'s mob, in their turn, ſo diſturbed and confounded him, that he was not able to ſpeak a Midd. p. 436--440. Ad Q. Fr. ii. 3

[f] It may juſtly ſeem ſtrange (ſays Dr. *Middleton*) how a man ſo profligate and criminal as *Clodius*, whoſe life was a perpetual inſult upon all laws divine and human, ſhould be ſuffered not only to live without puniſhment, but to obtain all the honours of a free City in their proper courſe; and it would be natural to ſuſpect that we had been deceived in our accounts of him by taking them from his enemies, did we not find them too firmly ſupported by facts to be called in queſtion: But a little attention to the particular character of the man, as well as of the times in which he lived, will enable us to ſolve the difficulty. Midd. p. 434.

Firſt, the ſplendor of his family — *Cicero* calls the nobles of this claſs *Prætors and Conſuls elect from their cradles by a kind of hereditary right, whoſe very names were ſufficient to advance them to all the dignities of the ſtate.* [And therefore how worthleſs, how peſtilent ſoever *Clodius* was, he did not fail to be defended and ſupported by the *Honeſt*, the *Optimates*, when his attempts were not againſt the intereſt of their faction.] In Verr. v. 70. Pro Sext. 9.

Secondly, his perſonal qualities were peculiarly adapted to indear him to all the meaner ſort; his bold and ready wit, his talent at haranguing, his profuſe expence, and his purſuing popular meaſures contrary to the maxims of his anceſtors, who had [almoſt] all been ſtern aſſerters of the ariſtocratical power.

Thirdly, the contraſt of oppoſite factions, who had each their ends in ſupporting him.— The Senate particularly, whoſe chief apprehenſions were from the Triumvirate, thought that the raſhneſs of *Clodius* might be of ſome uſe to perplex their meaſures, and ſtir up the People againſt them on proper occaſions; or it humoured their ſpleen at leaſt to ſee him inſulting *Pompey* to his face. Videtis igitur hominem per ſeipſum jam pridem afflictum ac jacentem perniciosis *Optimatium* diſcordiis excitari.—Ne a Republica Reipub. peſtis amoveretur, reſtiterunt; etiam ne cauſam diceret; etiam ne privatus eſſet: Etiamne in ſinu atque in deliciis quidam optimi viri viperam illam venenatam ac peſtiferam habere potuerunt? Quo tandem decepti munere? Volo, inquiunt, eſſe qui in concione detrahat de *Pompeio.*——*De Haruſp. Reſp.* 24.

Y. R. 697. Bef. Chr. 55. Conſ. 396

word; *while a number of epigrams and lampoons upon him and his ſiſter were thrown about, and publicly rehearſed among the multitude below, ſo as to make him quite furious:* Till recollecting himſelf a little, and finding it impoſſible to proceed in his ſpeech, he demanded aloud of his mob, *who it was that attempted to ſtarve them by famine?* To which they preſently cried out, *Pompey:* He then aſked, *who it was that deſired to be ſent into Ægypt? Pompey*, they cried out again. But when he aſked, *who it was that they themſelves had a mind to ſend?* they anſwered, *Craſſus:* For the old jealouſy was now breaking out again between him and *Pompey*; and though he appeared that day on *Milo*'s ſide, yet he was not, as *Cicero* ſays, a real well-wiſher to him.

Theſe warm proceedings among the chiefs brought on a fray below, among their partizans; the *Clodians began the attack, but were repulſed by the* Pompeians; and *Clodius himſelf driven out of the Roſtra: Cicero*, when he ſaw the affair proceed to blows, thought it high time to retreat towards home; but no great harm was done; for *Pompey*, having cleared the Forum of his enemies, preſently drew off his forces, to prevent any farther miſchief or ſcandal on his ſide,

Ad Quint. Fr. ii. 3.

The Senate was preſently ſummoned, to provide ſome remedy for theſe diſorders, where *Pompey*, who had drawn upon himſelf a freſh odium from his behaviour in *the Egyptian affair*, was ſeverely handled by *Bibulus, Curio, Favonius, and others:* Cicero *choſe to be abſent, ſince he muſt either have offended* Pompey, *by ſaying nothing for him, or the* honeſt *party, by defending him.* The ſame debate was carried on for ſeveral days, in which *Pompey* was treated very roughly *by the Tribune* Cato, *who inveighed againſt him with great fierceneſs, and laid open his perfidy to* Cicero, *to whom he paid the higheſt compliments, and was heard with much attention by all* Pompey's *enemies.*

Pompey anſwered him with an unuſual vehemence; and reflecting openly on *Craſſus*, as the author of theſe affronts, declared, he would guard his life with more care than *Scipio Africanus* did, when *Carbo* murdered him[s]. ——Theſe warm expreſſions ſeemed to open a proſpect of ſome great agitation likely to enſue: *Pompey* conſulted *Cicero* on the proper means of his ſecurity; and acquainted him with his apprehenſions *of a deſign againſt his life; that* Cato *was privately ſupported, and* Clodius *furniſhed with money by* Craſſus; and both of them encouraged by *Curio, Bibulus, and the reſt, who envied him; that it was neceſſary for him to look to himſelf, ſince the meaner people were wholly alienated, the nobility and Senate generally diſaffected, and the youth corrupted.*

Cicero readily conſented to join forces with him, *and to ſummon their clients and friends from all parts of* Italy. For, though he had no mind to fight his battles in the Senate, he was deſirous to defend his perſon

[s] *N. B.* That *Scipio* was murdered by *Carbo*, here is no ſhadow of proof. See Vol. II. Book VI. Chap. IX.

from all violence, eſpecially againſt *Craſſus*, whom he never loved: They reſolved likewiſe to oppoſe with united ſtrength all the attempts of *Clodius* and *Cato* againſt *Lentulus* and *Milo*. *Clodius*, on the other hand, was not leſs buſy in muſtering his friends againſt the next hearing of *Milo*'s cauſe But as his ſtrength was much inferior to that of his adverſary, ſo *he had no expectation of getting him condemned, nor any other view but to teize and haraſs him:* For, after two hearings, the affair was put off by ſeveral adjournments *to the beginning of May*; from which time we find no farther mention of it. Y. R. 697. Dio, p. 99.

The Conſul *Marcellinus*, who drew his collegue *Philippus* along with him, was a reſolute oppoſer of *the Triumvirate*, as well as of all the violences of the other Magiſtrates: For which reaſon he reſolved to ſuffer no Aſſemblies of the People, except ſuch as were neceſſary for the elections into the public offices: His view was to prevent *Cato*'s *law for recalling* Lentulus, and *the monſtrous things* (ſo *Cicero* calls them) *which ſome were attempting at this time in favour of* Cæſar. *Cicero* gives him the character of *one of the beſt Conſuls that he had ever known, and blames him only in one thing*; *for treating* Pompey *on all occaſions ſo rudely*; *which made* Cicero *often abſent himſelf from the Senate, to avoid taking part either on the one ſide or the other.* For the ſupport therefore of his DIGNITY and intereſt in the City, he reſumed his old taſk of PLEADING CAUSES[h]; which was always popular and reſpectable, and in which he was ſure to find full employment. His firſt cauſe was the defence of *L. Beſtia on the tenth of February*, who, after the diſgrace of a repulſe from the Prætorſhip in the laſt election, was accuſed *of bribery and corruption in his ſuit for it*; and, notwithſtanding the authority and eloquence of his advocate, was convicted and baniſhed. He was a man extremely corrupt, turbulent, and ſeditious, had always been an enemy to *Cicero*, and ſuppoſed to be deeply engaged in *Catiline*'s plot; and is one inſtance of what *Cicero* ſays, *that he was often forced, againſt his will, to defend certain perſons who had not deſerved it of him, by the interceſſion of thoſe who had.* Ad Q. Fr. ii. 6. Ibid. ii. 3. Ep. Fam. vii. 1.

Cicero was about this time engaged in the defence of *P. Sextius*, the late Tribune, accuſed of *public violence*, or *breach of peace in his Tribunate:* He had been a true friend to *Cicero* in his diſtreſs, and borne a great part in his reſtoration; but fancying himſelf afterwards neglected, or not ſufficiently requited by him, and ſince his return been very cold to him, and even churliſh. But *Cicero*, inſtead of reſenting this, having heard *that* Sextius *was indiſpoſed, went in perſon to his houſe, and cured him of all his jealouſies, by freely offering his aſſiſtance and patronage in pleading his cauſe*; which he managed ſo well, that *Sextius* was acquitted, and in a manner the moſt honourable, *by the unanimous ſuffrages of all the Judges*; *and with an univerſal applauſe of* Cicero's *humanity and gratitude.* Midd. p. 443. Ad Q. Fr. ii. 3. Ibid. 4.

[h] It is very remarkable that *Cicero*, to preſerve his DIGNITY, made himſelf *Advocate-General* for all STATE-FELONS.

Y.R. 697. *Pompey* attended this trial as a friend to *Sextius*; while *Cæſar*'s *creature, Vatinius*, appeared not only as an adverſary, but as *a witneſs againſt him:* Which gave *Cicero* an opportunity of expoſing the whole courſe of his profligate life[i], (as *Sextius* particularly deſired) with all the keenneſs of his raillery, *to the great diverſion of the audience*[k]. *Vatinius* made ſome attempt in his turn to rally *Cicero*, and contemptouſly reproached him *with the baſeneſs of changing ſides, and becoming* Cæſar's *friend, on account of the fortunate ſtate of his affairs.*

Midd. 444.

[For *Cæſar*, being in the career of his victories[l] in *Gaul*, had lately ſent a requeſt to the Sate, "that money might be decreed to him for the "payment of his army; with a power of chuſing ten Lieutenants, for the "better managing of the war, and the conquered provinces." It ſeemed ſtrange, that, after all his conquſts, he ſhould not be able to maintain his army without money from home, at a time when the treaſury was greatly exhauſted: and the renewal of a commiſſion, obtained at firſt by the People's favour, againſt the inclination of the Senate, was of hard digeſtion. But *Cæſar*'s intereſt prevailed, and *Cicero* himſelf was the promoter of it, and procured a decree to his ſatisfaction, yet not without diſguſting the pretended patriots, thoſe counterfeit Republicans, ſcrupulouſly zealous againſt all extraordinary grants: But *Cicero* "alledged the extraordinary "ſervices of *Cæſar*, and that the courſe of his victories ought not to be "checked by the want of neceſſary ſupplies, while he was ſo glorioufly "extending the bounds of the empire, and conquering nations whoſe names "had never been heard before at *Rome:* And though it were poſſible for "him to maintain his troops without their help, by the ſpoils of the ene-"my, yet thoſe ſpoils ought to be reſerved for the ſplendor of his Triumph, "which it was not juſt to defraud by their unſeaſonable parſimony."]

De Prov. Conſ. xii 13.

Midd. 440.

What *Cicero* ſays, he replied to *Vatinius*, will be ſeen in a long letter he wrote two years after this time to *Lentulus Spinther*, which will be inſerted in its proper year, with ſome obſervations upon it.

Midd. 445. In the beginning of *April*, the Senate granted *the ſum of three hundred thouſand pounds to* Pompey, to be laid out *in purchaſing Corn for the uſe of the City*, where there was ſtill a great ſcarcity, and as great at the ſame time of money; ſo that the moving a point ſo tender could not fail of raiſing ſome ill humour in the Aſſembly: when *Cicero*, whoſe old ſpirit ſeems to have revived in him from his late ſucceſs in *Sextius*'s cauſe, ſurprized them by propoſing, "that, in the preſent inability of the treaſury "to purchaſe the *Campanian* lands, which by *Cæſar*'s act were to be di-"vided to the People, the act itſelf ſhould be reconſidered, and a day ap-"pointed for that deliberation:" The motion was received with an uni-

[i] We ſhall find that *Cicero* afterwards, notwithſtanding the profligacy of *Vatinius*'s *whole life*, appeared as a witneſs to *his General Good behaviour.*

[k] This ſpeech againſt *Vatinius* is ſtill remaining, under the title of *The Interrogation*; becauſe it conſiſts chiefly of *a ſtring of queſtions.*

[l] *Cæſar*'s progreſs in conqueſt will be related hereafter, in an uninterrupted ſummary of his exploits.

verſal

verſal joy, and a kind of tumultuary acclamation: The enemies of *the Triumvirate* were extremely pleaſed with it, in hopes that it would make a *breach between* Cicero *and* Pompey. Y. R. 697.

Pompey, whoſe nature was ſingularly reſerved, expreſſed no uneaſineſs upon it, nor took any notice of it to *Cicero*, though they met and ſupped together familiarly, as they uſed to do: But he ſet forward ſoon after towards *Africa*, in order to provide corn; and, intending to call at *Sardinia*, propoſed to embark at *Piſa* or *Leghorn*, that he might have an interview with *Cæſar*, who was now at *Luca*, the utmoſt limit of his *Gallic government*. He found *Cæſar* exceedingly out of humour with *Cicero*; for *Craſſus* had already been with him at *Ravenna*, and greatly incenſed him by his account of *Cicero*'s late motion; which he complained of ſo heavily, that *Pompey* promiſed to uſe all his authority to induce *Cicero* to drop the purſuit of it; and for that purpoſe ſent away an expreſs to *Rome*, to entreat him not to proceed any further in it till his return; and when he came afterwards to *Sardinia*, where his Lieutenant *Quintus*, the brother of *Cicero*, then reſided, he entered immediately into an expoſtulation with him about it.——But of the effect of this remonſtance we ſhall have a full account in the long letter to *Lentulus*, juſt now referred to for another particular. Midd. p. 446.

Milo's trial being put off (as before mentioned) to *the fifth of May*, *Cicero* took the benefit of a ſhort vacation to make an excurſion into the country, and viſit his eſtates and villas in different parts of *Italy*.——— During this tour, his old enemy *Gabinius*, the Proconſul of *Syria*, having gained ſome advantages in *Judæa* againſt *Ariſtobulus* (who had been dethroned by *Pompey*, and carried priſoner to *Rome*, but had thence made his eſcape) ſent *public letters to the Senate, to give an account of his victory, and to beg the decree of a Thankſgiving for it*. His friends took the opportunity of moving the affair in *Cicero*'s abſence, from whoſe authority they apprehended ſome obſtruction; but the Senate, in a full Houſe, ſlighted *Gabinius*'s letters, and rejected his ſuit: An affront which had never been offered before to any Proconſul. *Cicero* was infinitely delighted with it, calls the reſolution *divine*, and was doubly pleaſed for its being *the free and genuine judgment of the Senate, without any ſtruggle or influence on his part*.—— Mid. 453. Ad Quint. Fr. ii. 8.

Many prodigies were reported to have happened about this time in the neighbourhood of *Rome*: *Horrible noiſes under ground, with claſhing of arms; and on the* Alban *hill, a little ſhrine of* Juno, *which ſtood on a table, facing the eaſt, turned ſuddenly of itſelf towards the weſt*. Theſe terrors alarmed the City, and the Senate conſulted *the haruſpices*, who were the public Diviners or Prophets of the State, ſkilled in all the *Tuſcan* diſcipline of interpreting portentous events, who gave the following anſwer in writing, "That ſupplications muſt be made to *Jupiter*, *Saturn*, *Neptune*, and the "other Gods: that the ſolemn ſhews and plays had been negligently exhi"bited and polluted; ſacred and religious places made profane; Ambaſſa- Midd. p. 454, 455. Vide Argum. Manutii in Orat. de Haruſp. Reſp. Dio, lib. xxxix. p. 100.

dors

Y. R. 697. Bef. Chr. 55. 396 Conſ.

" dors killed contrary to law; faith and oaths diſregarded; ancient and " hidden ſacrifices careleſsly performed and profaned.——That the Gods " gave this warning, leſt, by the diſcord and diſſenſion of the better ſort, " dangers and deſtruction ſhould fall upon the Senate and the chiefs of the " City; by which means the provinces would fall under the power of a " ſingle perſon, their armies be beaten, great loſs enſue, and honours be " heaped upon the unworthy and diſgraced."——

One may obſerve from this anſwer, that the *Diviners* were under the direction of thoſe, who endeavoured to apply the influence of religion to the cure of their civil diſorders: Each party interpreted it according to their own views: *Clodius* took a handle from it of venting his ſpleen afreſh againſt *Cicero*; and, calling the People together for that purpoſe, attempted to perſuade them, " that this divine admonition was deſigned " particularly againſt him, and that the article of the civil and religious " places referred to the caſe of his houſe, which, after a ſolemn conſecra- " tion to religion, was rendered again profane; charged all the diſpleaſure " of the gods to *Cicero*'s account, who affected nothing leſs than a tyran- " ny, and the oppreſſion of their liberties."

Cicero made a reply to *Clodius* the next day in the Senate, where, after a ſhort and general invective upon his profligate life, " he leaves him," *he ſays*, a devoted victim to *Milo*, who ſeemed to be given to them by " heaven for the extinction of ſuch a plague, as *Scipio* was for the de- " ſtruction of *Carthage: He declares* the prodigy to be one of the moſt " extraordinary which had ever been reported to the Senate; but laughs " at the abſurdity of applying any part of it to him; ſince his houſe, as " he proves at large, was more ſolemnly cleared from any ſervice or rela- " tion to religion than any other houſe in *Rome* by the judgment of the " Prieſts, the Senate, and all the orders of the City. *Then running through* " *the ſeveral articles of the* ANSWER, he ſhews them all to tally ſo exactly " with the notorious acts and impieties of *Clodius*'s life, that they could " not poſſibly be applied to any thing elſe:——*particularly*, as to the " *violation of faith and oaths*, that it related evidently to thoſe Judges " who had abſolved *Clodius*, as being one of the moſt memorable and fla- " grant perjuries which *Rome* had ever known; that the anſwer itſelf " ſuggeſted this interpretation, when it ſubjoined *that ancient and occult* " *ſacrifices were polluted*, which could refer to nothing ſo properly as to " the rites of the *Bona Dea*, which were *the moſt ancient* and *the moſt occult* " of any in the City, celebrated with incredible ſecrecy to that goddeſs, " whoſe name it was not lawful for men to know, and with ceremonies " which no man ever pried into but *Clodius*."

De Haruſp. Reſponſ. vi. 10--18.

Midd. p. 447.

About the middle of ſummer, and before the time of chuſing new Conſuls, which was commonly *in Auguſt*, the Senate began to deliberate on the *provinces* which were to be aſſigned to them at the expiration of their office. *The Conſular provinces*, about which the debate ſingly turned,

Midd. p. 459.

De Prov. Conſ. 8, 9, &c.

were

were *the two Gauls*, which *Cæſar* now held; *Macedonia*, which *Piſo*, and *Syria*, which *Gabinius* poſſeſſed. All who ſpoke before *Cicero*, excepting *Servilius*, *were for taking one of both the* Gauls *from* Cæſar; which was what the Senate generally deſired: But when it came to *Cicero*'s turn, he gladly laid hold on the occaſion to revenge himſelf on *Piſo* and *Gabinius*; and exerted all his authority to get them recalled, with ſome marks of diſgrace, and their governments aſſigned to the ſucceeding Conſuls; but as for *Cæſar*, his opinion was, "that his command ſhould be continued to him till "he had finiſhed the war, which he was carrying on with ſuch ſucceſs, and "ſettled the conquered countries." This gave no ſmall offence; and *the Conſul Philippus* could not forbear interrupting and reminding him, "that he "had more reaſon to be angry with *Cæſar* than with *Gabinius* himſelf; ſince "*Cæſar* was the author and raiſer of all that ſtorm which had oppreſſed "him." But *Cicero* replied, "that, in this vote, he was not perſuing his pri-"vate reſentment, but the public good, which had reconciled him to *Cæſar*; "and that he could not be an enemy to one who was deſerving ſo well of his "Country: That a year or two more would complete his conqueſts, and re-"duce all *Gaul* to a ſtate of peaceful ſubjection: That the cauſe was widely "different between *Cæſar* and the other two: That *Cæſar*'s adminiſtration "was beneficial, proſperous, glorious to the Republic; theirs ſcandalous, "ignominious, hurtful to their ſubjects, and contemptible to their enemies." ——In ſhort, he managed the debate ſo, that the Senate readily conſented to leave *Cæſar* in the poſſeſſion of his government, and to recall *Piſo* from *Macedonia*; but *Gabinius* was not now recalled from *Syria*.

Y. R. 697. Bef. Chr. 55. 396. Conſ.

All People's eyes and inclinations began now to turn towards *Cæſar*, who, by the eclat of his victories[m], ſeemed to rival the fame of *Pompey* himſelf; and by his addreſs and generoſity gained ground upon him daily in authority and influence in public affairs. After three proſperous campaigns, he ſpent the winter of 697 at *Luca*, whither a vaſt concourſe of all ranks reſorted to him from *Rome*. So great was the number of Magiſtrates and other perſons in command, who came to wait on him, that the Lictors at his gate are reckoned to have amounted to 120.

Midd. 465.

Plut. in Pomp & in Cæſ.

At this interview of the Triumvirs, it was privately agreed among them, that *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, who were now again made friends by *Cæſar*, ſhould jointly ſue for the Conſulſhip, in order to defeat the hopes and deſigns of *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, one of the competitors, a profeſſed enemy of the Triumvirate; who, thinking himſelf ſure of being elected, could not forbear boaſting, "*that he would effect*, *when* Conſul, *what he* "*had not been able to do when* Prætor, *reſcind the acts of* Cæſar, *and re-*"*call him from his government*:" For *Cæſar* had no ſooner ſurrendered the Conſular faſces to his ſucceſſors in that Magiſtracy (the Conſuls of

Sueton. in Cæſ. 24.

[m] *Cæſar*, in two campaigns (thoſe of the years 695 and 696) had carried the *Roman* arms triumphantly through the very heart of *Gaul*, from *the lake of Geneva* to *the German ocean*; and in the preſent year (967) had ſubdued the *Veneti*.

695)

A. R. 697. 695) than he was affronted and attacked by this ſame *Domitius* and *C. Memmius*, two of the then newly-choſen *Prætors*, (than whom *Rome* perhaps never produced two more conſummate knaves[n],) who called in queſtion *the validity of his acts, and made ſeveral raſh efforts to get them annulled by public authority.*

Sueton. in Cæſ. 24.

Pompey and *Craſſus*, the better to conceal their deſign upon the Conſulſhip, let paſs the time, when, according to cuſtom, they ſhould have put themſelves among the candidates. And, becauſe they thought it would be difficult to carry their point in an Aſſembly where the Conſul *Marcellinus* preſided, they laid a ſcheme to hinder all elections of Magiſtrates during his year: Their project happened to be favoured by the Tribune *C. Cato*, the ſame who had formerly been ſo active in oppoſing the deſires of *Pompey* with relation to the affair of King *Ptolemy*, and in endeavouring to get *Lentulus Spinther* recalled from *Cilicia*. *Cato*, to revenge himſelf on *Marcellinus* for not ſuffering him to hold any Aſſemblies of the People[o], for promulgating certain laws of his own faſhion (diſliked probably by the Ariſtocratic worthies,) *would not ſuffer the Conſuls to hold any for the choice of the Magiſtrates*; and in this reſolution he was ſupported by two of his collegues, as well as by the Triumvirate[p], till the year[q] expired. The government fell into an interregnum.

Dio, p. 103.

Ad Quint. Fr. ii. 6.

CHAP.

[n] Of the impudent wickedneſs of theſe men we ſhall find a notable proof in one of *Cicero*'s letters, when we come to the year 699. Yet, unworthy and deteſtable as *Domitius* was, *Cicero* thinks it a moſt ſad thing, that this illuſtrious noble, a Conſul *deſigned* ever ſince he was born, ſhould not be able at this time to obtain the Conſulſhip. Quid enim hoc miſerius, quam eum qui tot annos quos habet, deſignatus Conſul fuerit, Conſulem fieri non poſſe? *Ad Att.* iv. 8. *Dio, p.* 103.

[o] It is likely, that the means employed by *Marcellinus* was *to proclaim all the days on which* Aſſemblies of the People *could lawfully be held, Holidays.* Crevier.

[p] *Plutarch* tells us, that the ſecret treaty among the Triumvirs having tranſpired, the partiſans of the Ariſtocracy were filled with indignation, and that the Conſul *Marcellinus*, to unmaſk *Pompey*, interrogated him in an Aſſembly of the People *whether he had any intention to ſtand for the Conſulſhip? Pompey* anſwered, that *perhaps he would, and perhaps he would not:* But *Craſſus*, when the ſame queſtion was put to him by the Conſul, anſwered with more temper, *that he would do what ſhould appear to him to be moſt for the benefit of the Republic.*

Plut. in Pomp.

Valerius Maximus writes, that when *Marcellinus* was one day haranguing on the danger the City was in from the power of *Pompey*, and found himſelf encouraged by a general acclamation of the People, he ſaid to them, *Cry out, Citizens, cry out while you may; for it will not be long in your power to do ſo with ſafety.*

Val. M vi. 2.

He reports likewiſe, that *Cn. Piſo*, a young Nobleman, who had impeached *Manilius Criſpus*, a man of Prætorian rank, and notoriouſly guilty, being provoked by *Pompey*'s protection of him, turned his attack againſt *Pompey* himſelf, and charged him with many crimes againſt the State: Being aſked therefore by *Pompey*, why he did not chuſe to impeach him rather than the criminal, he briſkly replied, *that if he would give bail to ſtand a trial, without raiſing a civil war, he would ſoon bring him before his Judges.*

Ibid. 4

[q] It was in this year, 697, that *Cicero* pleaded for *Cornelius Balbus and M. Cælius.*

Balbus

Midd. 460. *Balbus* was a native of *Gades* in *Spain*, of a ſplendid family in that City, who, for his fidelity and ſervices to the *Roman* Generals in that province, and eſpecially *in the Sertorian war, had the freedom of* Rome *conferred upon him by* Pompey, *in virtue of a law, which authorized him to grant it to as many as he thought proper.* But *Pompey*'s act was now called in queſtion, as originally null and invalid, on a pretence, *that the city of* Gades *was not within the terms of that alliance and relation to* Rome *which rendered the citizens capable of that privilege. Pompey* and *Craſſus* were his advocates; and, at their deſire, *Cicero* alſo, who had *the third place* or poſt of honour aſſigned him, to give the finiſhing hand to the cauſe. The proſecution was projected, not ſo much out of enmity to *Balbus* as to his patrons, *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, by whoſe favour he had acquired great wealth; being at this time *General of the artillery to* Cæſar, and the principal manager or ſteward of all his affairs. The judges gave ſentence for him, and confirmed his right to the City; from which foundation he was raiſed afterwards by *Auguſtus to the Conſulate* itſelf: His nephew alſo, *young* Balbus, *who was made free with him at the ſame time*, obtained the honour of a triumph for his victories over the *Garamantes*; and, as *Pliny* tells us, they *were the only inſtances of foreigners and adopted Citizens, who had ever advanced themſelves to either of theſe honours in* Rome.

Pro Balb. 1, 2, &c.

Hiſt. N. vii. 43.

Ibid. v. 5.

Midd. 461. *Cælius* was a young gentleman *of Equeſtrian rank*, of great parts and accompliſhments, trained under the diſcipline of *Cicero* himſelf, to whoſe care he was committed by his father upon his firſt introduction into the Forum. Before he was of age to hold any Magiſtracy, he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf *by two public impeachments*; the one of *C. Antonius, Cicero*'s collegue in the Conſulſhip, *for the male-adminiſtration of his province of* Macedonia; the other of *L. Atratinus, for bribery and corruption. Atratinus*'s ſon was now revenging his father's quarrel, and accuſed *Cælius of public violence, for being concerned in the aſſaſſination of* Dio, *the chief of the* Alexandrian *embaſſy*; and of an attempt to poiſon *Clodia*, the ſiſter of *Clodius*: He was a true libertine, and had been this lady's gallant; whoſe reſentment, for her favours ſlighted by him, was the real ſource of all his trouble.——He was acquitted of both charges.

Vid. ſupr. p. 407.

Vid. ſupr. p. 472.

Cicero ſeems to have compoſed *a little poem* about this time, in compliment to *Cæſar*; and excuſes his not ſending it to *Atticus*, "becauſe *Cæſar* preſſed to have it, and he "had reſerved no copy: Though, to confeſs the truth, *he ſays*, he found it very "difficult to digeſt *the meanneſs of recanting "his old principles.* But adieu, *ſays he*, to "all right, true, honeſt counſels: It is incredible what perfidy there is in thoſe who "want to be leaders; and who really would "be ſo, if there was any faith in them. "[He ſpeaks of THE HONEST.] I felt "what they were to my coſt, when I was "drawn in, deſerted, and betrayed by them: "I reſolved ſtill to act on with them in all "things; but found them the ſame as be"fore; till, by your advice, I came at laſt "to a better mind. You will tell me, "that you adviſed me indeed to *act*, but "not to *write*; it is true; but *I was willing to put myſelf under a neceſſity of adhering to my new alliance* [with the Tri"umvirs] *and preclude the poſſibility of re"turning to thoſe who, inſtead of pitying "me, as they ought, never ceaſe envying "me.*——But ſince thoſe, who have no "power, will not love me, my buſineſs "is to acquire the love of thoſe who have. "You will ſay, I wiſh that you had done "it long ago; I know you wiſhed it; "and I was a mere aſs for not minding "you." Y. R. 697. Midd. 462. Ad. Att. iv. 5. Ad Quint. ii. 15.

In this year alſo, *Cicero* wrote that celebrated letter to *Lucceius*, in which he preſſes him *to attempt the hiſtory of his tranſactions. Lucceius* had juſt finiſhed *the hiſtory of the* Italic *and* Marian *civil wars*, with intent to carry it down through his own times, and, in the general relation, to include, as he had promiſed, a particular account of *Cicero*'s acts: But *Cicero*, who was pleaſed with his ſtile and manner of writing, labours in this letter to engage him to poſtpone the deſign of his continued hiſtory, and enter directly on that ſeparate period, "from the begin"ning of his Conſulſhip to his reſtoration, "comprehending *Catiline*'s conſpiracy and "his own exile:" And he deſires this hiſtorian friend, "to allow ſo much to friend"ſhip and affection, as not to confine him"ſelf to the ſtrict laws of hiſtory and the "rules of truth, but to exceed thoſe bounds "in his praiſes." *Ep. Fam. lib.* v. 12. Midd. 463.

CHAP. IV.

POMPEY *and* CRASSUS *are elected Conſuls for the year* 698. *The ſtate of King* PTOLEMY's *affairs at this time.* CATO *repulſed from the Prætorſhip. Provinces aſſigned to the Conſuls, by the law of* TREBONIUS, *for five years. They attempt reformations at home.* POMPEY's *theatre.* PISO *returns to* Rome *ignominiouſly from his government of* Macedonia. CRASSUS, *in ſpite of bad omens, embarks for* Syria, *(the province fallen to him by lot) even before the year of his Conſulſhip is expired.* L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS *and* APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER *are elected Conſuls for the year* 699.

Y. R. 698. Bef. Chr. 54. 397 Conſ.

OF all thoſe who had intended to preſent themſelves candidates for the Conſulſhip of the year 698, *L. Domitius* alone perſiſted in the purpoſe of entering the liſts againſt *Pompey* and *Craſſus*; and his conſtancy perhaps was owing to *Cato*'s management, whoſe ſiſter *Porcia* he had married: *Cato* preſſed him to perſeverance, by ſaying, that not his own elevation, but the LIBERTY [a] of the *Romans*, was the intereſt in queſtion.

Plut. in Cat.

Plutarch reports, that when *Domitius*, accompanied by *Cato*, went before day to the *Campus Martius* to ſolicit votes, he fell into an ambuſh prepared by his rivals: The ſlave who carried the flambeau before him was killed, and *Cato* wounded in the arm: The latter nevertheleſs exhorted *Domitius* to fight it out to his laſt breath; but the intimidated candidate thought it more prudent to go home. So that *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, without further oppoſition, were elected Conſuls [b].

Pompey, when, in concert with his two aſſociates, he had entertained new ſchemes of ambition, laid aſide all thoughts of obtaining for himſelf the commiſſion to reſtore King *Ptolemy*; and, in appearance at leaſt, became willing to ſerve *Lentulus* in that affair. This change of his diſpoſition gave occaſion to the two following letters from *Cicero* to that Proconſul. The firſt was probably written (if not in the *end* of 697) in the *beginning* of 698, during the Interregnum, and before the election of *Pompey* and *Craſſus* to the Conſulſhip; the ſecond after that election.

Middl. 450. Ad Quint. ii. 4. Ep. Fam. i. 7.

A little before *Cicero*'s return from exile, his ſon-in-law *Piſo Frugi* died. *Tullia*, having lived a widow about two months, was married this year to *Furius Creſſipes*; who, though little is ſaid of him, ſeems to have been a Nobleman of principal rank and figure. The wedding-feaſt was held at *Cicero*'s houſe on *the ſixth of April*.

[a] What a worthy champion this *Domitius* was of *the laws* and *liberties* of *Rome*, we ſhall ſee preſently: But the villain was *Cato*'s brother-in-law, and *Cæſar*'s enemy: And there we find his merit.

[b] This was the ſecond time of their being Conſuls: In their firſt Conſulſhip they were collegues, as now.

To

To *Publius Lentulus*, Proconſul.

Lib. I Ep. vii Ed. Græv. Book II. Let. ii. Melm.

" I have received your letter, wherein you aſſure me, that the frequent " accounts I ſend of your affairs, together with the convincing proofs I " have given you of my friendſhip, are circumſtances extremely agreeable " to you.——If you do not hear from me as frequently as you wiſh, it is " ſolely becauſe I dare not truſt my letters to every conveyance. ———

" It is not eaſy to give a ſatisfactory anſwer to your enquiry concerning " the ſincerity of your profeſſed friends, and the diſpoſition of others in " general towards you. This only I will venture to ſay, that a certain " party, and particularly thoſe who have the ſtrongeſt obligations, as " well as the greateſt abilities, to diſtinguiſh themſelves in your ſervice, " look upon you with envy: That (agreeable to what I have myſelf ex- " perienced upon a different occaſion) thoſe whom, in juſtice to your " Country, you have neceſſarily offended, are your avowed oppoſers; as " others, whoſe intereſt and honours you have generouſly ſupported, are " much leſs inclined to remember your favours than to oppoſe your " glory. Theſe are circumſtances indeed which I long ſuſpected, and have " often intimated to you; but of which I am now moſt thoroughly con- " vinced. I obſerved upon the ſame occaſion, (and I believe I told you ſo " in a former letter) both *Hortenſius* and *Lucullus*, to be extremely in your " intereſt: As among thoſe who were in the Magiſtracy, *Lucius Racilius* [c] " appeared very ſincerely and affectionately to eſpouſe your cauſe. But, " excepting the two former, I cannot name any of the Conſulars who diſ- " covered the leaſt degree of friendſhip towards you when your affair was " before the Senate. As for my own endeavours, they might perhaps " be generally conſidered as flowing rather from thoſe ſingular favours " I have received at your hands, than from the uninfluenced dictates " of my real ſentiments. With regard to *Pompey*, he ſeldom attended " the houſe at that ſeaſon: But I muſt do him the juſtice to ſay, he often " takes an opportunity, without my previouſly leading him into the ſub- " ject, of diſcourſing with me concerning your affair; as well as very wil- " lingly enters into the converſation, whenever I ſtart it myſelf. Your laſt " letter, I perceived, was extremely agreeable to him: And I could not " but obſerve, with equal admiration and pleaſure, the polite and moſt " judicious manner in which you addreſſed him. Before he received this " Letter he ſeemed a little inclined to ſuſpect, that the notion, which ſome " had entertained, of his inclination to be your competitor, had alienated " you from him. But you have now wholly fixed that excellent man in " your intereſt; who in truth had all the antecedent reaſons for being ſo, " that an uninterrupted ſeries of the higheſt ſervices could poſſibly give

[c] Tribune in 697. Pigh.

[c] Dr. *Middleton* dates this letter in 697, Mr. *Melmoth* in 698. If this was written in 697, it would ſeem to have been in *December*, after the Tribuneſhip of *Racilius* was expired.

Y. R. 698. " him [d]. I muſt confeſs he always appeared to me, even when the con-
Vid. ſupr. p. 478. " duct of *Caninius* had raiſed the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicions of the contrary [e], " to favour your intereſt: But I can now aſſure you, that I found him, " after he had peruſed your letter, intirely diſpoſed to promote whatever " may contribute either to your intereſt or your honour. You may con- " ſider then what I am going to offer as his immediate ſentiments and ad- " vice: As indeed it is the reſult of frequent conſultations which we have " held together.

" We are of opinion, that it may be proper for you to conſider, whe- " ther any advantages may be derived from your being in poſſeſſion of " *Cilicia* and *Cyprus*. For if there ſhould appear a ſufficient probability " of being able to make yourſelf maſter of *Alexandria* and *Egypt*, we " think it equally for your honour, and that of the Republic, to march " thither with your army, ſupported by your fleet [f]; having firſt left the " King at *Ptolemais*, or ſome other convenient place in that neighbourhood. " By theſe means, *when you ſhall have quieted the diſturbances in* Alexan- " dria, *and ſecured it by a proper number of forces*, Ptolemy *may ſafely* " *take poſſeſſion of his kingdom.* Thus he will be reſtored by you, as the " Senate had once decreed: And *reſtored too without an army, agreeably to* " *the ſentiments of thoſe who inſiſt upon obſerving the injunctions of the Oracle.* " We are the rather confirmed in recommending this meaſure, as there is " no *decree* of the Senate ſubſiſting, which particularly prohibits you from " replacing *Ptolemy* on his throne. As to the *order*, which abſolutely " forbids all aſſiſtance whatever to be given to him, you know it was not

Vid. ſupr. p. 463. [d] *Lentulus*, during his Conſulate, had propoſed and carried that law in favour of *Pompey*, by which he was commiſſioned to provide corn in a time of ſcarcity, a commiſſion which in effect inveſted him with the whole power of the *Roman* empire.

Melm. p. 95. [e] " It was an uſual artifice with *Pompey* " to employ his friends in ſoliciting thoſe ho- " nours in his behalf, to which he affected to " appear himſelf perfectly indifferent, or even " averſe. This was his policy in the preſent " inſtance: And at the ſame time that he pre- " tended to ſerve *Lentulus* in this affair, his " creature *Caninius*, a Tribune of the People, " was practiſing every ſtratagem to procure " the commiſſion for *Pompey* — But when " *Pompey* found that this was impracticable, " he pretended a friendſhip for *Lentulus*, and " joined with *Cicero* in giving the advice " which makes a great part of this letter."

Melm. p. 96. [f] It is very remarkable, that " *Cicero* makes " the very meaſures, which he here ſo ſtrong- " ly recommends to *Lentulus*, an article of his " charge againſt *Antony*. For when the Senate, " after various debates, had reſolved entirely " to drop the affair of the King's reſtoration, " *Ptolemy* applied himſelf to *Gabinius*, Pro- " conſul of *Syria*, who, upon the promiſe of " ten thouſand talents, and at the recommen- " dation of *Pompey*, boldly undertook and " effected his reſtoration, without being au- " thoriſed by any legal commiſſion for that " purpoſe: And it was by the perſuaſion of " *Antony*, who commanded the *Roman* cavalry, " that *Gabinius* engaged in that enterprize. " This affords a topic of great indignation " in one of the *Philippics*; and *Cicero* there " ſpeaks of this tranſaction as a moſt impu- " dent violation of all authority, both ſacred " and civil: *Inde iter* (ſays he) Alexandriam " *contra Senatus auctoritatem, contra Rempub- " licam & religiones.* Philip. ii. 19. But " what opinion muſt every unprejudiced rea- " der conceive of our author, when he finds " him condemning and approving the ſame " tranſactions, and adviſing his friends to " purſue a ſtep which he afterwards publicly " and juſtly reproached in his adverſary?"

" only

" only proteſt againſt, when it was voted, but is generally looked upon " rather as the warm dictates of an exaſperated faction, than as having " the full authority of a *decree* of the Senate. However, we deem it ne- " ceſſary to add, that we are ſenſible the world will judge of the propriety " of this ſcheme entirely by the event. Should it ſucceed as we wiſh, " your policy and reſolution will univerſally be applauded: On the " other hand, ſhould it miſcarry, it will undoubtedly be condemned as " an action of ill-conſidered and unwarrantable ambition. How far this " enterprize may be practicable, you, who are ſituated almoſt within " view of *Egypt*, are the moſt competent judge. If therefore you are " well ſatisfied of being able to render yourſelf maſter of that kingdom, " we are clearly of opinion you ſhould not delay your march one moment: " But if you are doubtful of the ſucceſs, it is our advice that you by no " means make the attempt. This I will venture to aſſure you, that, " ſhould you execute this project in the manner we wiſh, there will be a " very conſiderable party to give it applauſe, even during your abſence; " as all *Rome* will unite in the ſame approbation, the moment you ſhall re- " turn againſt us. Nevertheleſs I am perſuaded, if this ſcheme ſhould not " take the deſired effect, it may be attended with very diſagreeable conſe- " quences to yourſelf; not only upon account of that *order* of the Senate, " which I juſt now mentioned, but likewiſe in regard to the Oracle. When " therefore I recommend ſuch meaſures as you ſhall have full aſſurance " will terminate in your glory, I muſt at the ſame time ſtrongly diſſuade " you from engaging in them, if you ſhould have the leaſt reaſon to " apprehend an oppoſition. For (I repeated it again) the world will be " determined in their opinion of this whole tranſaction, not as it is reaſon- " able, but as it ſhall be ſucceſsful. If the method here propoſed ſhould " appear too dangerous to be hazarded in your own perſon, we think it " may at leaſt be adviſeable to aſſiſt the King with a number of your forces, " provided he ſhall give ſufficient ſecurity to your friends in the province, " for repaying them the money they have advanced in ſupport of his cauſe. " And the circumſtances and ſituation of your government render it ex- " tremely eaſy either to promote or obſtruct his reſtoration, as you ſhall " ſee proper. After all, you are the beſt judge what method will be moſt " expedient to purſue: I thought it my part, however, to inform you of " theſe our concurrent ſentiments." [*N. B.* Lentulus, *wiſely judging the affair too hazardous for one of his dignity and fortunes, left it to a man of a more deſperate character*, Gabinius.]

Y. R. 698. Bef. Chr. 54. 397 Conſ.

" You congratulate me on the preſent ſituation of my affairs in general, " and particularly on the friendſhip of *Milo*, together with the vain " and ineffectual ſchemes of the worthleſs *Clodius*. It is no wonder " you ſhould rejoice in theſe the generous effects of your own amicable " offices. But, to ſay truth, ſuch an incredible perverſeneſs (not to give " it a more ſevere appellation) prevails amongſt a certain party, that they

" rather

Y. R. 698. Bef. Chr. 54. 397 Conſ.

" rather chuſe to alienate me by their jealouſies from the common cauſe,
" than to retain me in that intereſt by their favour and encouragement[g].
" I will own to you, their malice has almoſt driven me from thoſe prin-
" ciples which I have ſo long and ſo invariably purſued. At leaſt, if they
" have not provoked me ſo far, as to make me forget the dignity of my
" character, they have taught me that it is high time I ſhould act with a
" view likewiſe to my own ſafety. I might, conſiſtently with the higheſt
" views of patriotiſm, reconcile both theſe diſtinct ends, were there any
" honour or fortitude in thoſe of Conſular rank [the venerable bench of
" Conſulars.] But ſuch a meanneſs of ſpirit in general prevails among
" them, that, inſtead of applauding the reſolutions with which my actions
" have been ever uniformly directed in the cauſe of the Commonwealth,
" they look with envy upon thoſe dignities to which my public ſervices
" have advanced me. I the rather mention this, as it is to you that I am
" principally indebted, not only for the happineſs of being reſtored to my
" Country, but almoſt for my very firſt ſucceſsful ſteps in the paths of pa-
" triotiſm and of glory.———

" As to your enquiry concerning the ſituation of public affairs, there
" are great diviſions amongſt us: But the zeal and prudence of the reſpec-
" tive parties are by no means equal. Thoſe who enjoy the largeſt
" ſhare of wealth and power have gained a ſuperiority of credit likewiſe
" by the folly and inſtability of their antagoniſts; they have obtained
" from the Senate, with very little oppoſition, what they had no hopes
" of receiving even from the People, without raiſing great diſtur-
" ances. Accordingly the Houſe has voted *Cæſar* a ſum of money for
" the payment of his army, together with a power of nominating ten
" Lieutenants: As they have alſo, without the leaſt difficulty, *diſpenſed*
" *with the* Sempronian *law* [h] *for appointing him a ſucceſſor* [i]. [*—Et ſti-*

Melm.

[g] *Cicero* at this time was falling into the meaſures of *Cæſar*, *Pompey*, and *Craſſus*; meaſures which he thought to be contrary to the true intereſt of his country: He endeavours here therefore to palliate, as well as he can, this unworthy conduct: But as he enters more fully into the motives of it in Ep. Fam. lib. i. 9. the reader is referred to that epiſtle, which will be preſently inſerted.

[h] What *Cicero* here means by ſaying the Senate had *diſpenſed with the* Sempronian law *for appointing a ſucceſſor to* Cæſar, I confeſs I underſtand not. The government of *Ciſalpine Gaul* and *Illyricum* had been granted to *Cæſar*, at the motion of the Tribune *Vatinius*, by a LAW of THE PEOPLE, for the term of *five years*[*]. It would ſeem therefore, that the Senate could have no right, in virtue of the *Sempronian* law, or any other law, to appoint him a ſucceſſor before the expiration of that term.

[*] Vid. ſupr. p. 415. Plut. in Cæſ.

[i] —— " *Cicero* was the chief adviſer and promoter of theſe very meaſures, which he here condemns. If this were a fact which ſtood upon the credit of hiſtorians, the paſſage before us would ſtrongly incline one to ſuſpect that they had miſrepreſented the truth. But we have a teſtimony to produce, which, though of undoubted authority, is the laſt one ſhould have expected in the caſe: For it is the teſtimony of *Cicero* himſelf. In a ſpeech which he pronounced at the bar, either a little before or ſoon after the date of this letter, he mentions each of theſe particular grants, which he enumerates to *Lentulus*, and then adds: " *Harum ego ſententiarum & princeps & auctor fui.*" Orat. pro Balb. 27. Melm. 104.

" *pendium*

pendium Cæſari *decretum eſt, et decem legati; et ne lege* Sempronia *ſuccederetur, facilè perfectum eſt.* Y. R. 698. Bef. Chr. 54.

" I do but ſlightly touch upon theſe particulars, as I cannot reflect on " our affairs with any ſatisfaction. However I mention them as ſuggeſt- 397 Cic. " ing *an uſeful caution* to both of us, *to preſerve a proper poiſe between our* " *intereſt and our honour, and not to advance one by an undue depreſſion of the* " *other.* A maxim this, which I have learned, not ſo much from my fa- " vourite philoſophy, as from ſad experience; and which I would recom- " mend to you, ere you are taught it by the ſame unpleaſing method of " conviction."———

To the ſame. Lib. i. Ep. 8. Ed. Græv. B. ii. Let. 4. Melm.

" *Marcus Plætorius* will fully inform you of the promiſes we have re- " ceived from *Pompey*, together with every thing that has hitherto been " attempted or affected in your favour. He was not only preſent indeed, " but a principal agent throughout the whole proceedings; as he acted " in every article of your concerns agreeably to what might be expected " from a judicious, vigilant, and an affectionate friend. To him like- " wiſe I muſt refer you for an account of public affairs; as I know not " well what to ſay of them myſelf. Thus much, however, I can aſſure " you, that they are in the hands (and in the hands they are likely to re- " main) of your profeſſed friends [k]. As for myſelf, both gratitude and " prudence, together with your particular advice, have determined me, " as they ought, to join in *his* [l] intereſt, whom you were formerly deſirous " of aſſociating with you in mine. You are ſenſible, nevertheleſs, *how* " *difficult it is to renounce our old and habitual notions of politics; eſpe-* " *cially under a full perſuaſion of their rectitude.* However, I conform " myſelf to *his* ſyſtem, ſince I cannot with any decency oppoſe him: " And, whatever ſome may perhaps imagine, I am by no means acting " in this a counterfeit part. The truth of it is, *Pompey has gained ſuch* " *an abſolute poſſeſſion of my eſteem, that I begin to look upon every thing as* " *juſt and reaſonable which falls in with his intereſt or inclination.* I " ſhould think too it would be no imprudent reſolution, even in his ad- " verſaries themſelves, to deſiſt from an oppoſition to which they are evi- " dently unequal. In the mean time, I have the ſatisfaction to find the " world in general agreed, that my character requires I ſhould ſupport, or " at leaſt not obſtruct, the meaſures of *Pompey:* Whilſt ſome are even of " opinion, I may reaſonably retire from all public buſineſs to my favou- " rite purſuits of a literary kind. And, indeed, were I not prevented by " my friendſhip to *Pompey.* I ſhould moſt certainly adopt this latter " ſcheme, as of all others the moſt ſuitable to my inclinations. For I can " now no longer maintain that dignity in the Senate, and that freedom

[k] *Cæſar, Pompey,* and *Craſſus.* [l] *Pompey.*

" in

Y.R. 698. Bef. Chr. 54. 397 Conſ.

" in the Commonwealth, which was the ſingle motive of my ambition, " and the ſole end I propoſed to myſelf in all my labours: A misfortune, " however, which is not peculiar to myſelf, but extends to every *Roman* " in general. In a word, I am under the ſad neceſſity, either of tamely " ſubmitting to the ſentiments of thoſe few who lead the Republic, or of " imprudently joining in a weak and fruitleſs oppoſition [m]. I the rather " mention this, that you may deliberate, before your return amongſt us, " what part it may be adviſable for you to act in the preſent conjuncture. " To ſpeak freely, the meaſures both of thoſe of Senatorian and Equeſtrian " rank, and indeed the whole ſyſtem of the Commonwealth in general, are " totally changed. All therefore that I have now to wiſh, is the preſer- " vation of the public tranquillity; which thoſe who are in the adminiſtra- " tion ſeem to give us a proſpect of enjoying, if *a certain party* could be " prevailed upon to ſubmit with leſs impatience to their power. As to " any hopes of ſupporting in the Senate that true Conſular character of a " firm and inflexible patriot, it is in vain now to expect it: Every means " for that purpoſe is totally loſt, by the miſtaken conduct of thoſe who " diſobliged *Pompey* [n], and diſſolved that ſtrong union which ſubſiſted be- " tween the Senate and the Equeſtrian order.

Vid. ſupr. p. 397, & 394.

" But to return to what more immediately relates to your own private " affairs:——*Pompey* is extremely your friend: And, by all that I can " obſerve, you may obtain any thing you ſhall deſire during his Conſul- " ſhip [o]. At leaſt I ſhall ſolicit him very ſtrenuouſly for that purpoſe: As " you may rely on my moſt active offices in every inſtance where you are " concerned. I am well perſuaded my aſſiduity on this occaſion will not " be diſagreeable to him: On the contrary, he will receive it with plea- " ſure, were it for no other reaſon than as affording him a proof of my " grateful diſpoſition. In the mean time I intreat you to believe, that " whatever bears the leaſt connection with your intereſt, is of more im- " portance to me than my own. From theſe ſentiments it is that I deſ- " pair, not only of being able to return, but, even ſufficiently to acknow- " ledge, the infinite obligations I owe you. Though at the ſame time I " am conſcious of having exerted, on all occaſions, the moſt unwearied en- " deavours in your ſervice.

Melm. p. 113.

[m] A determined patriot could not have been reduced to the alternatives which *Cicero* here mentions, as there was a third expedient, which every man of ſtrict political integrity, who dared to act up to his principles, would undoubtedly have embraced. *An honeſt Phyſician* (ſays Sir William Temple) *is excuſed for leaving his patient when he finds the diſeaſe grown deſperate, and can, by his attendance, expect only to receive his own fees, without any hopes or appearance of deſerving them.* Our Author, in one of his orations, mentions it to the immortal honour of the celebrated *Metellus*, that *de civitate decedere quam de ſententia maluit:* And he who is actuated by the ſame ſublime patriotiſm, will never find himſelf under the poor neceſſity of juſtifying wrong meaſures by the impoſſibility of enforcing right ones. Vid. ſu p. 93.

[n] *Cato, Metellus, Celer, Lucullus*, and others, had oppoſed *Pompey*'s deſire of having his acts in *Aſia* confirmed by the Senate.

[o] *Pompey* and *Craſſus* were at this time Conſuls.

" It is rumoured here, that you have obtained *a compleat victory* [p]: Y. R. 698. Bef. Chr. 54. 397 Com.
" And we impatiently expect an expreſs with the confirmation of this
" agreeable news. I have already talked with *Pompey* upon this ſubject:
" And, as ſoon as your courier arrives, I ſhall employ my utmoſt dili-
" gence in convening the Senate. In fine, were I to perform much more
" for your intereſt than lies within the narrow compaſs of my preſent
" power, I ſhould ſtill think I had fallen far ſhort of what you have a right
" to expect. Farewell.

DURING the continuance of the tumults occaſioned by the election of new Conſuls, *Cicero* retired into the country to one of his villas on the delightful ſhore of *Baiæ*, the chief place of reſort and pleaſure for the great and rich. *Pompey* came thither in the month of *April*, and no ſooner arrived, than he ſent his compliments to *Cicero*; and he ſpent his whole time with him: *They had much diſcourſe on public affairs, in which* Pompey *expreſſed great uneaſineſs, and owned himſelf diſſatisfied with his own part in them:* But *Cicero*, in his account of the converſation, intimates *ſome ſuſpicion of his ſincerity.*——In the ſame letter he mentions a current report at *Puteoli*, *that King* Ptolemy *was reſtored, and deſires to know what account they had of it at* Rome. The report was very true: For *Gabinius*, tempted by *Ptolemy*'s gold, and the plunder of *Ægypt*, and encouraged alſo, as ſome write, by *Pompey* himſelf, undertook to replace him on the throne with *his Syrian army* [q]; which he executed with a high hand and the deſtruction of all the King's enemies, *in open defiance of the authority of the Senate,*

Ad Att. vi. 10.

Ibid. 9.

Midd. 469.

Dio, lib. xxxix. p. 116, &c.

[p] By a poſterior * letter from *Cicero* to *Lentulus* it appears, that this Proconſul was ſaluted *Imperator* by his ſoldiers: It was probably for the victory here mentioned: But againſt what power the battle was fought is no where ſaid.

* Ep. Fam. i. 9.

[q] *Scaurus*, whom *Pompey* left in *Syria* †, did nothing there to gain him much honour. Neither did *Philippus* nor *Marcellinus*, who had the province of *Syria* ſucceſſively after *Scaurus*, diſtinguiſh themſelves by any conſiderable exploits. The incurſions and depredations of the *Arabs*, whom thoſe commanders could not totally ſuppreſs, ſerved for a pretext to *Clodius* to make *Syria* a Conſular province, and he recompenſed *Gabinius* with it, who, during his Conſulſhip, had ſo well ſerved him in his attack upon *Cicero*.

† Vid. ſup. p. 269 & 395. note (4).

Judæa, dependent on the government of *Syria*, was agitated by great commotions when *Gabinius* arrived there. It has been mentioned that *Pompey* decided the quarrel between the two brothers, *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*, in favour of the former, to whom he gave the office of High-Prieſt, and the authority of command, but without the diadem; and that he carried away *Ariſtobulus*, with his two ſons, *Alexander* and *Antigonus*, and two daughters, priſoners. *Alexander* made his eſcape on the road, returned into *Judæa*, and after concealing himſelf ſome time, got together a ſufficient number of his father's party to diſpoſſeſs *Hyrcanus*. He thought likewiſe of fortifying himſelf againſt the power of the *Romans*, by building the walls of *Jeruſalem*, which *Pompey* had thrown down.

Supra, p. 261, 267, 269.

Gabinius quickly reduced *Alexander* to ſue for favour; nor did he refuſe him his life and liberty. But though he brought back *Hyrcanus* to *Jeruſalem*, and put him again in poſſeſſion of the High-Prieſthood, he gave a new form to the government of the nation, making it Ariſtocratical. He divided all the country into five provinces, and in each of theſe created a Sovereign Council.

Joſ. Antiq. l. xiv. 10. & de Bell. Jud. i. 6.

Y. R. 698. Bef. Chr. 54. 397 Conſ.

Senate and the direction of the Sibyl. This made a great noiſe at *Rome*; and irritated the People to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved to make him feel their diſpleaſure for it very ſeverely at his return.

Midd. 467.

Cicero ſtaid in the country till the beginning of *May*, much out of humour, and diſguſted both with the Republic and himſelf. *Atticus*'s conſtant advice to him was, *to conſult his ſafety and intereſt, by uniting himſelf with the men of power*; and they, on their part, were as conſtantly inviting him to it, by all poſſible aſſurances of their affection: But in his

Ad Att. iv. 6.

anſwers to *Atticus* he obſerves, "that their two caſes were very different; "that *Atticus*, having no peculiar character, ſuffered no peculiar in-

Vid. ſupr. p. 485.

It was on his pacification of *Judæa*, that *Gabinius* made application to the Senate to be honoured with a *public thankſgiving*, called *ſupplications*, and met with a refuſal.

He was preparing to carry the war into the country of the *Arabs*, when the hopes of a richer booty than he could find among them, made him turn towards *Parthia*.

Dio, lib. xxxix. App. in Parth. & Syr. Plut. in Craſſ. & in Anton.

Pcraates, King of *Parthia*, had been murdered by his own ſons, *Orodes* and *Mithridates*, who afterwards contended with one another for the crown. *Mithridates*, finding himſelf the weaker, had recourſe to *Gabinius*. He came to the *Roman* camp, accompanied by *Orſanes*, the moſt illuſtrious of the *Parthian* nobles; and by preſents and promiſes he engaged the Proconſul to undertake his cauſe: But when *Gabinius* had paſſed the *Euphrates* with his army, the proſpect of a yet richer prey, and more eaſy to be acquired, brought him quickly back again. For *Ptolemy Auletes* came to him with recommendatory letters from *Pompey*, and with a promiſe from himſelf of *ten thouſand talents*, on condition that he would replace him on the throne of *Egypt*. The greater part of the *Roman* officers did not approve of the enterprize, as being prohibited by a decree of the Senate, and the Oracle of the Sibyl. But *Marc Antony* [the future Triumvir] who commanded the cavalry, being gained by *Ptolemy* and not being religiouſly ſcrupulous, counſelled and determined *Gabinius* to the undertaking.

Vid. ſupr. p. 471. note (m)

After the death of *Seleucus Cybioſactes*, whom his Queen *Berenice* put to death, as has been before mentioned, *Archelaus* (the ſon of that *Archelaus* who had commanded *Mithridates*'s army, but pretending to be that King's ſon) offered himſelf to the *Alexandrians* to be their King, and was accepted of by them. The only difficulty was how to get away from the *Roman* army, which he had joined, with the intention of accompanying *Gabinius* into *Parthia*; for *Gabinius*, having been informed of what was in agitation, kept a watch upon him. However, he made his eſcape; and, if we may believe *Dio*, by connivance of the *Roman* commander, who was willing that *Ægypt*, by poſſeſſing an able General, might be in a condition to make the greater reſiſtance, and thereby furniſh him with a pretence to raiſe the price of his ſervices. *Archelaus* came to *Alexandria*, married Queen *Berenice*, was recognized King, and made preparations to defend his crown.

On *Gabinius*'s arrival on the borders of *Ægypt*, he detached *Antony* with the horſe to ſeize the paſſes, and open the way for the army to follow. *Antony* was greatly aſſiſted by *Antipater* the *Idumæan*, who not only furniſhed him with money, arms, and proviſions, but made the conqueſt of *Peluſium* *, the key of *Ægypt* on that ſide, eaſy to him, by gaining the *Jews*, who were ſettled in the neighbourhood of it †. The Proconſul arrived at this place, entered *Ægypt* with all his forces, fought ſeveral battles, and at length, by the death of *Archelaus*, who was killed in the laſt action, remained maſter of *Alexandria*, and the whole kingdom of *Ægypt*, which he ſurrendered to *Ptolemy*. *Antony* cauſed funeral honours to be performed for *Archelaus*: But the King put his own daughter, Queen *Berenice*, to death; as alſo the richeſt of the *Alexandrians*, that with their ſpoils he might be the better able to ſatisfy the engagements he had entered into with *Gabinius*.

* Damietta. † They had here a Temple, built by *Onias*, after the model of that at *Jeruſalem*.

"dignity;

" dignity; nothing but what was common to all the Citizens; whereas Y. R. 698.
" his own condition was ſuch, that if he ſpoke what he ought to do, he B. C. 54.
" ſhould be looked upon as a madman; if what was uſeful only to him- 397 Cat.
" ſelf, as a ſlave; if nothing at all, as quite oppreſſed and ſubdued:
" That his uneaſineſs was the greater, becauſe he could not ſhew it with-
" out being thought ungrateful. — Shall I withdraw myſelf then, *ſays he*,
" from buſineſs, and retire to the port of eaſe? That will not be allowed
" me. Shall I follow thoſe leaders to the wars, and, after having refuſed
" a command, ſubmit to be commanded? I will do ſo; for I ſee that
" it is your advice, and wiſh that I had always followed it. Or ſhall I
" reſume my poſt, and enter again into affairs? I cannot perſuade myſelf
" to that, but begin to think *Philoxenus* in the right, who choſe to be Diod. Sic. l. xv. p. 331.
" carried back to priſon, rather than commend the tyrant's verſes. This
" is what I am now meditating, to declare my diſlike at leaſt of what they
" are doing."

The City continued, for a great part of this ſummer, without its inferior annual Magiſtrates: For the elections, which had been poſtponed from the laſt year, were ſtill kept off by the Conſuls till they could ſettle them to their minds, which they effected at laſt, excepting in the caſe of two Tribunes. But the moſt remarkable repulſe was of *M. Cato* from the Prætorſhip: For the Conſuls, apprehending the trouble which in that office he might give them, reſolved to diſappoint him, if poſſible: And, in order to ſecure his competitors from impeachments for bribery, engaged the Senate to decree, that the new Prætors ſhould enter upon their office without an interval of ſixty days between *the nomination* and *the taking poſſeſſion*; an interval uſually allowed for examining whether bribery had been practiſed in the election, and for proſecuting the guilty. The pretence of this decree was, that, ſo much of the year being ſpent, the whole would paſs without any Prætors at all, if a liberty of impeaching was allowed. " *From this moment*, ſays *Cicero*, *they have given the exclu-*
" *ſion to* Cato, and, being maſters of all, reſolve that all the world ſhall
" know it." Midd. p. 476. Plut. in Cat. Ad Quint. ii. 9.

The firſt century, without a bribe, gave their votes for *Cato*. *Pompey* hereupon pretended that he *ſaw ſomething inauſpicious in the Heavens*, and broke up the Aſſembly. The two Conſuls afterwards beſtirred themſelves ſo ſucceſsfully, as to get *Cato* excluded, and *Vatinius* choſen, who had been repulſed the year before with diſgrace from the Ædileſhip. Plut. in Cat. & in Pomp. Val. Max. vii. 5.

In the Aſſemblies for the election of Ædiles, the conflict between the contending parties proved to be a bloody one. It is ſaid, that *Pompey*'s robe was ſtained with the blood of ſome that were ſlain near him; and that ſending it home, when they had brought him another, his wife was ſo frightened at the ſight of it, that ſhe miſcarried. Plut. in Pomp.

When all the Magiſtrates were choſen, the Tribune *Trebonius* propoſed to the People a law for the aſſignment of provinces to the Conſuls Dio, l. xxxix. p. 109.

Y. R. 698. for the term of five years, with the power of raiſing what forces they thought fit. *Pompey* took upon himſelf to propoſe a law in favour of *Caeſar*, that, after the expiration of the *five years* which had been already granted him, he ſhould hold the government of the *Gauls* for five years more. This law was oppoſed by the generality of the Senate, and above all by *Cato*, *Favonius* (his great admirer and imitator) and two of the Tribunes, *C. Ateius Capito*, and *P. Aquilius Gallus*: But the ſuperior force of the Conſuls and the other Tribunes prevailed.

Plut. in Cat. in Pomp. & in Craſſ.

The Conſuls applied themſelves, in the beginning of their adminiſtration, to the work of reformation. With a view to remedy the moſt ſcandalous practice of corruption in judiciary affairs, they made ſeveral new laws, and with more rigorous penalties than thoſe already denounced; and they ordained, that the Judges ſhould be taken from the richeſt of the Citizens; imagining, doubtleſs, that poverty had induced ſome Judges to ſuffer themſelves to be gained by preſents: But could a ſtrict regard to juſtice be with more reaſon expected from thoſe who were become rich by all ſorts of crimes? The Conſuls prepared likewiſe certain ſumptuary * laws. What animated their zeal in this particular, was perhaps the exceſſive luxury in which their principal adverſaries lived, the chiefs of the Ariſtocratic faction. *Hortenſius* did not conceal his taſte, but took upon him boldly to defend the exceſs in queſtion, by calling it magnificence and nobleneſs becoming the grandeur of the Commonwealth. Notwithſtanding this ſpirit of reformation, which animated the Conſuls, *Pompey* tranſgreſſed the ancient diſcipline by the conſtruction, at his own expence, of a *permanent* theatre: For, till that time, there had never been any theatre built in *Rome* to continue longer than while the ſhews laſted that were to be then exhibited [r].

Freinſhem.

* Ep. Fam. vii. 26. Crevier, tom. xii. p. 445.

Plut. in Pomp.

It

Mickl. 473. Plin. Hiſt. vii. 3.

Ad Att. iv. 9.

A. Gell. x.

Vid. Tert. de Spectac. Plin. l. viii. 7.

[r] *Pompey's* theatre is much celebrated by the ancients for its grandeur and magnificence: The plan was taken from the theatre of *Mytilene*, but greatly enlarged, ſo as to receive commodiouſly *forty thouſand people*. It was ſurrounded *by a portico, to ſhelter the company in bad weather, and had a curia or ſenate-houſe annexed to it; with a baſilica alſo, or grand hall, proper for the ſitting of Judges*, or any other public buſineſs: which were all finiſhed at *Pompey's coſt, and adorned with a great number of images of men and women, famed for ſomething very remarkable or prodigious in their lives and characters. Atticus* undertook the care of *placing all theſe ſtatues*; for which *Pompey* charged *Cicero with his thanks to him*. What made this fabric the more ſurprizing and ſplendid, was a *beautiful temple, erected at on end of it to* Venus, *the Conqueroſs; and ſo contrived, that the ſeats of the theatre might ſerve as ſtairs to the temple*. This was deſigned, it is ſaid, *to avoid the reproach of making ſo vaſt an expence for the mere uſe of luxury; the temple being ſo placed, that thoſe who came to the ſhews might ſeem to come to worſhip the Goddeſs. At the ſolemnity of this dedication*, Pompey *entertained the People with the moſt magnificent ſhews*, which had ever been exhibited in *Rome*: *In the theatre, were ſtage-plays, prizes of muſic, wreſtlings, and all kinds of bodily exerciſe: In the circus, the horſe-races, and huntings of wild beaſts for five days ſucceſſively, in which five hundred lions were killed*; on the laſt day, *twenty elephants; whoſe lamentable bowlings when mortally wounded, raiſed ſuch a commiſeration in the multitude, from a vulgar notion of their great ſenſe and love to man, that it deſtroyed the whole diverſion of the ſhews, and drew curſes upon* Pompey *himſelf for being the author of ſo much cruelty*. So true it is, what *Cicero* obſerves of this kind of prodigality, *that there is no real dignity or laſting honour in it; that it ſatiates while it pleaſes, and*

Dio, p. 107. Plut. in Pomp.

De Off. ii. 16.

It has been mentioned, that a decree of the Senate had paſſed for recalling *Piſo* from his government of *Macedonia*. He returned to *Rome* about this time, after an inglorious adminiſtration of a province, *whence no Conſular Senator had ever returned but to triumph.* For though, on account of ſome trifling advantage in the field, he had procured himſelf *to be ſaluted Emperor by his army*, yet the occaſion was ſo contemptible, that he durſt not ſend *any letters upon it to the Senate*: but, after oppreſſing the ſubjects, plundering the allies, and loſing the beſt part of his troops againſt the neighbouring barbarians, who invaded and laid waſte the country, he ran away in diſguiſe from a mutiny of the ſoldiers, whom he diſbanded at laſt without their pay. When he arrived at *Rome*, he ſtripped his faſces of their laurels, and entered the City obſcurely and ignominiouſly, without any other attendance than his own retinue. On his firſt appearance in public, truſting to the authority of his ſon-in-law *Cæſar*, he had the hardineſs to attack *Cicero*, and complain to the Senate of his injurious treatment of him: But when he began to *reproach him with the diſgrace of his exile, he was interrupted by a loud and general clamour* of the Aſſembly [s]. Y.R. 698. Supra, p. 457. Midd. 470. In Pison. 16, &c.

The Conſuls having drawn lots for the provinces aſſigned them by the law of *Trebonius*, *Syria* fell to *Craſſus*, agreeably to his wiſhes; *Spain* to *Pompey*, who was no leſs pleaſed with his fortune, having no mind to a command that would carry him far out of the way. His ſcheme was conſtantly to conduct the affairs of the City; and this ſcheme he purſued ſo faithfully, that for the ſix years, during which he was Proconſul of *Spain*, he never ſet foot in his province, but governed it by his Lieutenants; a thing without example in the Commonwealth: But the ſuperintendance of proviſions, with which he was charged, furniſhed him with a ſpecious pretence to continue at *Rome*. Dio. Plut. in Cæſ. & in Pomp.

As for *Craſſus*, whoſe heart was now fixed on the imagined boundleſs wealth of *Parthia*, he was in ſuch haſte to ſet forward on his Eaſtern expedition, that he left *Rome* above two months before the expiration of his Conſulſhip: But his eagerneſs to involve the Republic in a deſperate war, for which the *Parthians* had given no pretext, was generally deteſted. Midd. P. 478.

and is forgotten as ſoon as it is over. It gives us, however, a genuine idea of the wealth and grandeur of thoſe principal ſubjects of *Rome*, who, from their private revenues, could raiſe ſuch noble buildings, and provide ſuch ſhews, from the ſeveral quarters of the world, which no Monarch on earth is now able to exhibit.

[s] Among other things with which he upbraided *Cicero*, he told him, *that it was not any envy for what he had done, but the vanity of what he had ſaid, which had driven him into exile; and that a ſingle verſe of his,* Midd. 471.

Cedant arma Togæ, concedat laurea linguæ.

was the cauſe of all his calamity; by provoking *Pompey* to make him feel how much the *power of the General was ſuperior to that of the Orator*. He put him in mind alſo, *that it was mean and ungenerous to exert his ſpleen only againſt ſuch whom he contemned, without daring to meddle with thoſe who had more power, and where his reſentment was more due.* *Cicero* made a reply to him upon the ſpot, in an *invective ſpeech*, the ſevereſt perhaps that ever was ſpoken by any man, on the perſon, the parts, the whole life and conduct of *Piſo*.

Y. R. 698 *The Tribune* Ateius *declared it impious, and prohibited by all the auſpices:* And when he found *Craſſus* determined to march, he waited for him at
Plut. in Craſſ. the gates of the City, *and having there ready a kind of chafing-diſh, with fire in it, he threw thereon perfumes, and poured libations: and invoking certain Gods with frightful names, devoted him, as he paſſed by, to deſtruction*[1].

Middl. 479. *Craſſus* was deſirous, before he left *Rome*, to be reconciled to *Cicero*: *They had never been real friends*, but generally oppoſite in party; and *Cicero*'s early engagements with *Pompey* kept him of courſe at a diſtance from *Craſſus*: Their coldneſs was ſtill increaſed on account of *Catiline*'s plot, of which when *Craſſus* was, by ſome, ſtrongly ſuſpected, he charged *Cicero* with being the author of that ſuſpicion: They carried it however on both ſides with much decency, out of regard to *Craſſus*'s ſon, *Publius*, a profeſſed admirer and diſciple of *Cicero*; till an accidental debate in the Senate blew up their ſecret grudges into an open quarrel. The debate was upon *Gabinius*, whoſe conduct in relation to King *Ptolemy*, *Craſſus* undertook to defend, and, in that defence,
Ep. Fam. i. 9. made many ſevere reflections upon *Cicero*; who replied with no leſs acrimony, and gave a free vent *to that old reſentment of* Craſſus's *many injuries, which had been gathering*, he ſays, *ſeveral years, but lain dormant ſo long, that he took it to be extinguiſhed, till, from this accident, it burſt out into a flame.* The quarrel gave great joy to the chiefs of the Senate, who highly applauded *Cicero*, in hopes to embroil him with the *Triumvirate*: But *Pompey* laboured hard to make it up; and *Cæſar* alſo, by letter, expreſſed his uneaſineſs upon it, and *begged it of* Cicero, *as a favour, to be reconciled with* Craſſus: So that he could not hold out againſt an interceſſion ſo powerful, and ſo well enforced by his affection *to young* Craſſus: Their reconciliation was confirmed by mutual profeſſions of a

Middl. 479. [1] Ateius *was afterwards turned out of the Senate by* Appius, *when he was Cenſor, for falſifying the auſpices on this occaſion; but the* miſerable fate of *Craſſus* ſupported the credit
De Divin. i. 16. of them; and condemned the vulgar opinion *of the inevitable force of thoſe ancient rites, in drawing down the divine vengeance on all who preſumed to contemn them. Appius* was one of the *Augurs*, and the only one of the college who maintained *the truth of their auguries, and the reality of divination; for which he was laughed at by the reſt*; who charged him alſo with an abſurdity in the reaſon which he ſubſcribed for his cenſure upon *Ateius, viz. that he had falſified the auſpices, and brought a great calamity on the* Roman *People: For if the auſpices, they ſaid, were falſe, they could not poſſibly have any effect, or be the cauſe of that calamity.* But, tho' they were undoubtedly forged, it is certain, however, that they had a real influence on the overthrow of *Craſſus:* For the terror of them had deeply poſſeſſed the minds of the ſoldiers, and made them turn every thing which they ſaw, or heard, *to an omen of their ruin*; ſo that, when the enemy appeared in ſight, they were ſtruck with ſuch a panic, that they had not courage or ſpirit enough left to make a tolerable reſiſtance.

No people were ever more ſuperſtitious than the ancient *Romans*. When *Craſſus* embarked his troops at *Brunduſium*, there happened to be a man at the port who cried *Figs of Caunus* to ſell, in Latin *Cauneas*, a word which, by the manner of pronouncing, might be miſtaken for *Cave ne eas*, "Beware of going." This was thought to be a warning from the Gods to *Craſſus* not to purſue his enterpriſe. *Cic. de Divin.* xi. 40.

ſincere

ſincere friendſhip for the future; and *Craſſus, to give a public teſtimony of it to the City, invited himſelf juſt before his departure, to ſup with* Cicero, *who entertained him in the gardens of his ſon-in-law* Craſſipes, which were upon *the banks of the Tiber*, and ſeem to have been famous for their beauty and ſituation. Y. R. 698. Ad Quint. iii. 7. Ad Att. iv. 12.

The Conſuls, *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, having reaped all the fruit which they had propoſed from the Conſulſhip, *the ſecuring to themſelves the provinces which they wanted*, were not much concerned about the choice of their ſucceſſors; ſo that, after poſtponing the election to the end of the year [u], they gave way at laſt to their enemy, *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, being content to have joined with him their friend, *Appius Claudius Pulchre*. Midd. 484.

CHAP. V

CICERO *defends, in the Senate, the intereſts of* CRASSUS *abſent, and enters into a correſpondence and intimacy of friendſhip with* CÆSAR. *Unprecedented knavery of the Conſuls and Conſular candidates. The Tribunitian candidates do honour to* CATO's *virtue.* CICERO *defends ſeveral perſons accuſed; and, among the reſt,* VATINIUS: *In juſtification of this, and of the whole change of his political conduct, he writes a long letter to* LENTULUS SPINTHER.

CRASSUS had been gone but a very little time, when he was attacked in the Senate by his enemies: Their deſign was, probably, to revoke his commiſſion [a], or at leaſt abridge it of the power of *making war upon the Parthians:* But *Cicero* exerted himſelf ſo ſtrenuouſly in his defence, that he baffled their attempts, after a warm conteſt with *the Conſuls themſelves, and ſeveral of the Conſular Senators.* He gave *Craſſus* an account of the debate by the following letter. Y. R. 699. Bef. Chr. 53. 398 Conſ.

[u] *Cicero*, being a great part of the ſummer of this year in the country, put the laſt hand to his piece *on the Compleat Orator*. This admirable work remains entire, a ſtanding monument of *Cicero*'s parts and abilities; which, while it exhibits to us the idea of a Perfect Orator, and marks out the way by which *Cicero* formed himſelf to that character, explains the reaſon likewiſe why nobody has ſince equalled him, or ever will, till there be found again united, what will hardly be found ſingle in any man, *the ſame induſtry*, and the *ſame parts*. Midd. 483. Ep. Fam. i. 9.

He returned to *Rome* about the middle of *November*, to aſſiſt at *Milo*'s wedding, who married *Fauſta*, the daughter of *Sylla* the Dictator, a rich and noble lady, with whom, as ſome writers ſay, he found *Salluſt* the hiſtorian in bed not long after, and had him ſoundly laſhed, before he diſmiſſed him. Ad Att. iv. 13, & v. 8.

[a] *Manutius* is of this opinion.

Ep. Fam. l. v. Ep. 8. Ed. Grev. B. ii. Let. 7. Melm.

To *Marcus Licinius Craſſus.*

" I am perſuaded that all your friends have informed you of the zeal " with which I lately both defended and promoted your dignities; as in- " deed it was too warm and too conſpicuous to have been paſſed over in " ſilence. The oppoſition I met with from the Conſuls, as well as from " ſeveral others of Conſular rank, was the ſtrongeſt I ever encountered: " And you muſt now look upon me as your declared advocate upon all oc- " caſions where your glory is concerned. Thus have I abundantly compen- " ſated for the intermiſſion *of thoſe good offices, which the friendſhip between* " *us had long given you a right to claim; but which, by a variety of acci-* " *dents, have lately been ſomewhat interrupted. There never was a time, believe* " *me, when I wanted an inclination to cultivate your eſteem, or promote your* " *intereſt.* Though, it muſt be owned, a certain ſet or men [b], who are " the bane of all amicable intercourſe, and who envied us the mutual ho- " nour that reſulted from ours, have, upon ſome occaſions, been ſo unhap- " pily ſucceſsful, as to create a coolneſs between us [c]. It has happened, " however, (what I rather wiſhed than expected) that I have found an " opportunity, when even your affairs were in the moſt proſperous train, " of giving a public teſtimony, by my ſervices to you, that I always moſt " ſincerely preſerved the remembrance *of our former amity.* The truth is, " I have approved myſelf your friend, not only to full conviction of your " family in particular, but of all *Rome* in general: In conſequence of " which, that moſt valuable of women, your excellent wife, together with " thoſe illuſtrious models of virtue and filial piety, your two amiable " ſons, have perpetual recourſe to my aſſiſtance and advice: As the whole " world is ſenſible, that no one is more zealouſly diſpoſed to ſerve you than " myſelf.

" Your family correſpondents have informed you, I imagine, of what " has hitherto paſſed in your affair, as well as of what is at preſent in " agitation. As for myſelf, *I intreat you to do me the juſtice to believe,* " *that it was not any ſudden ſtart of inclination, which diſpoſed me to embrace* " *this opportunity of vindicating your honour: On the contrary, it was my*

[b] He means, I preſume, thoſe whom he often ſtiles THE HONEST.

Melm. [c] " How effectually ſoever *Cicero* might " have ſerved *Craſſus* upon the occaſion to " which this letter relates, it is moſt certain " his good offices did not proceed from a prin- " ciple of friendſhip. It is extremely pro- " bable indeed, that his ſupporting the cauſe " of *Craſſus* in the Senate is one of thoſe in- " ſtances of our author's ſubjection, of which " he complains" in ſome of his letters: "And " that it was entirely in compliance with the " inclinations of *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, with " whom *Craſſus* was now united."—" It is " certain that *Craſſus*, from the time of *Cati-* " *line*'s conſpiracy, conceived a ſtrong and " laſting averſion to our author; as, on the " other hand, that *Cicero*, after the death of " *Craſſus*, publiſhed an oration, in which he " expreſly charged him with being engaged " in that conſpiracy."

ambition, from the firſt moment I entered the Forum, to be ranked in the Y. R. 699. Bef. Chr. 53. 398 Cont.
" *number of your friends. And I have the ſatisfaction to reflect, that I have*
" *never, from that time to this hour, failed in the higheſt ſentiments of eſteem*
" *for you*[a]: *As I doubt not you have always retained the ſame affectionate*
" *regard for me.* If the effects of this mutual diſpoſition have been inter-
" rupted by any little ſuſpicions (for ſuſpicions only I am very ſure they
" were,) be the remembrance of them for ever blotted out of our hearts.
" I am perſuaded indeed from thoſe virtues which form *your* character,
" and from thoſe which I am deſirous ſhould diſtinguiſh *mine*, that our
" friendly union in the preſent conjuncture cannot but be attended with
" equal honour to us both. What inſtances you may be willing to give
" me of your eſteem, muſt be left to your own determination: But they
" will be ſuch, I flatter myſelf, as may tend moſt to advance my dignities.
" For my own part, I faithfully promiſe the utmoſt exertion of my beſt
" ſervices in every article wherein I can contribute to increaſe yours.
" Many, I know, will be my rivals in theſe amicable offices: But it is a
" contention in which all the world, I queſtion not, and particularly your
" two ſons, will acknowledge my ſuperiotity. Be aſſured, I love them
" both in a very uncommon degree: Though I will own *Publius* is my
" favourite: From his infancy he diſcovered a ſingular regard to me; as
" he particularly diſtinguiſhes me at this time with all the marks even of
" filial reſpect and affection.

" *Let me deſire you to conſider this letter, not as a ſtrain of unmeaning*
" *compliment, but as a ſacred and ſolemn covenant of friendſhip, which I ſhall*
" *moſt ſincerely and religiouſly obſerve.* I ſhall now perſevere in being the
" advocate of your honours, not only from a motive of affection, but
" from a principal of conſtancy: And without any application on your
" part, you may depend on my embracing every opportunity, wherein
" I ſhall think my ſervices may prove agreeable to your intereſt, or your
" inclination. Can you once doubt then, that any requeſt to me for this
" purpoſe, either by yourſelf or your family, will meet with a moſt
" punctual obſervance? *I hope therefore you will not ſcruple to employ me*
" *in all your concerns, of what nature or importance ſoever, as one who is*
" *moſt faithfully your friend:* And that you will direct your family to apply
" to me in all their affairs of every kind, whether relating to you or to
" themſelves, to their friends or their dependants. And be aſſured, I
" ſhall ſpare no pains to render your abſence as little uneaſy to them as
" poſſible. Farewell."

[a] What credit is it poſſible to give to the profeſſions, aſſeverations, or even oaths, of this Saint of Dr. *Middleton*'s canonization? In a letter to *Atticus*, written ſoon after this to *Craſſus*, *Cicero* thus expreſſes himſelf concerning the latter: " *Our friend* Craſſus, they " ſay, *did not ſet out from* Rome *in his Gene-* " *ral's robe, with ſo much dignity as* Paulus " Æmilius *heretofore, though, like him, a ſecond* " *time Conſul. Oh the worthleſs man!*" *Craſſum* quidem noſtrum minore dignitate aiunt profectum *paludatum*, quam olim æqualem *L. Paulum* iterum Conſulem. O hominem nequam! *Ad Att.* iv. 13.

Y. R. 699. *Cicero*, whoſe brother *Quintus* was one of *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants in *Gaul*, began now likewiſe to enter into a particular intimacy and correſpondence
Middl. p. 488. with *Cæſar*. *Quintus*, to pay his court the better to his General, had earneſtly preſſed his brother to an union with HIM, inſtead of adhering
Ad Quint. Fr. ii. 13. ſo obſtinately to *Pompey*, who, as he tells him, *was neither ſo ſincere nor ſo generous a friend as* Cæſar. To *Cæſar* therefore *Cicero*, not diſliking the advice, wrote a letter in the familiar ſtile; which *Cæſar* anſwered
Middl. 489. with all imaginable kindneſs, and the offer of every thing in which his power could ſerve him.——*Cicero*, in his account of this letter to his
Ad Quint. brother, ſays, "It is kind in you, and like a brother, to preſs me to this
Fr. ii. 15. "friendſhip; though I am running that way apace myſelf, and ſhall do "what often happens to travellers, who, riſing later than they intended, "yet, by quickening their ſpeed, come ſooner to their journey's end, "than if they had ſet out earlier; ſo I, who have overſlept myſelf in "my obſervance of this man, though you were frequently rouſing me, "will correct my paſt lazineſs, by mending my pace for the future."—— With regard to *Cæſar*'s profeſſions of ſervice, he adds, "Believe me, you "who know me, I have from him already, what I moſt value, the aſſu-"rance of his affection, which I prefer to all the great things he offers
Ad Quint. Fr. iii. 5. "me. In another letter he ſays [doubtleſs with equal ſincerity,] I lay no "great ſtreſs on his promiſes, want no farther honours, nor deſire any "new glory, and *wiſh nothing more than the continuance of his eſteem*; yet "live in ſuch a courſe of ambition and fatigue, as if I were expecting "what I really do not deſire."

But, though he made no uſe of *Cæſar*'s generoſity for himſelf, yet he
Ibid i. uſed it freely for his friends[e]: *Cæſar* nevertheleſs was chiding him all the while for his reſervedneſs in aſking.

Middl. 497. *Cicero* had ſent *Cæſar* a Greek poem, in three books, on the hiſtory of his Conſulſhip, and *Cæſar*'s judgment upon it was, *that the beginning of it*
Ad Quint. ii. 16. *was as good as any thing which he had ever ſeen in that language; but the following lines to a certain place were not equal in accuracy and ſpirit.* *Cicero* deſires therefore to know of his brother, *what* Cæſar *really thought of the whole, whether the matter or the ſtile diſpleaſed him; and begs that he would tell him the truth freely; ſince, whether* Cæſar *liked it or not, he ſhould not*, he ſays, *be a jot the leſs pleaſed with himſelf.* He began however another poem, at his brother's earneſt requeſt, to be addreſſed to
Ibid. iii. 1. *Cæſar*; but, after ſome progreſs, was ſo diſſatisfied with it, that he tore it: Yet, *Quintus* ſtill urging, and ſignifying, *that he had acquainted*

[e] Particularly for *Trebatius* the lawyer, *Orſius* and *Curtius*. For the laſt of theſe he procured a regiment. *Cicero*, concerning *Cæſar*'s kindneſs to his brother *Quintus*, writes thus to *Atticus*: Perſpice cum *Cæſare* ſuaviſſimam conjunctionem (hæc enim me una ex naufragio tabula delectat) qui quidem *Quintum* meum, tuumque, Dii boni! quemadmodum tractat honore, dignitate, gratia! non ſecus ac ſi ego eſſem imperator. Hibernam legionem eligendi optio delata commodum, ut ad me ſcribit. Hunc tu non ames? Quem igitur iſtorum? *Ad Att.* iv. 18.

Cæſar

Cæſar *with the deſign*, he was obliged to reſume it, and actually finiſhed an *Epic poem in honour of* Cæſar! *which he promiſes* to ſend, as ſoon as he could get a proper conveyance, *that it might not be loſt*, *as* Quintus's *tragedy of* ERICONE *was in coming from Gaul the only thing*, ſays he, *which had not found a ſafe paſſage, ſince* Cæſar *governed that province.* Y. R. 699. Ad Quint. ii. 9.

In a letter, which *Cicero* wrote this ſummer to his brother, he tells him, that there were ſome hopes of an election of Magiſtates, but thoſe uncertain; ſome ſuſpicion of a DICTATOR, yet that not more certain; a great calm in the Forum; the calm of a City, that ſeemed to be quieted, rather by age and decay, than concord: That his own conduct, as well in public as in private, was juſt what *Quintus* had adviſed, *ſofter than the tip of his ear*; and his votes in the Senate ſuch as pleaſed others rather than himſelf——That bribery was never[f] carried ſo *high as at this time by the Conſular candidates*, Memmius, Cn. Domitius, Scaurus, Meſſala; *that they were all alike*; *no eminence in any*; *for money levelled the dignity of them all:* That above eighty thouſand pounds was promiſed to the firſt tribe; and money grown ſo ſcarce by this profuſion of it, that intereſt was riſen from four to eight per cent. Midd. p. 499—504. Ad Quint. ii. 15. Add Att. iv. 15, & 18.

Memmius, and *Cn. Domitius*, who joined their intereſts, made a ſtrange ſort of contract with the Conſuls, *L. Domitius* and *Appius Claudius*, which was drawn up in writing, and atteſted in proper form by many of their friends on both ſides; by which the Conſuls obliged themſelves to ſerve them with all their power in the enſuing election; and they on their parts undertook, when elected, to procure for the Conſuls what provinces they deſired; and gave a bond of above three thouſand pounds to provide three Augurs, who ſhould teſtify, that they were preſent at making a law for granting them thoſe provinces, when no ſuch law had ever been made; and two *Conſular* Senators, who ſhould affirm, that they were preſent likewiſe at paſſing a decree of the Senate for furniſhing the ſame provinces with arms and money, when the Senate had never been conſulted about it[g].

[f] Ambitus redit immanis. Nunquam fuit par.

[g] "This deteſtable bargain of forging "laws and decrees at pleaſure, in which ſo "many of the firſt rank were concerned, ei- "ther as principals or witneſſes, is alledged "by an ingenious *French* writer, as a flagrant inſtance of *that libertiniſm which* haſtened the deſtruction of *Rome*. This great Republic, of all others the moſt free and flouriſhing, owed the loſs of its liberty to no- "thing elſe but a general defection of its "Citizens from the probity and the diſcipline "of their anceſtors. *Cicero* often foretells "their *approaching* ruin from this very cauſe." I confeſs, I ſee not the propriety of theſe expreſſions, *haſtened the deſtruction of* Rome, the *approaching ruin* of the *Roman Citizens*. Was not *Rome* already *totally* ruined? But by *the ruin of the State* Cicero ſeldom means any thing elſe but the loſs of his own influence in the government. To an impartial eye, was *Rome* in a worſe condition, were the *Roman* Citizens more ruined, when *Julius Cæſar* became their Lord and Maſter, than they were at this time? *Cicero* himſelf, as we ſhall ſee preſently, intimates that a DICTATOR was really wanted; [but then he muſt be a DICTATOR, who would ſo regulate matters, that *Cicero* might reſume his former dignity.] Midd. p. 501. Monteſquieu, chap. x. ſur les cauſes de la grandeur, &c.

Y. R. 699. *Memmius*, finding ſome reaſon to diſlike his bargain, reſolved to break it; and, by *Pompey*'s advice, gave an account of it to the Senate. *Pompey* was

Dio, l. xxxix. p. 118. pleaſed with the opportunity of mortifying the Conſul *Domitius*, and willing likewiſe to take ſome revenge on *Appius*, who, though his near relation,

Ad Att. iv. 18. did not not enter ſo fully as he expected into his meaſures. *Appius* never changed countenance, nor loſt any credit by the diſcovery; but his Collegue *Domitius*, who affected the character of a patriot[h], was extremely diſcompoſed; and *Memmius*, now grown deſperate, reſolved to promote the general diſorder, and the creation of a DICTATOR.

Quintus ſent his brother word from *Gaul, that it was reported there, that*

Ad Quint. iii. 1. *he was preſent at this contract:* But *Cicero* aſſures him that it was falſe; and *that the bargain was of ſuch a nature, as* Memmius *had opened it to the Senate, that no honeſt man could have been preſent at it.* The Senate was highly incenſed; and, to check the inſolence of the parties concerned, *paſſed a decree, that their conduct ſhould be enquired into by what they called a private or ſilent judgment*; where the ſentence was not to be declared till after the election, yet ſo as to make void the election of thoſe who ſhould be found guilty: This they reſolved to execute with rigour, and *made an allotment of Judges for that purpoſe:* But ſome of the Tribunes were prevailed

Ad Att. iv. 16. with *to interpoſe their negative, on pretence of hindering all inquiſitions not ſpecially authorized by the People.*

The candidates however were all publicly impeached by different proſecutors, and the City was now in a great ferment about them; *ſince,*

Ad Quint. iii. 2. Ad Att. iv. 16. as *Cicero* ſays, *either the men or the laws muſt neceſſarily periſh; yet they will all,* ſays he, *be acquitted; for trials are now managed ſo corruptly, that no man will ever be condemned for the future, unleſs for murder.* But *Q. Scævola*, one of the Tribunes, took a more effectual way to mortify them, by reſolving to hinder any election of Conſuls during his Magiſtracy, in which he perſevered, and by his authority *diſſolved all the aſſemblies convened for that purpoſe.* The *Tribunician candidates* however were remark-

Ibid. 15. & 16. Ad Quint. ii. 15. ably modeſt this year: For they made an agreement among themſelves, which they all confirmed by an oath, *that, in proſecuting their ſeveral intereſts, they would ſubmit their conduct to the judgment of* Cato, *and depoſit four thouſand pounds apiece in his hands, to be forfeited by thoſe whom he ſhould condemn of an irregular practice. If the election proves free, ſays* Cicero, *as it is thought it will,* Cato *alone can do more than all the Laws and all the Judges.*

Ad Att. iv. 15. & 16. A great part of this year was taken up in public trials: *Suffenas* and *C. Cato*, who had been Tribunes two years before, were tried in the beginning of *July, for violence and breach of peace* in their Magiſtracy, and both acquitted: But *Procilius*, one of their collegues, *was condemned for killing a Citizen in his own houſe: Whence we are to collect,* ſays

Vid. ſupr. p. 487, & 490.

[h] *Cæſar* had the honour to have this worthy *patriot* (*Cato*'s friend and brother-in-law) for his avowed enemy, as we have formerly ſeen.

Cicero,

Cicero, that our Areopagites value neither bribery, nor elections, nor interregnums, nor attemps againſt the State, nor the whole Republic a ruſh: We muſt not murder a man indeed in his own houſe, though that perhaps might be done moderately, ſince twenty-two acquitted Procilius, *when twenty-eight condemned him.* Y. R. 699. Bef. Chr. 53. 398 Conſ.

Cicero had no concern in theſe trials; yet he was continually employed in others through the reſt of this ſummer. He defended *Meſſius*, one of *Cæſar*'s Lieutetants, *who came from* Gaul *on purpoſe to take his trial:* When *Druſus*, accuſed *of prevaricating, or betraying a cauſe which he had undertaken to defend; of which he was acquitted by a majority only of four voices.* After that, *Vatinius*, the laſt year's Prætor, and *Æmilius Scaurus*, one of the Conſular candidates, accuſed of plundering the province of *Sardinia*; and about the ſame time likewiſe his old friend *Cn. Plancius*, who had entertained him ſo generouſly in his exile, and, being now choſen *Ædile*, was accuſed by a diſappointed competitor, *M. Laterenſis, of bribery and corruption.* All theſe were acquitted; but the orations for them are loſt, except that for *Plancius.* Ad Att. iv. 15. Ad Quint. ii. 16. Ibid. iii. 1.

The reaſons which induced *Cicero* to defend *Vatinius*, who had been one of his fierceſt enemies, and againſt whom he had made that bitter * *invective* before mentioned, we ſhall find in the following letter * from the Orator to his friend *Lentulus*; a moſt curious piece, where he gives us his own picture at full length as a *patriot* and *politician.* We have already had him admirably well drawn by himſelf as a *caſuiſt* in points of religious ſcruple. * Vid. ſup. p. 484. Vid. ſupra, p. 492.

To *Lentulus.*

" ——Though I had much rather you ſhould gain experience by my " misfortunes than your own, yet it affords me ſome conſolation under your " preſent diſappointment [l], that you have not paid ſo ſevere a fine as I did " for being taught the little dependence there is upon the profeſſions of the " world. A reflection this, which may very properly ſerve as an introduc- " tion to the account you require of the motive of my late tranſactions. Ep. Fam. Lib. I Ep. ix. Ed. Græv. Book II. Lett. xvii. Melm.

" You are informed then, it ſeems, that I am reconciled with *Cæſar*, " and *Appius*: A ſtep, you aſſure me, you do not diſapprove. But you " are at a loſs to gueſs what reaſons could induce me to appear at the " trial of *Vatinius*, not only as an advocate, but as a witneſs in his favour [k]. " To ſet this matter in the cleareſt light, it will be neceſſary to trace

* *N. B.* This is the letter above referred to, in p. 494.

[l] In not obtaining a commiſſion to replace *Ptolemy* on his throne.

Melmoth. [k] A very learned and polite author, [Dr. *Mittleton*,] whoſe juſt eſteem for *Cicero*'s writings has betrayed him perhaps into ſome partiality towards his actions, acknowledges that " the defence of *Vatinius* gave a plauſible " handle for ſome cenſures upon *Cicero*." The truth of it is, the cenſure was more than *plauſible*: For nothing certainly could diſcover more meanneſs of ſpirit than thus, in compliance with thoſe in power, not only to defend *Vatinius* as an advocate, but to bear public teſtimony likewiſe to *his general good conduct.*

" back

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" back the motives of my conduct to their original ſource. Let me ob-
" ſerve then, my *Lentulus*, that when I was recalled from exile by your
" generous offices, I conſidered myſelf as reſtored, not only to my friends
" and to my family, but to the Commonwealth in general. And as you
" had a right to the beſt returns of my affection and gratitude for the
" diſtinguiſhed part you acted in that affair, ſo I thought there was ſome-
" thing more than ordinary due from me to my Country, which had ſo
" ſingularly co-operated with you upon this occaſion. I often took an
" opportunity, during your Conſulate, of publicly declaring theſe my
" ſentiments in the Senate; As I always, you well know, expreſſed my-
" ſelf to the ſame purpoſe in our private converſation. Nevertheleſs I had
" many reaſons at that time to be highly diſguſted. I could not, in truth,
" but obſerve the diſguiſed malice of ſome, and the coolneſs of others,
" when you were endeavouring to procure a decree for reſtoring the in-
" ſcription of that honourable monument of my public ſervices, which
" had been erected by the Senate. But it was not only in this inſtance,
" that thoſe who had many obligations to concur in your good offices
" towards me, acted a part I had little reaſon to expect. They looked
" indeed with much ungenerous indifference on the cruel outrage which
" was offered to my brother and myſelf under our own roof; and the
" eſtimate they made, in purſuance of the Senate's order, of the damages
" I had ſuſtained by theſe acts of violence, was far unequal to my
" real loſs. This laſt article of their injuſtice, though leaſt indeed
" in my concern, I could not but very ſenſibly feel amidſt the general
" wreck of my fortunes. But, though theſe mortifying marks of their
" diſpoſition towards me were much too notorious to eſcape my obſerva-
" tion, they could not efface the more agreeable impreſſions of their
" former friendſhip. For this reaſon, notwithſtanding thoſe high obli-
" gations I had to *Pompey*, of which you yourſelf were witneſs, and have
" often mentioned; notwithſtanding alſo the affection and eſteem which
" I always entertained for him, yet I ſtill firmly adhered to my political
" principles; nor ſuffered theſe conſiderations of private amity to influence
" me in favour of his public meaſures. Accordingly, when *Vatinius*
" (who at the trial of *P. Sextius* was examined as a witneſs againſt him)
" intimated that *Cæſar*'s ſucceſſes had reconciled me to his party, I told
" him, in the preſence of *Pompey*, that I preferred the fate of *Bibulus*,
" unhappy as he might eſteem it, to all the ſplendid triumphs of the moſt
" victorious general[1]. I aſſerted likewiſe upon another occaſion (and
" aſſerted too in the hearing of *Pompey*) that the ſame perſons who con-
" fined *Bibulus* to his houſe had driven me from mine. Indeed the
" whole ſeries of thoſe interrogatories, which I put to *Vatinius* at this

[1] *N. B.* This letter was written two years after the trial of *Sextius*; and perhaps *Cicero* never ſaid what he here pretends to have ſaid, " That he preferred the glory of *Bibulus* to the glory of *Pompey* and that of *Cæſar*, &c." I cannot think he had the boldneſs to ſpeak ſo.

" trial,

" trial, was entirely deſigned as an invective againſt his Tribunate: And I particularly expoſed, with much freedom and indignation, his contempt of the auſpices, his corrupt diſtribution of foreign kingdoms, together with the reſt of his violent and illegal proceedings. But it was not only upon this occaſion that I ſpoke thus unreſervedly: I frequently avowed my ſentiments with the ſame reſolute ſpirit in the Senate. Thus, when *Marcellinus* and *Philippus* were Conſuls, I carried a motion, that the affair of the *Campanian* lands ſhould be referred to the reconſideration of a full Houſe on the fifteenth of *May* following. Now tell me, my friend, could I poſſibly have made a bolder or more formidable attack upon this party? Could I poſſibly have given a more convincing evidence that I had not departed from my old principles, notwithſtanding all I had formerly ſuffered for their ſake? The truth of it is, this motion greatly exaſperated not only thoſe whom it was reaſonable to expect it would offend, but others upon whom I did not imagine it would have had any ſuch effect. *Pompey*, ſoon after this decree had paſſed, ſet forward upon his expedition into *Sardinia* and *Africa*, without giving me the leaſt intimation of his being diſguſted. In his way thither he had a conference with *Cæſar* at *Luca*, who made great complaints of this motion. He had before, it ſeems, been informed of it by *Craſſus* at *Ravanna*, who took that opportunity of incenſing him againſt me. And it appeared afterwards, that *Pompey* was much diſſatisfied upon the ſame account. This I learnt from ſeveral hands, but particularly from my brother, who met him in *Sardinia* a few days after he had left *Luca*. *Pompey* told him he was extremely glad of that accidental interview, as he wanted much to talk with him. He began with ſaying, that, as *my brother ſtood engaged*[m] *for my conduct*, he ſhould expect him to exert all his endeavours to influence me accordingly. *Pompey* then proceeded very warmly to remonſtrate againſt my late motion in the Senate, reminding my brother of his ſervices to us both, and particularly of what had paſſed between them concerning *Cæſar*'s edicts, and of thoſe aſſurances, he ſaid, my brother had given him of the meaſures I would purſue with reſpect to that article. He added, that my brother himſelf was a witneſs, that the ſteps he had formerly taken for procuring my recall were with the full conſent and approbation of *Cæſar*. Upon the whole therefore, he intreated him, if it were either not in my power or my inclination to ſupport the intereſt and dignity of the latter, that he would at leaſt prevail with me not to oppoſe them. The account which my brother gave me of this converſation, together with a meſſage I had before received from *Pompey* by *Vibullius*, to

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Vid. ſupra, P. 484.

[m] " This alludes to thoſe engagements " which *Quintus Cicero* entered into in behalf " of his brother, in order to induce *Pompey* to " favour his recall from baniſhment. And it " appears by what follows, that he promiſed, " on the part of *Cicero*, an unlimited reſignation to the meaſures of that ambitious " chief."

Melm.

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" requeſt that I would not proceed any farther in the affair of the *Campanian* lands till his return, threw me into a very ſerious train of reflections. I could not but think, after having performed and ſuffered ſo much for my Country, that I might now at leaſt be permitted to conſider what was due to gratitude and to the honour of my brother: And, as I had ever conducted myſelf with integrity towards the Republic, I might be allowed, I hoped, to act the ſame honeſt part in my more private connexion[n].

" During the time I was engaged in theſe votes, and other proceedings with which *Pompey* appeared thus diſſatisfied, I was informed of what paſſed in the converſation of a ſet of men, whom you will now gueſs without my naming them. This party, though they approved of my public meaſures, as being agreeable to what had ever been their profeſſed ſentiments, were yet ſo ungenerous as to expreſs great ſatisfaction in believing, that my conduct would by no means pleaſe *Pompey*, at the ſame time that it would highly exaſperate *Cæſar*. Well might I reſent, indeed, ſo injurious a treatment; but much more when I ſaw them, even before my face, maliciouſly encouraging and careſſing my avowed enemy:—Mine I do call him? rather let me ſay, an enemy to the laws and tranquillity of his Country, and to every character of worth and virtue amongſt us.

" Their malevolence, however, had not the effect intended, and it could not warm me into thoſe tranſports of indignation, of which my heart is now, indeed, no longer ſuſceptible. On the contrary, it only induced me to examine my ſituation in all its various circumſtances and relations, with the greateſt coolneſs and impartiality: The proceſs and reſult of which I will lay before you in as few words as I am able.

" *There have been times*, as experience no leſs than hiſtory has taught me, *when the power of the Commonwealth was in worthleſs and wicked hands. In ſuch a conjuncture, no hope of intereſt* (which I have at all times moſt heartily condemned) *nor fear of danger* (which upon ſome occaſions,

Melm.

[n] " Had *Cæſar* and *Pompey* indeed been never ſo much his real friends, no conſiderations of amity ought to have prevailed with him to have acquieſced in a ſcheme which was contrary to the ſentiments of all the real patriots of the Republic, and contrary likewiſe to his own: A ſcheme which he himſelf tells *Atticus* was formed for the deſtruction of the Commonwealth. *Ad Att.* ii. 17. Had he attended to the indiſputable maxim which he himſelf lays down in one of his Philoſophical Treatiſes, it would have decided at once the conduct which became him to obſerve upon an occaſion where private friendſhip interfered with more extenſive obligations: *Hæc prima lex in amicitia ſanciatur* (ſays he) *ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati.* But the truth of it is, private friendſhip was not concerned in the caſe: For he well knew that neither *Pompey* nor *Cæſar* had any attachments to him of that kind. It was fear alone that determined his reſolution: And having once already ſuffered in [what he called] the cauſe of liberty, he did not find himſelf diſpoſed to be twice a martyr. The awkward manner, however, in which he attempts to juſtify himſelf throughout this letter, very evidently ſhews, *how impoſſible it is to bid farewell to integrity with a good grace.*"

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" however, has influenced the greatest minds) *should prevail with me to* " *co-operate in their measures: No, no, though I were attached to them by* " *the strongest ties of friendship and gratitude. But, when a man of* Pom- " pey's *distinguished character presides over the Republic*, a man who has " acquired that eminence of power and honour by the most heroic actions, " and the most signal services, *I could not imagine it would be impu[illegible] me* " *as a levity of disposition, if in some few instances I declined a little [illegible] my* " *general maxims, and complied with his inclinations* °. But my justification, " I thought, would still rise in its strength, when it should be remembered " that I favoured his credit and dignity even from the earliest part of my " life; as I particulatly promoted them in my Prætorship * and Consu- " late †: When it should be remembered, that he not only assisted me " with his vote and his influence in the Senate during my adversity, but " joined his counsels and his efforts with yours, for the same generous pur- " pose: In a word, when it should be remembered, that he has no other " enemy in the whole Commonwealth except [*Clodius*] the man who is " my professed adversary. In consequence of these sentiments it was ab- " solutely necessary for me, you see, to unite with *Cæsar*, as one who was " joined in the same views and the same interest. His friendship likewise, " which you are sensible my brother and I have long shared together with " *his humane and generous disposition, which I have abundantly experienced* " *both by his late letters and his good offices towards me*, contributed greatly " to confirm me in these resolutions. To which I must add, that *the* " *Commonwealth in general seemed to be most strongly averse from giving any* " *opposition to these extraordinary men; more especially after* Cæsar *had per-* " *formed such glorious exploits for the honour of his Country.* But what had " still a farther and very powerful weight in my deliberations, was *Pom-* " *pey's having engaged his word for me to* Cæsar, *as my brother had given the* " *same assurances to* Pompey.

* Vid. supr. p. 222.

† 271.

" *Plato*, I remember, lays it down as a maxim in his divine writings, " that " the people generally model their manners and their sentiments " by those of the great: " A maxim which at this juncture, I thought, " merited my particular attention. I was convinced indeed of its truth, " when I reflected on the vigorous resolutions which were taken in the " Senate on the memorable nones of *December*: And it seemed no wonder " so noble a spirit should appear in that Assembly, after the animating

Melm.

° " —*Cicero*'s compliance can by no means " be considered in the favourable light where- " in he represents it; but was in reality a " confession most injurious to his honour.— " It is certain likewise, that it was not from " any advantageous opinion of *Pompey*'s poli- " tical character and designs that he was in- " duced to fall in with his measures. On the " contrary, *Cicero* most undoubtedly had no " esteem for him: And as to his political " views, he saw and acknowledged, long be- " fore the date of this letter, that they were " turned on the destruction of the Republic. " Ὁμολογουμενως (says he in one epistle to *Atti-* " *cus*) τυραννιδα συσκευαζεται; as in another, " written upon the breaking out of the civil " war, he calls him *hominem* ἀπολιτικωτατον, a " man utterly unacquainted with the arts of " government." *Ad Att.* ii. 17, viii. 16.

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" example I had given them upon my firſt entering on the Conſular office. " I recollected alſo, that, during the whole time which intervened between " the expiration of my Conſulſhip and that of *Cæſar* and *Bibulus*, when I " ſtill retained a very conſiderable authority in the Senate, all the better " part of the Republic were united in their ſentiments. On the other hand, " about the time you took poſſeſſion of your government in *Spain*, the " Commonwealth could not ſo properly be ſaid to be under the admini- " ſtration of Conſuls as of infamous *barterers of provinces* [p], and the mean " vaſſals and miniſters of ſedition. It was then that diſcord and faction " ſpread through all ranks amongſt us: And I was marked out as the " victim of party and rage. In this critical ſeaſon, however, not only every " man of worth, but the greater part of the Senators, and indeed *all* Italy " *in general, roſe up with remarkable unanimity in my cauſe* [q]. What the " event proved I forbear to mention; as, in truth, it is to be imputed to " a complication of errors and artifices. But this I will ſay, it was not " forces, ſo much as leaders to conduct them, that were wanting to me " in this criſis. I muſt add, that whatever cenſure may juſtly fall on " thoſe who refuſed me their aſſiſtance, moſt certainly *they who firſt pro-* " *miſed it, and then deſerted me, are not leſs to be blamed* [r]. In a word, if " ſome of my friends may well be reproached for the timid though ſincere " counſels they gave me, how much more ſevere muſt their condemnation " prove, who artfully alarmed me with their pretended fears? Let it be " noted at the ſame time to my honour, that, zealous as my fellow Citi- " zens ſhewed themſelves to riſe up in the defence of a man who had for- " merly ſtood forth in theirs, yet I would not ſuffer them to be expoſed " (unſupported as they were by thoſe who ought to have been their pro- " tectors) to the barbarous inſults of lawleſs banditti. On the contrary, I " rather choſe the world ſhould judge, by the power of my friends in recal- " ling me from my exile, what their honeſt humanity could have effected, " had I permitted them to have drawn their ſwords to prevent it.

" You were ſenſible of this general zeal in my favour, when you under- " took my cauſe: And you not only encouraged but confirmed it by " your influence and authority. I ſhall always moſt willingly acknow- " ledge, that you were aſſiſted upon this occaſion by ſome of the moſt

[p] *Piſo* and *Gabinius*. Vid. ſupra, p. 428.

[q] It is ſtrange, that being thus defended, he ſhould nevertheleſs be baniſhed.

Melm. [r] " In this number was *Pompey* himſelf, " who, though he had given *Cicero* the moſt " ſolemn aſſurances that he would at the ha- " zard of his life protect him againſt *Clodius*, " yet, when afterwards our author ſolicited " the execution of this promiſe, he abſolutely Vid. ſupr. " refuſed to concern himſelf in the affair. *Ad* P. 433. " *Att.* ii. 20. x. 4. It ſeems altogether unac- " countable, that *Cicero* ſhould be ſo injudi- " cious as to touch upon a circumſtance that " deſtroys the whole force of his apology; ſo " far, I mean, as he intended to juſtify his " conduct by his friendſhip to *Pompey*. For it " exceeds all power of credulity to imagine, " that he could really be influenced by a " motive of that kind with reſpect to a man " whoſe inſincerity he had ſo lately and ſo " ſeverely experienced."

" conſiderable

" conſiderable perſons in *Rome*; who, it muſt be owned, exerted themſelves with much greater vigour in procuring my return, than in preventing my baniſhment: And had they perſiſted in the ſame reſolute diſpoſition, they might have recovered their own authority at the ſame time that they obtained my reſtoration. The ſpirits, in truth, of the Ariſtocratical part of the Republic were at this time greatly raiſed and animated by the inflexible patriotiſm of your conduct during your Conſulſhip, together with *Pompey*'s concurrence in the ſame meaſures. *Cæſar* likewiſe, when he ſaw the Senate diſtinguiſhing his glorious actions by the moſt ſingular and unprecedented honours, joined in adding weight to the authority of that Aſſembly. Had theſe happy circumſtances therefore been rightly improved, it would have been impoſſible for any ill-deſigning Citizen to have violated the laws and liberties of the Commonwealth. But let me intreat you to reflect a moment on the ſubſequent conduct of my political aſſociates. In the firſt place, they ſcreened from puniſhment that infamous intruder on the matron-myſteries, who ſhewed no more reverence for the awful ceremonies of the Goddeſs, in whoſe honour theſe ſecret ſolemnities are celebrated, than for the chaſtity of his three ſiſters. And thus, by preventing *a worthy Tribune* * *of the People* from obtaining that juſtice upon *Clodius* which he endeavoured to procure, they deprived future times of a moſt ſalutary example of chaſtiſed ſedition. Did not they ſuffer likewiſe that monument, that glorious monument, which was erected, not indeed with the ſpoils I had gained in foreign wars, but by the generoſity of the Senate for my civil ſervices; did they not moſt ſhamefully ſuffer it to be inſcribed with the name of the cruel and avowed enemy of his Country'? Obliged moſt certainly I am to them for having reſtored me to the Commonwealth: But I could wiſh they had conducted themſelves, not only like phyſicians whoſe views terminate merely in the health of their patients, but like the *Aliptæ*' alſo, who endeavour to eſtabliſh the ſpirits and vigour of thoſe under their care. Whereas they have acted with regard to me, as *Apelles* did in relation to his celebrated picture of *Venus*; they have finiſhed one part of their work with great ſkill and accuracy, but left all the reſt a mere rude and imperfect ſketch.

" In one article, however, I had the ſatisfaction to diſappoint my enemies. They imagined my baniſhment would have wrought the ſame effect on me, which they falſely ſuppoſed a calamity of a like kind

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Vid. ſupr. 484 & 487.

* Milo.

* " After the ſuppreſſion of *Catiline*'s conſpiracy, the Senate decreed that a temple ſhould be erected to LIBERTY, as a public monument of their late happy deliverance. This temple was raiſed at the foot of Mount *Palatine*, near *Cicero*'s houſe. And as the inſcription fixed thereon undoubtedly mentioned *Cicero* with honour, *Clodius* eraſed thoſe words, and placed his own name in their ſtead." *Melm.* from *Manutius.*

† " The *Aliptæ* were perſons who prepared the athletic combatants by unctions, and other proper methods, for rendering them vigorous and active in their gymnaſtic exerciſes." *Melm.*

A. U. 699. "produced formerly in *Quintus Metellus.* This excellent perſon, whom
"I look upon to have been a man of the *greateſt fortitude and magnani-*
* Vid. ſupr. p. 55. "*mity* * *of any in his time*, they repreſented as broken and diſpirited after
"his return from exile. But if broken he really were, it could not be the
"effect of his adverſity, as it is certain he ſubmitted to his ſentence with-
"out the leaſt reluctance, and lived under it, not only with indifference,
"but with chearfulneſs. The truth is, no man ever equalled him in the
"ſtrength and heroiſm of his mind: No, *not even the celebrated* Marcus
"Scaurus [u] himſelf. Nevertheleſs, ſuch as they had heard, or at leaſt
"choſe to imagine *Metellus* to have been, they figured me to themſelves:
"Or, if poſſible indeed, even yet more abject. The reverſe, however,
"proved to be the caſe: and that general concern, which the whole Re-
"public expreſſed at my abſence, inſpired me with more vigorous ſpirits
"than I had ever before enjoyed. The truth is, the ſentence of baniſh-
"ment againſt *Metellus* was repealed by a law propoſed only by a ſingle
"Tribune of the People: Whereas I was recalled from mine upon the
"motion of the Conſul himſelf, and by a law in which every Magiſtrate
"of *Rome* concurred. Let me add likewiſe, that *each order and degree in*
"*the Commonwealth, headed by the Senate and ſupported by all* Italy, *zea-*
"*louſly united in one common effort for recovering me to my Country* [w]. Yet,
"high as theſe unexampled honours were, they have never elated my
"heart with pride, or tempted me to aſſume an air which could give juſt
"offence even to the moſt malevolent of my enemies. The whole of
"my ambition is, not to be wanting either in advice or aſſiſtance to my
"friends; or even to thoſe whom I have no great reaſon to rank in that
"number: It is this, perhaps, which has given the real ground of com-
"plaint to thoſe who view only the luſtre of my actions, but cannot be
"ſenſible of the pains and ſolicitude they coſt me. But whatever the
"true cauſe may be, the pretended one is, *my having promoted the honours*
"*of* Cæſar: A circumſtance which they interpret, it ſeems, as a renun-
"ciation of my old maxims. The genuine motives however of my con-
"duct in this inſtance are, not only what I juſt before mentioned, but
"particularly what I hinted in the beginning of my letter, and will now
"more fully explain.

"You will not find then, my friend, the Ariſtocratical part of the
"Republic diſpoſed to purſue the ſame ſyſtem as when you left them:
"That ſyſtem, I mean, which I endeavoured to eſtabliſh when I was
"Conſul, and which, though afterwards occaſionally interrupted, and
"at length entirely overthrown, was again fully reſtored during your
"adminiſtration. It is now, however, totally abandoned by thoſe who
"ought moſt ſtrenuouſly to have ſupported it. I do not aſſert this upon

[u] As infamous a Hypocrite and Traitor as ever lived. Vid. ſupra, p. 20 and 23.

[w] If this was the caſe; Whom had his friends to ſtruggle with, in order to obtain his reſtoration.

"the

" the credit only of appearances, in which it is exceedingly eaſy to diſ- Y. R. 699.
" ſemble: I ſpeak it upon the unqueſtionable evidence of facts, and the Bef. Chr. 53.
" public proceedings of thoſe who were ſtiled patriots in my Conſulate. 398 Conſ.
" The general ſcheme of politics, therefore, being thus changed, it is time
" moſt certainly for every man of prudence (in which number I have the
" ambition to be juſtly accounted) to vary likewiſe his particular plan.
" Accordingly, that chief and favourite guide of my principles, whom
" I have already quoted, the divine *Plato* himſelf, adviſes, *not to preſs any*
" *political point farther than is conſonant to the general ſenſe of the com-*
" *munity*: For methods of violence, he maintains, are no more to be uſed
" towards one's Country than one's parent. Upon this maxim, he tells us,
" he declined engaging in public affairs: And as he found the People of
" *Athens* confirmed by long habit in their miſtaken notions of government,
" he did not think it lawful to attempt by force what he deſpaired of ef-
" fecting by perſuaſion. My ſituation, however, is in this reſpect dif-
" ferent from *Plato*'s: For, on the one hand, as I have already embarked
" in public affairs, it is too late to deliberate whether I ſhould now enter
" upon them or not; ſo, on the other, the *Roman* people are by no
" means ſo incapable of judging of their true intereſts as he repreſents
" the *Athenians*. *It is my happineſs indeed to be able, by the ſame meaſures,*
" *to conſult at once both my own and my Country's welfare*[x]. To theſe
" conſiderations I muſt add *thoſe uncommon acts of generoſity, which* Cæſar
" *has exerted both towards my brother and myſelf; So much indeed beyond all*
" *example, that even whatever had been his ſucceſs, I ſhould have thought it*
" *incumbent on me at leaſt to have defended him.* But now, diſtinguiſhed
" as he is by ſuch a wonderful ſeries of proſperity, and crowned with ſo
" many glorious victories, *I cannot but eſteem it a duty which I owe to the*
" *Republic, abſtracted from all perſonal obligations to himſelf, to promote his*
" *honours as far as lies in my power.* And believe me, it is at once my
" confeſſion and my glory, that *next to you, together with the other generous*
" *authors of my reſtoration, there is not a man in the world from whom I have*
" *received ſuch amicable offices.*

" And now, having laid before you the principal motives of my conduct
" in general, I ſhall be the better able to ſatisfy you concerning my beha-
" viour with reſpect to *Craſſus* and *Vatinius* in particular: For, as to
" *Appius* and *Cæſar*, I have the pleaſure to find that you acquit me of all
" reproach.

[x] It is not very eaſy to ſee how *Cicero* can be juſtified, according to his own principles, in being acceſſary to the cementing an union between *Pompey* and *Cæſar*. " For he aſſures " *Atticus*, in a letter which was written at " the breaking out of the civil war, that he " foreſaw the ſtorm that had been gathering " to deſtroy the Republic fourteen years be- ' fore it fell; and calls the union of theſe ' ambitious chiefs, *ſceleratæ conſpirationis fides*, ' a wicked confederacy. To which he adds, ' that they had upon all occaſions preferred ' the intereſt of their families, and the ad- ' vancement of their power, to the honour ' and welfare of their country." *Plut. in vit. Pomp. Ad Att.* x. 4.

Melm.

" My

Y. R. 699. Bef. Chr. 53. 198 Conf.

" My reconciliation then with *Vatinius* was effected by the mediation of " *Pompey*, ſoon after the former was elected Prætor. I muſt confeſs, when " he petitioned to be admitted a candidate for that office, I very warmly " oppoſed him in the Senate: But it was much leſs from my reſentment " to the man himſelf, than in order to ſupport the honour and intereſt of " *Cato*. Soon after this he was impeached: And it was in compliance " with the earneſt ſolicitation of *Cæſar* that I undertook his defence. But " you muſt not enquire why I appeared at this trial, or indeed at any " other of the ſame kind, as a witneſs in favour of the accuſed, leſt I " ſhould hereafter have an opportunity of retorting the queſtion upon you. " Though, to ſay truth, I may fairly aſk it even now: For do you not " remember, my friend, in whoſe behalf it was that you formerly tranſ- " mitted certain honourable teſtimonials even from the utmoſt limits of " the *Roman* empire? You need not ſcruple, however, to acknowledge " the fact: For I have acted, and ſhall continue to act, the ſame part to- " wards thoſe very perſons. But to return to *Vatinius*: Beſides the reaſons " I have already aſſigned, I was provoked to engage in his defence by an " oppoſition of the ſame ſort which the paraſite recommends to the amo- " rous ſoldier in the play. The obſequious *Gnatho*, you know, adviſes " his friend the captain, whenever his miſtreſs endeavours to pique his " jealouſy by mentioning his rival *Phædria*, to play off *Pamphila* upon her " in return. Thus, as I told the Judges at this trial, ſince certain ho- " nourable perſons, who were formerly much in my intereſt, had thought " fit, by many little mortifying inſtances in the Senate, to careſs my avow- " ed enemy before my face, I thought it but equitable to have a *Clodius* " on my part, in oppoſition to the *Clodius* on theirs. Accordingly I have, " upon many occaſions, acted ſuitably to this declaration: And all the " world acknowledges I have reaſon.

" Having thus explained my conduct with regard to *Vatinius*, I will " now lay before you thoſe motives which determined me in reſpect to " *Craſſus*. I was willing, for the ſake of the common cauſe, to bury in " oblivion the many and great injuries I had formerly received from him. " Agreeably to this diſpoſition, as we were then upon good terms, I ſhould " have borne his unexpected defence of *Gabinius* (whom he had very lately " with ſo much warmth oppoſed) if he had avoided all perſonal reflections " on myſelf. But when, with the moſt unprovoked violence, he broke in " upon me whilſt I was in the midſt of my ſpeech, I muſt confeſs it raiſed " my indignation: And perhaps I took fire ſo much the ſooner, as poſſibly " there remained in my heart ſome latent ſparks of my former reſentment. " However, my behaviour in the Senate upon this occaſion was much and " generally applauded. Among the reſt, I was complimented likewiſe " by the ſame men whom I have often hinted at in this letter; and who " acknowledged I had rendered a very eſſential ſervice to their cauſe, " by the ſpirit which I had thus exerted. In ſhort, they affected to ſpeak

" of

" of me in public, as being now indeed reſtored to the Commonwealth Y. R. 699. Bef. Chr. 53.
" in the beſt and moſt glorious ſenſe. Nevertheleſs, they had the malice 398 Conſ.
" in their private converſations (as I was informed by perſons of un-
" doubted honour) to expreſs ſingular ſatisfaction in the new variance
" that had thus happened between *Craſſus* and myſelf: As they pleaſed
" themſelves with imagining it would for ever throw me at a diſtance from
" thoſe who were joined with him in the ſame intereſt. *Pompey* in the
" mean time employed incredible pains to cloſe this breach: And *Cæſar*
" alſo mentioned it in his letters as an accident that gave him much con-
" cern. Upon theſe conſiderations, therefore, I thought it expedient to
" act agreeably both to the dictates of my natural temper, and to that
" experience which I had gained by my former misfortunes. In purſu-
" ance of theſe ſentiments, I conſented to a reconciliation: And, in order
" to render it more conſpicuous to the world, *Craſſus* ſet out for his
" government almoſt from under my roof: For having invited him-
" ſelf to ſpend the preceding night with me, we ſupped together in the
" gardens of my ſon-in-law *Craſſipes*. It was for theſe reaſons that I
" thought my honour obliged me to defend his cauſe in the Senate: And
" *I confeſs I mentioned him with that high applauſe of which, it ſeems, you*
" *have been informed.*

" *Thus I have given you a full detail of the ſeveral views and motives by*
" *which I am governed in the preſent conjuncture*, as well as of the particular
" diſpoſition in which I ſtand with reſpect to the ſlender part I can pretend
" to claim in the Adminiſtration of public affairs. And, *believe me, I ſhould*
" *have judged and acted in the ſame manner, had I been totally free from every*
" *ſort of amicable biaſs.* For, on the one hand, I ſhould have eſteemed
" it the moſt abſurd folly to have attempted to oppoſe ſo ſuperior a force;
" and, on the other, *ſuppoſing it poſſible, I ſhould yet have deemed it imprudent*
" *to weaken the authority of perſons ſo eminently and ſo juſtly diſtinguiſhed*
" *in the Commonwealth* [y]. Beſides, it appears to me to be the dictates of
" found

Melm. [y] " It will appear very evident perhaps from " the foregoing obſervations, that what *Cicero* " here aſſerts could not poſſibly be his real " ſentiments. That it was not practicable to " bring down *Cæſar* and *Pompey* from that " height of power to which they were now ar- " rived, will not, probably, be diſputed: Tho' " at the ſame time it is very difficult to ſet li- " mits to what prudence and perſeverance may " effect. This at leaſt ſeems undeniable, that, " if their power were abſolutely immoveable, " *Cicero*'s conduct was in the number of thoſe " cauſes which contributed to render it ſo. " However one cannot but be aſtoniſhed to " find our author ſeriouſly maintaining, that, " granting it had not been impoſſible, it would " yet have been impolitic, to have checked " theſe towering chiefs in their ambitious " flight. For it is plain, from a paſſage al- " ready cited out of his letters to *Atticus*, that Ad Att. " he long foreſaw their immoderate growth x. 4. " of power *would at laſt over-run the liberties* " *of the Commonwealth* *. It had already in- " deed deſtroyed his own, and this too by the " confeſſion of himſelf. For in a letter which " he writes to his brother, taking notice of " the ſtrong application that *Pompey* had made " to him to defend *Gabinius*, he declares he

* *i. e.* would extinguiſh the deteſtable Ariſtocratical tyranny under which *Rome* had unhappily fallen.

" never

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" found policy to act in accommodation to particular conjunctures, and not
" obſtinately perſevere in one invariable ſcheme, when public circumſtan-
" ces, together with *the ſentiments of the beſt and wiſeſt members, of the*
" *community, are evidently changed.*

" In conformity to this notion, the judicious reaſoners on the great art
" of government have univerſally condemned an inflexible perſeverance
" in one uniform tenor of meaſures. The ſkill of the pilot is ſhewn in
" weathering the ſtorm at leaſt, though he ſhould not gain his port: But
" if ſhifting his ſail, and changing his direction, will infallibly carry him
" into the intended harbour, would it not be an inſtance of moſt unrea-
" ſonable tenaciouſneſs, to continue in the more hazardous courſe wherein
" he began his voyage? *Thus* (and it is a maxim I have often had occa-
" ſion to inculcate) *the point we ought all of us to keep in view, in our ad-*
" *miniſtration of the Commonwealth, is the final enjoyment of an honourable*
" *repoſe; but the method of ſecuring to ourſelves this dignity of retreat, is by*
" *having been inflexible in our intentions for the public welfare, and not by a*
" *poſitive perſeverance in certain favourite modes of obtaining it* [z]. To repeat,
" therefore, what I juſt now declared, *Had I been abſolutely uninfluenced by*
" *every motive of friendſhip, I ſhould ſtill have purſued the ſame public mea-*
" *ſures in which I am now engaged.* But when gratitude and reſentment both
" conſpire in recommending this ſcheme of action to me, I cannot heſitate
" a moment in adopting it; eſpecially ſince it appears moſt conducive to
" the intereſt of the Republic in general, as well as to my own in parti-
" cular. *To ſpeak freely, I act upon this principle ſo much the more frequently,*
" *and with the leſs reſerve, not only as my brother is Lieutenant under* Cæſar,
" *but as the latter receives the ſlighteſt action, or even word of mine in his*
" *favour, with an air that evidently ſhews, that he conſiders them as obliga-*
" *tions of the moſt ſenſible kind. And, in fact, I derive the ſame benefit from*
" *that popularity and power which you know he poſſeſſes, as if they were ſo*
" *many advantages of my own.* The ſum of the whole in ſhort is this:
" *I imagined I had no other method of counteracting thoſe perfidious deſigns*
" *with which* A CERTAIN PARTY *were ſecretly contriving to undermine me,*

" never will comply with that unworthy re-
" queſt ſo long as he retained the leaſt ſpark
" of liberty. But comply however he actually
" did: Equally, in truth, to his own diſ-
" grace and the confutation of the doctrine he
" here advances." *Ad Q. Fr.* iii. 1.

Mſlm. [z] " The reaſoning which *Cicero* here employs
" is certainly juſt, conſidered abſtractedly:
" But by no means applicable to the preſent
" caſe. The QUESTION between the Ariſtocra-
" tical party and thoſe who were favourers of
" *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, was not what road ſhould
" be taken to the ſame end; but *whether*
" Rome *ſhould be* FREE *or* ENSLAVED."

I muſt here take the liberty to differ from the ingenious and judicious Gentleman, to whom I am ſo much indebted for theſe tranſlations and remarks. The QUESTION, at this time, does not ſeem to have been, *whether* Rome *ſhould be* FREE *or* ENSLAVED; but *whether* Rome *ſhould be under the domination of the* TRIUMVIRATE, *or of the* FISH-POND-MEN, *the* VENERABLE BENCH *of* CONSULARS, ſuch monſters as the CONSULS and CONSULAR CANDIDATES of this year 699; or, if you pleaſe, *whether* ANARCHY *ſhould prevail in the empire, or a* GOVERNMENT BY THREE MEN. Vid. p. 50

" *than*

" *than by thus uniting the friendſhip and protection of the men in power with* Y. R. 699.
" *thoſe internal aids which have never yet been wanting to my ſupport* *." Def. Chr. 53. 398 Conſ.

CHAP. VI.

The trial of GABINIUS *for treaſonable conduct in King* PTOLEMY'S *affair. He is brought to trial a ſecond time for* plundering his province *of* Syria. CICERO *defends him at this ſecond trial; and defends likewiſe* RABIRIUS, *accuſed of being an accomplice in* GABINIUS'S *treaſon.* JULIA, *the daughter of* CÆSAR, *and wife of* POMPEY, *dies.* PONTINIUS fights his way to the Capitol *in triumph.* CICERO *accepts, and preſently after reſigns, a Lieutenancy under* POMPEY. *The election of new Conſuls is obſtructed by the Tribunes. A deſign is ſtarted to create* POMPEY DICTATOR, *but is quickly dropt. An* Inter-regnum *during the firſt ſix months of the year* 700. M. MESSALA *and* CN. DOMITIUS *are choſen Conſuls.*

CICERO'S *Engliſh* Hiſtorian obſerves, that the long and elaborate anſwer of the Patriot to his friend *Lentulus*'s enquiry, concerning the change in his political conduct, was written before *Cicero*'s defence of *Gabinius:* Otherwiſe he would have had a ſtill harder taſk to make an apology for himſelf.

The recall of *Gabinius* from his government of *Syria* had been decreed the laſt year; but he did not return to *Rome* till about the end of *September* in the preſent year. He boaſted every where on his journey that he was going *to demand a triumph*; and, to carry on that farce, continued a while without the gates, till, perceiving how odious he was to all within, *he ſtole privately into the City by night to avoid the diſgrace of being inſulted by the populace.* There were *three different impeachments* provided againſt him: The firſt, *for treaſonable practices againſt the State*; the ſecond, *for plundering his province*; the third, *for bribery and corruption:* And ſo many perſons offered themſelves to be proſecutors, *that there was a conteſt among them before the Prætor, how to adjuſt their ſeveral claims.* Midd. p. 506--510. Ad Quint. Frat. iii. 1. Ibid 2.

Melm. * " There is no character in all antiquity " that lies ſo open to diſcovery as that of *Ci-* " *cero*, and yet there is none at the ſame time " which ſeems to be leſs generally underſtood. " Had there been no other of his writings " extant, however, but this ſingle letter, the " *Patriot-character*, one ſhould have imagined, " would have been the laſt that the world " would ever have aſcribed to our author. It " is obſervable, (and it is an obſervation for " which I am obliged to a gentleman, who, " amidſt far more important occupations, did " not refuſe to be the cenſurer of theſe papers) " that " *The principles by which* Cicero *at-* " *tempts to juſtify himſelf in this epiſtle, are ſuch* " *as will equally defend the moſt abandoned pro-* " *ſtitution and deſertion in political conduct.* " *Perſonal gratitude and reſentment; an eye to* " *private and particular intereſt, mixed with a* " *pretended regard to public good; an attention* " *to a brother's advancement and farther fa-* " *vour; a ſenſibility in being careſſed by a great* " *man in power; a calculation of the advan-* " *tages derived from the popularity and credit of* " *that great man to one's own perſonal ſelf; are* " *very weak foundations indeed, to ſupport the* " *ſuperſtructure of a true patriot's character.* " *Yet theſe are the principles which* Cicero *here* " *expreſsly avows and defends!*"

Y. R. 699. Bef. Chr. 53. 398 Conſ.

The firſt indictment fell to *L. Lentulus*, who accuſed him the day after he entered the City, *that, in defiance of religion and the decree of the Senate, he had reſtored the King of* Egypt *with an army, leaving his own province naked, and open to the incurſion of enemies, who had made great devaſtations in it.*——*Gabinius* durſt not ſhew his head for the firſt ten days, till he was obliged to come to the Senate, in order to give them an account, according to cuſtom, *of the ſtate of his province and the troops which he had left in it.* As ſoon as he had told his ſtory, he was going to retire, but the Conſuls detained him, to anſwer to a complaint brought againſt him *by the publicans, or farmers of the revenues*, who were attending at the door to make it good. This drew on a debate, in which *Gabinius* was ſo urged and teized on all ſides, but eſpecially by *Cicero, that, trembling with paſſion, and unable to contain himſelf, he called* Cicero *a baniſhed man:* Upon which, ſays *Cicero*, in a letter to his brother, *nothing ever happened more honourable to me: The whole Senate to a man left their ſeats, and with a general clamour ran up to his very face; while the publicans alſo were equally fierce and clamorous againſt him, and the whole company behaved themſelves juſt as you yourſelf would have done.*

Ad Q. Fr. iii. 2.

Cicero had been deliberating for ſome time, *whether he ſhould not accuſe* Gabinius *himſelf*; but, out of *regard to* Pompey, was content to appear only *as a witneſs* againſt him, and, when the trial was over, gives the following account of it *to his brother.*

Ibid. 4.

" *Gabinius* is acquitted: Nothing was ever ſo ſtupid as his accuſer *L.* " *Lentulus*; nothing ſo ſordid as the bench: Yet, if *Pompey* had not " taken incredible pains, and the rumour of a Dictatorſhip had not in- " fuſed ſome apprehenſions, he could not have held up his head even " againſt *Lentulus:* Since, with ſuch an accuſer and ſuch judges, of the " ſeventy-two, who ſat upon him, thirty-two condemned him. The ſen- " tence is ſo infamous, that he ſeems likely to fall in the other trials; " eſpecially that for *plundering*. But there is no Republic, no Senate, " no juſtice, no dignity in any of us: What can I ſay more of the Judges? " There were but two of them of Prætorian rank; *Domitius Calvinus*, " who acquitted him ſo forwardly, that all the world might ſee it; and " *C. Cato*, who, as ſoon as the votes were declared, ran officiouſly from " the bench, to carry the firſt news to *Pompey*. Some ſay, and particu- " larly *Salluſt*, that I ought to have accuſed him: But ſhould I riſk my " credit with ſuch Judges? What a figure ſhould I have made, if he had " eſcaped from me? But there were other things which influenced me: " *Pompey* would have conſidered it as a ſtruggle, not about *Gabinius*'s " ſafety, but his own dignity: It muſt have made a breach between us: " We ſhould have been matched like a pair of gladiators; as *Pacidia-* " *nus* with *Æſerninus* the *Samnite*; he would probably have bit off one " of my ears, or have been reconciled at leaſt with *Clodius*.——For, " after all the pains which I had taken to ſerve him, when I owed no-

" thing

" thing to him, he every thing to me, yet he would not bear my differing A. R. 699.
" from him in public affairs, to ſay no worſe of it; and when he was leſs Bef. Chr.
" powerful than he is at preſent, ſhewed what power he had againſt me 53.
" in my flouriſhing condition, why ſhould I now, when I have loſt even 398 Conſ.
" all deſire of power, when the Republic certainly has none, when he
" alone has all, chuſe him of all men to contend with? For that muſt
" have been the caſe: I cannot think that you would have adviſed me to
" it, *Salluſt* ſays, that I ought to have done either the one or the other,
" and in compliment to *Pompey* have defended him; who begged it of me
" indeed very earneſtly.——A ſpecial friend this *Salluſt!* to wiſh me to
" involve myſelf in a dangerous enmity, or perpetual infamy. I am de-
" lighted with my middle way; and when I had given my teſtimony faith-
" fully and religiouſly, was pleaſed to hear *Gabinius* ſay, that, if it ſhould
" be permitted to him to continue in the City, he would make it his buſi-
" neſs to give me ſatisfaction; nor did he ſo much as interrogate me."——
He gives the ſame account of this trial to his other friends, *how* Lentulus Ad Att.
acted his part ſo ill, that people were perſuaded that he prevaricated —— iv. 16.
and that Gabinius's *eſcape was owing to the indefatigable induſtry of* Pompey
and the corruption of the bench.

About the time of this trial there happened *a terrible inundation of the Tiber*, which did much damage at *Rome*; many houſes and ſhops were carried away by it, and *the fine gardens of* Cicero's *ſon-in-law*, Craſſipes, Ad Q. Fr.
demoliſhed. It was all charged to the abſolution of *Gabinius*, after his daring iii. 7.
violation of religion, and contempt of the *Sibyl*'s *books: Cicero* applies to it the following paſſage of *Homer:*

As when in autumn JOVE *his fury pours,*
And earth is loaden with inceſſant ſhowers;
When guilty mortals break th' eternal laws,
And Judges brib'd betray the righteous cauſe;
From their deep beds he bids the rivers riſe,
And opens all the flood-gates of the ſkies.

Mr. POPE, Il. xvi. 466.

But *Gabinius*'s danger was not yet over: He was to be tried a ſecond time, *for the plundering his province*, where *C. Memmius*, one of the Tribunes, was his accuſer, and *M. Cato* his judge, with whom he was not likely to find any favour: *Pompey* preſſed *Cicero to defend him*, and would not admit of any excuſe; and *Gabinius*'s humble behaviour in the late trial was intended to make way for *Pompey*'s ſolicitation. *Cicero* ſtood firm Ibid 1.
for a long time: *Pompey*, ſays he, *labours hard with me, but has yet made no impreſſion; nor, if I retain a grain of liberty, ever will;*

Oh! ere that dire diſgrace ſhall blaſt my fame,
O'erwhelm me, earth.—— Il. iv. 218.

Y. R. 699. Bef. Chr. 53. 398 Conſ.

But *Pompey*'s inceſſant importunity, backed by *Cæſar*'s earneſt requeſt, made it vain to ſtruggle any longer; and forced him againſt his judgement, his reſolution, and his dignity, to defend *Gabinius*; at a time when his defence at laſt proved of no ſervice to him; for he was found guilty by *Cato*, and condemned of courſe to a perpetual baniſhment.

The trial of *C. Rabirius Poſthumus*, *a perſon of Equeſtrian rank*, was an appendix to that of *Gabinius*. It was one of the articles againſt *Gabinius*, that he had received about two millions for reſtoring King *Ptolemy*; yet all his eſtate that was to be found was not ſufficient to anſwer the damages in which he was condemned; nor could he give any ſecurity for the reſt: In this caſe, the method was, to demand the deficiency from thoſe, through whoſe hands the management of his money affairs had paſſed, and who were ſuppoſed to have been ſharers in the ſpoil: This was charged upon *Rabirius*, and "that he had adviſed *Gabinius* to under-"take the reſtoration of the King, and accompanied him in it, and was "employed to ſolicit the payment of the money, and lived at *Alexandria* "for that purpoſe, in the King's ſervice, as the public Receiver of the "taxes, and wearing the Pallium or habit of the Country."

Middd. p. 515.

Pro C. Rab. 8. 9. 15.

Cicero urged in defence of *Rabirius*, "that he had borne no part in "that tranſaction; but that his whole crime, or rather folly, was, that "he had lent the King great ſums of money for his ſupport at *Rome*; "and ventured to truſt a prince, who, as all the world then thought, "was going to be reſtored by the authority of the *Roman* people: That "the neceſſity of going to *Egypt* for the recovery of that debt, was the "ſource of all his miſery; where he was forced to take whatever the King "would give or impoſe: That it was his misfortune to be obliged to "commit himſelf to the power of an arbitrary monarch: That nothing "could be more mad, than for a *Roman* Knight, and Citizen of a Re-"public of all others the moſt free, to go to any place where he muſt "needs be a ſlave to the will of another; and that all who ever did ſo, "as *Plato* and the wiſeſt had ſometimes done too haſtily, always ſuffered "for it: This was the caſe of *Rabirius*; neceſſity carried him to *Alexan-"dria*; his whole fortunes were at ſtake, which he was ſo far from im-"proving by his traffic with that King, that he was ill treated by him, "impriſoned, threatened with death, and glad to run away at laſt with "the loſs of all: And at that very time, it was wholly owing to *Cæſar*'s "generoſity, and regard to the merit and misfortunes of an old friend, "that he was enabled to ſupport his former rank and Equeſtrian dig-"nity." — —

Gabinius's trial had ſo near a relation to this, and was therein ſo often referred to, that the proſecutor could not eaſily neglect the fair opportunity of *rallying Cicero* for the part which he had acted in it: *Memmius* obſerved, *that the deputies of* Alexandria *had the ſame reaſon for appearing in behalf of* Gabinius, *which* Cicero *had for defending him*, the command of a maſter.—

ſter.—" No, *Memmius*," replied *Cicero*, " my reaſon for defending him, was Y. R. 699.
" a reconciliation with him; for I am not aſhamed to own, that my quarrels
" are mortal, my friendſhips immortal: And if you imagine that I undertook Pro C. Rab. 12.
" that cauſe for fear of *Pompey*, you neither know *Pompey* nor me; for *Pom-*
" *pey* would neither deſire it of me againſt my will, nor would I, after I had
" preſerved the liberty of my Citizens, ever give up my own."

Whatever *Cicero* might ſay for himſelf in the flouriſhing ſtile of an ora- Middl. p.
tor, it is certain, that he knew and felt his *defence* of *Gabinius* to be, what 517.
it really was, an indignity and diſhonour to him, which he was forced to ſubmit to by the iniquity of the times, and his engagements with *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, as he often laments to his friends in a very paſſionate ſtrain:
" I am afflicted," ſays he, " my deareſt brother, I am afflicted, that there is Ad Quint.
" no Republic, no juſtice in trials; that this ſeaſon of my life, which ought iii. 5.
" to flouriſh in the authority of the Senatorian character, is either waſted in
" the drudgery of the bar, or relieved only by domeſtic ſtudies; that what
" I have ever been fond of from a boy,

" *In every virtuous act and glorious ſtrife*
" *To ſhine the firſt and beſt*——

" is wholly loſt and gone; that my enemies are partly not oppoſed, partly even
" defended by me; and neither what I love nor what I hate left free to me."

About this time, and while *Cæſar* was engaged in his ſecond expedition into *Britain*, his daughter *Julia*, *Pompey*'s wife, died[a] in child-bed at *Rome*, Vell. Pat. ii. 47.
having been firſt delivered of a ſon, which died alſo ſoon after her. Her Val. Max. iv. 6.
loſs was not more lamented by the huſband and father, who both of Plut. in Cæſ.
them tenderly loved her, than by all their common friends, and the well-wiſhers to the public peace, who conſidered it as a ſcource of freſh diſturbance to the State, from the ambitious views and claſhing intereſts of the two chiefs, whom the life of one ſo dear, and the relation of ſon and father, ſeemed hitherto to have united by the ties both of duty and affection.—
The jealouſies and ſeparate intereſts of the Triumvirs had obliged them Middl. 519.
to manage their power with ſome decency, and to extend it but rarely beyond the then cuſtomary forms; but whenever that league, which had made them already too great for private ſubjects, ſhould happen to be diſſolved, it was thought that the next conteſt muſt of courſe be for dominion, and the ſingle maſtery of the empire.

On *the ſecond of November*, C. Pontinius *triumphed over the Allobroges:* He had been *Prætor* when *Cicero* was *Conſul*, and, at the end of his ma- Ad Quint. iii. 5. Ad Att. iv. 16.
giſtracy, obtained the government of that part of *Gaul*, which ſome time
after, provoked by oppreſſion, broke out into rebellion, but was reduced
by the vigour of this General. For this ſervice he demanded a *Triumph*, Dio, p. 120.
but met with great oppoſition, which he ſurmounted with incredible

[a] *Cæſar* is ſaid to have borne the news of her death with an uncommon firmneſs. *Senec. Conſol. ad Helv. p.* 116.

patience:

Y. R. 699. Bef. Chr. 53. 398 Conſ.

patience: For he perſevered in his ſuit *for five years, ſucceſſively*; reſiding all that while, according to cuſtom, in the ſuburbs of the City, till he gained his point at laſt by a kind of violence. *Cicero* was his friend, and continued in *Rome* on purpoſe to aſſiſt him; and *the Conſul* Appius ſerved him *with all his power*; *but* Cato *proteſted that* Pontinius *ſhould never triumph while he lived*; *though this*, ſays *Cicero*, *like many of his other threats, will end in nothing.* The *Prætor* Galba, who had been *Pontinius*'s Lieutenant, having procured by ſtratagem an *act of the People in his favour*, he entered the City in his triumphal chariot, where he was ſo rudely received and oppoſed in his paſſage through the ſtreets, *that he was forced to make his way with his ſword, and the ſlaughter of many of his adverſaries.*

Ad Att. iv. 18.

In the end of the year *Cicero* conſented *to be one of* Pompey's *Lieutenants in* Spain, *which he began to think convenient to the preſent ſtate of his affairs, and reſolved to ſet forward for that province about the middle of* January: But this ſeeming to give ſome umbrage to *Cæſar*, who in his

Ad Quint. ii. 15.

letters deſired him to continue at *Rome*, he ſoon changed his mind, and reſigned *his Lieutenancy*: To which he ſeems to allude in a letter to his

Ibid. iii. 1.

brother, where he ſays, *that he had no ſecond thoughts in what concerned* Cæſar; *that he would make good his engagements to him*; *and being entered into his friendſhip with* judgment, *was now attached to him by* affection.

The prodigious unprecedented knaveries of the Comitia and Conſular candidates, and what followed thereupon, ſo retarded the elections, that the year expired before the State was provided with new Conſuls; and the Tribunes, whoſe authority, while there were no Conſuls to controul them, was in a manner abſolute, did for that reaſon, perhaps, keep off all Aſſemblies for the election of thoſe Magiſtrates: But it ſeems more probable that *Pompey* was at the bottom of this oppoſition, having entertained the fond deſire of being appointed DICTATOR. He choſe however to keep

Middl. 522.

himſelf out of ſight; and retired into the country, to avoid the ſuſpicion of affecting a ſovereignty which *Sylla* had made ſo odious. "The ru-

Ad Quint. iii. 8.

"mour of a DICTATORSHIP, *ſays* Cicero, is diſagreeable to the *Honeſt*; "but *the other things which they talk of* [b] *are more ſo to me.* The "whole affair is dreaded, but flags: *Pompey* flatly diſclaims it, though "he never denied it to me before. The Tribune *Hirrus* will probably

[b] What *theſe other things* were does not appear. *Dio* ſays, That ſome of the Tribunes propoſed, that, inſtead of Conſuls, *military Tribunes with Conſular power* ſhould be once again placed at the head of the Republic. But if by *other things* he meant nothing worſe than this propoſal, I cannot gueſs why Dr. *Middleton* ſays, that *Cicero* judged rightly in thinking, that there were *other things*, which, in the preſent ſituation of the *Senate* and the *honeſt*, were of more dangerous conſequence than *a Dictatorſhip*. Indeed the Doctor is of opinion, *that there was no great reaſon to be afraid of a* DICTATORSHIP *at this time.* "*For the* REPUBLIC (ſays he) *was in ſo great* "*a diſorder, that* NOTHING LESS THAN THE "DICTATORIAL POWER COULD REDUCE "IT TO A TOLERABLE STATE." [I pray the Reader to remember this conceſſion.]

p. 524.

"be

" be the promoter: Good Gods! How ſilly and fond of himſelf without " a rival! At *Pompey*'s requeſt I have deterred *Craſſus Junianus*, who " pays great regard to me, for meddling with it. It is hard to know " whether *Pompey* really deſires it or not; but he will not convince " us that he is averſe to it, if *Hirrus* ſtir in the affair." In another letter—— " Nothing is yet done as to the Dictatorſhip; *Pompey* is " ſtill abſent; *Appius* in a great buſtle; *Hirrus* preparing to propoſe it; " but ſeveral are named, as ready to interpoſe their negative: The People " do not trouble their heads about it; the chiefs are againſt it; I keep " myſelf quiet." Y. R. 699. Bef. Chr. 53. 398 Conſ. Ad Quint. fr. 9.

The Tribune *Hirrus*, mentioned in theſe letters, did actually drop ſome hints leading to *a Dictatorſhip*; for which *Cato* treated him ſo roughly, that he was almoſt reduced to throw up his office. *Q. Pompeius Rufus*, another of the Tribunes, the grandſon of *Sylla*, and the moſt warm eſpouſer of a Dictator, was, by a decree of the Senate, committed to priſon[c]. This checked all proceeding in that project: And *Pompey* himſelf, finding the greater part of the leading men utterly averſe to his Dictatorſhip, he yielded at laſt, *after an* Inter-regnum *of ſix months*, that *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* and *M. Meſſala*, two of the four candidates (who, *Cicero* tells us, were all alike) ſhould be declared Conſuls. *Domitius* was one of the contractors for forging decrees, and was without doubt ſupported in this election by the intereſt of his kinſman, *L. Domitius*, the Conſul, another of the Contractors: As for *Meſſala*, *Cicero* had particularly recommended him to *Cæſar*; as appears by what he writes to his brother *Quintus*: " *As to your reckoning* Meſſala *and* Calvinus *ſure* " *Conſuls, you agree with what we think here; for I will be anſwerable to* " Cæſar *for* Meſſala." * called Lucilius by Plut. in Pomp. Dio, lib. xl. p. 141. Vid. ſupr. p. 507. Ad Quint. fr. 8.

CHAP. VII.

CRASSUS *makes war upon the* Parthians: *The enterprize unjuſt, the event unfortunate.* CICERO, *at* Rome, *is elected into the college of* AUGURS.

THE firſt news from abroad, after the inauguration of the Conſuls, was of the ill ſucceſs of *Craſſus*'s hoſtile expedition into the *Parthian*[a] territories; a war commenced without any order or explicit permiſſion Y. R. 700. Bef. Chr. 52. 399 Conſ.

[c] This is a fact, ſays M. *Crevier*, I can ſcarce believe, a it is not to be parallelled in all the hiſtory of the *Roman* Republic. The perſons of the Tribunes were ſacred.—Beſides it is clear from the teſtimony of *Aſconius Pedianus*, that this *Pompeius Rufus* was Tribune the year following the preſent. Now it was no longer the cuſtom for the ſame Magiſtrates to be continued in office ſeveral years; and if there had been an exception in favour of *Rufus*, *Aſconius* would probably have taken notice of it.

[a] We are told that the *Parthians* were originally a people of *Scythia*, from whence being *baniſhed*, they for that very reaſon called themſelves *Parthians*, which word in the *Scythian* language Juſtin. lib. xli. c. 1.

Y.R. 700. miſſion from the Senate, and to which the inſatiable avarice of the *Roman* General was the ſole motive. The Republic had, firſt by *Sylla*, and afterwards by *Pompey*, made leagues of peace and amity with the *Parthians*, and had never complained of any infraction of them; ſo that this people, having no reaſon to apprehend an invaſion, had made no preparations againſt it. *Craſſus* therefore, beginning his march [b] ſoon after his arrival in the Eaſt, paſſed the *Euphrates*, over a bridge of boats, without oppoſition, over-ran a great part of *Meſopotamia*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral towns; which being moſt of them *Græcian* colonies, averſe to the *Parthian* government, readily ſubmitted to him.

Plut. in Craſſ. Appian in Parth. Dio, lib. xl. Prid. vol. III. p. 460--464.

It is ſaid, that for vanquiſhing a ſmall body of horſe, commanded by a *Parthian* officer, and for reducing by force an inconſiderable fortreſs, called *Zenodotia*, *Craſſus* had the weakneſs to ſuffer himſelf to be ſaluted IMPERATOR by his ſoldiers, who at the ſame time deſpiſed him for his vanity.

But his greateſt folly (ſays *Plutarch*) next to the enterpriſe itſelf, was, that, inſtead of purſuing his advantage, and puſhing on to *Seleucia* and *Babylon*, he repaſſed the *Euphrates*, leaving behind him only 7000 foot and 1000 horſe to garriſon the places he had taken, and retired into *Syria*, for his winter-quarters; thereby giving leiſure to the *Parthians* to prepare an army againſt the next year's campaign. Nor did *Craſſus*, during the winter, take the prudent care to ſee his troops well exerciſed, and well provided for the war, but acted the part of a Publican rather than a General, examining into the revenues of the province, ſcrewing them up to the utmoſt height, and uſing all other methods of exaction whereby to enrich himſelf. Being told of immenſe treaſures depoſited in the temple of *Jeru-*

language ſignifies *exiles*. The country to which they retired for a ſettlement, was a ſmall tract, lying to the South of *Hyrcania*, and to the eaſt of *Media*, and conſiſted chiefly of barren mountains and ſandy plains. During the empires of the *Aſſyrians*, *Medes*, and *Perſians*, and the firſt *Macedonian* Kings of *Syria*, ſcarce any mention is made of the *Parthians*. It was about the year of *Rome* 502, 250 years before the beginning of the Chriſtian æra, and while *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *The God*, was King of *Syria*, that wearied out with the oppreſſive tyranny of the *Macedonian* governors, the *Parthians* revolted, under the leading of *Arſaces*. Who *Arſaces* was, is not agreed, but it is certain that he was always conſidered as the founder of the *Parthian* empire, and that his memory was in ſuch veneration among them that all his ſucceſſors took his name. *Arſaces* extended the *Parthian* dominion beyond the limits of *Parthia*; and in length of time it became ſo far enlarged, by the conqueſts of the following Kings, as to include almoſt all the Country between the *Oxus* and the *Euphrates*. Its royal cities were *Cteſiphon* upon the *Tygris*, and *Echatana* in *Media*. The *Parthian* ſoldiery were almoſt all horſemen. Some, clad in compleat armour, made uſe of long ſpears in fight. The reſt had ſcarce any other offenſive weapons than the bow and arrow: But they were ſo dextrous in the management of theſe, as to be no leſs formidable when they turned their backs upon their enemies than when they faced them.

Juſt. lib. xli. c. 4. & 5.

Strabo, xvi. 743

[b] *Plutarch* relates, that *Craſſus*, croſſing *Galatia* in the way to his province, and finding King *Dejotarus*, who was advanced in years, employed in building a new city, ſaid to him pleaſantly, *Why*, King, *you begin your day's work at the twelfth hour.* The King inſtantly replied, *And you*, General, *methinks you are not too early in your expedition againſt the* Parthians. *Craſſus* was paſt ſixty, and looked much older than he was.

ſalem,

ſalem, thither he impatiently haſted, with a part of his army, to ſeize ſo delicious and ſo eaſy a prey. *Eleazer*, one of the prieſts, was then treaſurer of the Temple. Among other things, which he had under his charge, was a bar of gold of the weight of three hundred *Hebrew minæ*. This, for the better ſecuring of it, he had put into a beam, which he had cauſed to be made hollow for that purpoſe; and placing this beam over the entrance, which was from the *Holy Place* into the *Holy of Holies*, cauſed the veil, which parted theſe two places, to be faſtened to it, and to hang down from it. Perceiving *Craſſus*'s deſign of plundering the Temple, he endeavoured to compound the matter with him, and therefore telling him of ſuch a bar of gold in his cuſtody, promiſed to diſcover and deliver it to him, upon condition that he would be ſatisfied with it, and ſpare all the reſt: *Craſſus* accepted of the propoſal, and ſolemnly promiſed, with an oath, that, on having this bar of gold delivered to him, he would be contented with it, and meddle with nothing elſe. Relying on this promiſe, *Eleazer* put him in poſſeſſion of the gold. *Craſſus* had no ſooner received it, but, forgetting his oath, he not only ſeized the two thouſand talents which *Pompey* had left untouched, but ranſacked the temple all over, and robbed it of every thing he thought worth taking away, to the value of eight thouſand talents more; ſo that the whole of what he took from thence amounted to ten thouſand talents, which is above two millions of our money [c]. [*Joſeph. Antiq. lib.* xiv. *& de Bell. Jud. lib.* i.]

Y.R. 700. Bef. Chr. 52. 399 Conſ.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year permitted, *Craſſus*, ſtrengthened by a thouſand *Gallic* horſe, which his ſon *Publius* brought him from *Cæſar*'s army, drew all his forces together, in order to proſecute the war againſt the *Parthians*, who had now got ready a very great army for their defence. But, before they entered upon action, Ambaſſadors were ſent from *Orodes*, the *Parthian* King, to the *Roman* General, to aſk, For what reaſon he made war upon him? *Craſſus* anſwered with haughtineſs, that he would declare his reaſon when he ſhould come to *Seleucia*. The King, on the return of his Ambaſſadors, finding war to be unavoidable, divided his army into two parts, marched in perſon with one of them towards the borders of *Armenia*, and ſent the other under the command of *Surenas* [d], the moſt illuſtrious of all his nobles, and a moſt accom-

[c] The plundering of the Temple at *Jeruſalem* [which I do not find any where mentioned by the *Greek* hiſtorians] was not the only ſacrilege *committed by* Craſſus. He acted the like part all over the province, wherever any riches were to be got, particularly at *Hierapolis*. For there being in that city an ancient temple of the *Syrian* Goddeſs, called *Atergatis*, where much treaſure was laid up, as having been the collection of many years, he ſeized it all, and was ſo greedy of ſecuring the whole of that, leſt any ſhould be detained or embezzled, he ſpent a great deal of his time to ſee it all told out and weighed before him. On his laſt coming out of this temple, his ſon going before him ſtumbled at the threſhold, and he immediately after it upon him. This was afterwards interpreted as an ill omen, that foreboded what ſoon happened.

Prid. Vol. III. p. 461.

[d] This is ſaid to be the name, not of a perſon, but of a dignity, and equivalent to that of Grand Vizir.

Y.R. 700. Bef. Chr. 52. 399 Conſ.

pliſhed general, into *Meſapotamia*; who, immediately after his arrival there, retook ſome of thoſe places of which *Craſſus* had poſſeſſed himſelf the year before. The garriſons, that eſcaped to the *Roman* camp, filled it with a terrible report of the number, power, and ſtrength of the enemy; which caſt a damp upon the whole army, and ſunk the courage, not only of the common ſoldiers, but of the general officers. *Caſſius* (the ſame who was afterwards concerned in the murder of *Cæſar*) was at this time *Craſſus*'s Quæſtor, and endeavoured to diſſuade him from proceeding any further in his enterpriſe, till he had well conſidered it again. At the ſame time came to him *Artabazes* *, King of *Armenia*, who had lately ſucceeded his father *Tigranes* in that kingdom. He brought with him ſix thouſand horſe, which were only his lifeguard. Beſides theſe, he told *Craſſus*, he had ten thouſand Cuiraſſiers, and thirty thouſand foot ready for his ſervice: But adviſed him by no means to march his army through the plains of *Meſopotamia*, but to take his way through *Armenia* into the *Parthian* dominions. His reaſons for it were, that *Armenia* being a rough mountainous country, the *Parthian* horſe, of which their army almoſt wholly conſiſted, would there be uſeleſs; and he could take care that the *Roman* army ſhould be there plentifully provided with all neceſſaries: both which advantages he would fail of, if he led his army through *Meſopotamia*, where he would often meet with ſandy deſerts, and be diſtreſſed for want both of water and other proviſions. This was the beſt advice that could be given him; yet *Craſſus* anſwered, that, having left many brave *Romans* to garriſon the towns which he had taken laſt year in *Meſopotamia*, he was under a neceſſity of going that way, that they might not be abandoned to the mercy of the enemy: But he accepted of the auxiliaries which the King offered him, and deſired they might be ſpeedily brought to him. The proſpect of ſo conſiderable a reinforcement was, perhaps, what chiefly encouraged *Craſſus*, contrary to the advice of the wiſeſt about him, to proceed on his expedition. and without further delay, to paſs the *Euphrates* [a], and again enter *Meſopotamia* with his army. But *Artabazes*, on his return, finding *Orodes* with a great army near his borders, was forced to ſtay at home to defend his own country, and therefore could not give *Craſſus* the aſſiſtance he had promiſed him.

* or Artavaſdes.

After *Craſſus* had thus re-entered *Meſopotamia*, *Caſſius* adviſed him to put in at ſome of his garriſoned towns, and there reſt and refreſh his army till he ſhould have got certain intelligence of the number and ſtrength of the enemy, and in what place and poſture they were; or, if he thought not fit to make that delay, he ſhould at leaſt take his march to *Seleucia*, along the banks of the *Euphrates*. For, by keeping cloſe to that river, he would avoid being ſurrounded by the *Parthians*, and might be conſtantly ſupplied with proviſions, and all other neceſſaries, from his barks

[a] He paſſed the river at a town in the province of *Comagena*, called *Zeugma*, which word ſignifies a bridge.

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that were upon it: But, while *Craſſus* was conſidering on this advice, there came to him a crafty *Arabian*, who diverted him entirely from following it. He was the head of an *Arabian* tribe (ſuch as the *Greeks* called *Phylarchs*, and the preſent *Arabs*, *Sheks*) and having formerly ſerved under *Pompey*, was well known to many in the *Roman* army, and looked on as their friend; for which reaſon he had been made choice of, and ſent by *Surenas* to act this part. He is, by different authors, called by different names [f]; but whatever his name was, he effectually diſſuaded *Craſſus* from following the good advice given him by *Caſſius*. He told the *Roman* General, that the *Parthians* durſt not ſtand before him; that he had nothing to do, for the gaining an abſolute victory over them, but to march on; and he offered himſelf for a guide to conduct him the ſhorteſt way to the enemy. *Craſſus*, deceived by the fair words, and fooled by the flattery of this man, accepted of his offer; and ſo was led by him into the open plains of *Meſopotamia*: And although *Caſſius* and others ſuſpected the guide of treachery, and therefore preſſed *Craſſus* to follow him no longer, but to retreat to the mountains, where he might beſt be able to baffle the power of the *Parthian* horſe; and though meſſengers came to his camp from *Artabazes*, on purpoſe to perſuade him to the ſame thing, yet he ſtill continued in his deluſion, till at length the traitor, having brought him into a ſandy deſart, where the *Parthians* might have all the advantage in a battle, rode off to *Surenas*, and acquainted him with what he had done: adding, that now was the time to attack the *Romans*, who were come to deliver themſelves into his hands. Nor was it very long before *Craſſus* perceived his error. While he was making forced marches, fearing nothing but that the enemy ſhould eſcape him, his ſcouts came back full ſpeed to inform him, that the *Parthians* were advancing in prodigious numbers, in good order, and with much confidence.

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This report threw the whole army into a conſternation [g], and eſpecially the General, who now began, though with a good deal of irreſolution, to put his troops in order of battle. At firſt, following the advice of *Caſſius*, he drew up his infantry in one line, extended to a great length, that the *Parthian* horſe might not be able eaſily to ſurround it; and he placed all his cavalry in the wings: Then, altering his mind, he formed the foot into a ſquare body, having twelve cohorts in each of its four ſides; and he flanked each cohort with a ſquadron; to the end that every part of his battalion, being ſupported by cavalry, might charge with the more

[f] By *Dio Caſſius* he is called *Augarus*, or *Abgarus*; by *Plutarch*, *Ariamnes*; by *Florus*, *Maxeres*; and by *Appian*, *Acbarus*.

[g] According to *Plutarch* (whom *Appian* copies all along) the *Roman* ſoldiers had been already terrified with about a dozen bad omens; of which the moſt worthy to be remembered (or, if you pleaſe, moſt worthy to be forgot) was, that, *when, in order to begin their march, they were going to pull up the foremoſt ſtandard, the eagle upon it turned its head about, and looked back, as if it had no mind to go forward.*

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ſafety and confidence. To his ſon he gave one of the wings, to *Caſſius* the other, and placed himſelf in the center.

In their march towards the enemy, they came to a rivulet, the ſight of which, though its waters were not very abundant, greatly comforted and rejoiced the ſoldiers, after their long march over ſo parched and ſandy a ſoil. Moſt of the officers were for paſſing the night in that place, and for endeavouring, before they proceeded farther, to get more exact information of the number and poſture of the enemy: But *Publius Craſſus*, full of ardour and confidence, perſuaded his father to advance: So that he only made a ſhort halt, to give thoſe who needed refreſhment, time for a ſcanty meal, as they ſtood in their ranks: After which he purſued his march, puſhing on with great haſte and precipitation.

When the two armies were near enough to engage, the *Parthian* pikemen ſoon perceived, that the *Roman* battalion, which they had hoped to break by the force of their ponderous and well-ſteeled lances, was too deep, compact, and firm, to be by them eaſily penetrated and diſſolved. They retreated therefore, and, by their diſperſion and feigned confuſion, ſeemed as if they meant to quit the field: But the *Romans*, preſently after, to their great aſtoniſhment, found themſelves entirely ſurrounded by the *Parthian* cavalry. *Craſſus* ordered out againſt them his dartmen, and other light-armed infantry. Theſe, meeting with a flight of arrows, quickly recoiled, fell back on the legions, diſordered them in ſome degree, and terrified them ſtill more: For the *Romans* now became ſenſible that they had no defenſive armour that was proof againſt the force of thoſe murderous arrows, which the enemy inceſſantly ſhowered upon them. Nor had they any means to revenge themſelves; becauſe, as ſoon as they advanced with that intent, the enemy fled, and even in flying continued to gall them with the ſame weapons.

The *Romans* for ſome time entertained hopes, that the *Parthians* would at length exhauſt their ſtock of arrows, and then be obliged either to run away or come to a cloſe fight; hopes ill-grounded: for the bowmen were ſupplied with arrows as faſt as they wanted them, from a great number of camels loaded with them, and placed in the rear of the army for that purpoſe: Which, when *Craſſus* underſtood, he ordered his ſon to attempt, at all hazards, a cloſe engagement with thoſe troops of the enemy which had approached the neareſt to him. *Publius*, therefore, with the thouſand *Gallic* horſe he had brought from *Cæſar*, three hundred other horſe, five hundred archers, and eight cohorts of legionary foot, advanced to the attack. The *Parthians* inſtantly gave ground, and even fled before him; and the ſanguine young warrior, imagining himſelf victorious, purſued them with his whole detachment, horſe and foot. Soon he perceived that the enemy's flight had been only feigned. The runaways ſtopt on a ſudden, and, rallying, boldly returned upon him. The pikemen, in good order, faced the *Romans*; while the bowmen, without obſerving any order, galloped

galloped round them, and raiſed ſuch a mighty duſt, as deprived them at once both of ſight and reſpiration: Expoſed to the *Parthian* arrows, and unable to make any defence againſt enemies whom they ſaw not, they now periſhed in great numbers, and by very painful deaths; and thoſe who remained alive were in no condition to fight. When their commander urged them to advance againſt the pikemen of the enemy, ſome ſhewed him their hands nailed to their bucklers, other their feet pinned to the ground, ſo that they could neither defend themſelves nor fly. Y. R. 700. Bef. Chr. 52. 399 Conſ.

In this extremity, young *Craſſus*, who manifeſted throughout the engagement an heroic bravery, had recourſe to his *Gallic* cavalry as his laſt reſource; and ſo well managed, as with theſe to force the *Parthian* pikemen to a cloſe fight. But the match was very unequal. The *Gallic* javelins or half-pikes, had little effect on troopers covered almoſt from head to foot with iron: Whereas the long, ſtout lances of the *Parthians* proved fatal to the *Gauls*, whoſe defenſive armour, if indeed they had any, was very ſlight. They are ſaid to have performed wonders in the action; but being diſtreſſed by the exceſſive heat and drought, to which they were not accuſtomed, and having loſt moſt of their horſes (transfixed by the *Parthian* lances) they at length reſolved to rejoin, if poſſible, the main body of the army. Carrying with them young *Craſſus*, grievouſly wounded in many places, they made to a ſmall ſandy hill, not far from them. Here tying their horſes one to another, and placing them in the midſt, they formed themſelves into a circle, and made a rampart of their ſhields, hoping to find it an effectual defence againſt the arrows of the Barbarians. But herein they fatally miſtook: For on even ground the foremoſt rank in ſome meaſure defended thoſe that were behind it, whereas on an aſcent, the hinder ranks ſtanding neceſſarily higher than thoſe before, all were equally expoſed to the enemies arrows: So that they quickly found their caſe deſperate, and that they muſt periſh without glory, and almoſt without reſiſtance. The young General, diſdaining to deſert his troops, and attempt a precipitate flight, to which ſome adviſed him, and being deprived by a wound of the uſe of his own hand, commanded his armour-bearer to run him through [h]. Moſt of the nobles who had accompanied him killed

[h] "*Publius Craſſus* was a youth of an amiable character; educated with the ſtricteſt care, and perfectly inſtructed in all the liberal ſtudies; he had a ready wit and eaſy language; was grave without arrogance, modeſt without negligence, adorned with all the accompliſhments proper to form a principal Citizen and Leader of the Republic: By the force of his own judgment he had devoted himſelf very early to the obſervance and imitation of *Cicero*, whom he perpetually attended, and reverenced with a kind of *filial Piety*. *Cicero* conceived a mutual affection for him, and obſerving his eager thirſt of glory, was conſtantly inſtilling into him the true notion of it, and exhorting him to purſue that ſure path to it, which his anceſtors had left beaten and traced out to him, through the gradual aſcent of civil honours. But, by ſerving under *Cæſar* in the *Gallic* wars, he had learnt, as he fancied, a ſhorter way to fame and power than what *Cicero* had been inculcating; and having ſignalized himſelf in a campaign or two as a "ſoldier,

Y. R. 700. Bef. Chr. 52. killed themſelves. The reſt were all ſlain by the enemy, except about five hundred, who fell alive into their hands. The *Parthians* cut off the head of young *Craſſus*, and, taking it with them, marched to attack the Proconſul.

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Publius, from the beginning of his diſtreſs, had diſpatched meſſengers to his father, to give him notice of the difficulties and dangers he had run himſelf into, by his inconſiderate purſuit of the *Parthians*. The firſt meſſengers were intercepted and killed: Others reached the army. *Craſſus* remained awhile unreſolved what to do. He feared the loſs of all, if he marched to the ſuccour of his ſon; yet his affection for his ſon urged him irreſiſtibly to it. He moved forward; the enemy preſently appeared, and, by their terrible ſhouts and exulting noiſes, proclaimed their recent victory. Before them, as they approached, was carried, upon the end of the lance, the head of *Publius Craſſus*, whilſt ſcoffingly they aſked aloud—*Of what family was that young man? who were his parents?*—a ſcene which ſunk the ſpirits of the *Roman* ſoldiers more than all the calamities they had before ſuffered. *Craſſus* is reported to have acted the hero upon this occaſion. Riding through the ranks, as the army marched on, he ſaid aloud: "This misfortune, fellow-ſoldiers, "concerns me only. The glory and felicity of our country remains yet "entire, ſo long as you are in a condition to defend it. And, if you "compaſſionate me for having loſt ſo brave a ſon, let your concern be "ſhewn, by puniſhing the cruelty of our enemies." The ſoldiers gave a ſhout; but with a voice ſo faint and languid, as ſpoke more of dejection than courage.

The fight preſently began. The *Parthian bowmen*, wheeling about the *Romans*, galled them in flank with ſhowers of arrows, while the *pikemen*, aſſailing them in front, made them recoil and crowd cloſer together, which haſtened their deſtruction. Night coming on, the *Parthians* retired, it being contrary to their cuſtom to paſs the night near an enemy, becauſe they never fortified their camps, and becauſe their horſes and arrows could be but of little uſe in the dark. Their retreat, however, did not kindle in the *Romans* the leaſt ſpark of hope. Giving all for loſt, they had no attention to bury their dead, or conſole the dying, or ſuccour the wounded: Every one bewailed his own fate: For, ſhould they remain where they then were till day-light, or ſhould they ſet forward in the dark, to traverſe an almoſt boundleſs plain; in neither ſuppoſition did they ſee any chance of eſcaping. They were much perplexed likewiſe on account of their wounded men.

'ſoldier, was in too much haſte to be a Ge-
'neral; when *Cæſar* ſent him at the head of
'a thouſand horſe to the aſſiſtance of his fa-
'ther in the *Parthian* war."---But, "while
'he aſpired, as *Cicero* ſays, to the fame of
"another *Cyrus* or *Alexander*, *he fell* ſhort of
"that glory which many of his predeceſſors
"had reaped from a ſucceſſion of honours
"conferred by their country as the reward of
"their ſervices." *Ep. Fam.* iii. 8. *& ib.* xiii. 16. *Vid. Brut. p.* 407. *It. Plut. in Craſſ.*

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If they took theſe with them, it would retard their flight; if they forſook them, the cries of the wretched, ſo abandoned, would publiſh the departure of the army. Though the ſoldiers knew their General to be the faulty cauſe of all their calamities, yet they wiſhed to ſee him, and to hear him. But *Craſſus* had not the confidence to appear. He had caſt himſelf on the ground, and there he lay, as a man quite ſtunned and ſenſeleſs[l]. *Octavius* and *Caſſius*, (the one his Lieutenant, and the other his Quæſtor) having found him in this poſture of dejection, endeavoured to rouſe him to a more manly deportment; but without ſucceſs. They took upon themſelves therefore to hold a council of war; and it was reſolved to retire immediately. The troops decamped in ſilence. Doleful and affecting were the lamentations of the miſerable men, whom neceſſity conſtrained their fellows to abandon. The care of ſuch of the wounded, who, having ſome ſtrength left, dragged themſelves along with the army; the apprehenſion of being purſued and overtaken; and the drawing up frequently in battalia upon falſe alarms, made the march of the army very ſlow. A certain officer, named *Egnatius*, at the head of three hundred horſe, leaving the main body, and puſhing forward with all diligence, arrived under the walls of *Carræ*[k] about mignight. Calling out to the guard, he bad them tell *Coponius*, the Governor, that *there had been a great battle between the* Romans *and the* Parthians. He ſaid no more, nor diſcovered himſelf, but immediately purſued his route to *Zeugma:* And by this he ſaved indeed his three hundred horſe; yet was much blamed for deſerting his General. The meſſage, however, which he ſent to *Coponius*, proved of ſervice to the army: For the Governor, conjecturing from the words and manner of *Egnatius*, that affairs went ill, ſallied out with his garriſon, met *Craſſus* and his troops, and conducted them ſafely into the City.

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The *Parthians*, though apprized of *Craſſus*'s retreat, waited for day, according to their cuſtom. Then entering the *Roman* camp, they maſſacred the ſick and wounded to the amount of about four thouſand men. Many of the *Roman* ſoldiers they likewiſe overtook and ſlaughtered in the plain; particularly four cohorts, which had loſt their way in the dark. Out of theſe, only twenty men eſcaped. It is ſaid, that the invincible

[l] What a ſtriking example of the ſhort-ſightedneſs of man, the inſtability of human grandeur, and the madneſs of unbounded ambition! *Plutarch* tells us, that when the province of *Syria* fell by lot to *Craſſus*, he thought, that Fortune had never, in any inſtance, been ſo favourable to him. Tranſported with his good luck, he could not, even in the company of ſtrangers, contain his joy; but, to his familiar friends and confidents, he blurted out many extravagant and childiſh boaſtings; a folly, which he had never been guilty of in the former part of his life. *Lucullus had done nothing againſt* Tigranes; Pompey *nothing againſt* Mithridates: But, as for himſelf, *the limits of* Parthia *ſhould not be the limits of his conqueſts*; *the* Roman *eagles, under his conduct, were to fly triumphant over* Bactria *and* India, *quite to the great Ocean and the extremities of the Eaſt.* In Craſſ.

[k] The *Haran* or *Charran* of the Holy Scriptures, where *Abraham* ſojourned.

courage,

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courage, with which they defended themſelves, ſtruck their aſſailants with ſuch admiration, that they voluntarily opened to them a free paſſage to *Carræ*.

Surena being told, as he approached that city, of a rumour which prevailed, *that* Craſſus *and the principal men of the* Romans *had all made their eſcape*, began to fear the loſs of what he eſteemed the chief fruit of his victory. To know the truth, he ordered one of his people, who could ſpeak Latin, to go near the walls; and in his name invite *Craſſus* and *Caſſius* to a conference with him. This meſſenger was attended by ſome *Arabians*, who having formerly ſerved in the *Roman* army, knew the perſons of both. *Caſſius* appeared upon the walls, and was told, that *Surena* conſented to make peace with the *Romans*, on the condition of their evacuating *Meſopotamia*. The propoſal, as affairs then ſtood, appeared to the *Roman* Quæſtor far from being diſadvantageous: He promiſed therefore to report it to the General. The *Parthian*, having thus learnt what he wanted to know, laughed at the credulity of the *Romans*; and the next day, while he was preparing to attack the place, gave them to underſtand, that, if they would obtain leave to retire in ſafety, they muſt deliver up to him *Craſſus* and *Caſſius*. No thought remained now but of running away in the dark; and it was neceſſary to keep this reſolution concealed till the moment of execution. *Craſſus*, once more fatally deceived, imparted the ſecret to a traitor, named *Andromachus*, and even took the ſame traitor for his guide. *Andromachus* ſent advice to *Surena* of what was intended; and, in order to complete the deſtruction of the *Roman* army, contrived to lead them by ways ſo indirect, ſuch windings and turnings, that they gained but little ground in a long march; and at length he brought them into a place full of ditches and encloſures. Many began now to ſuſpect treachery, and would follow him no farther. *Caſſius*, with five hundred horſe, returning to *Carræ*, provided himſelf there with ſome *Arabian* guides[1], who faithfully conducted him and his followers into *Syria*. *Octavius* too, the General's Lieutenant, convinced of *Andromachus*'s perfidy, made a timely retreat, leading off five thouſand men to a hilly ground, where they could not be much annoyed by the enemy's cavalry. Yet, when he learnt that *Craſſus* had ſome how gained an eminence, about a mile off, where he was in great danger from the *Parthians*, whom daylight had brought upon him, he boldly marched thither, followed by his five thouſand men; who, encompaſſing *Craſſus*, and making a rampart for him of their ſhields and bodies, vowed, that no arrow ſhould reach their General, ſo long as a man of them remained alive to defend him. *Surena*, perceiving the ardor of his own ſoldiers to abate, and apprehend-

[1] It is related, that theſe *Arabians* being ſuperſtitious about the moon, exhorted *Caſſius* earneſtly not to advance, till the moon had paſſed *Scorpio*. To which *Caſſius* anſwered, that he was much more afraid of *Sagittarius*; alluding to the *Parthian* arrows.

ing, that, if the *Romans* ſhould ſpin out the battle till night, they might then gain the mountains and be ſafe, for the future, from his attacks, had again recourſe to his wonted craft. He ſuffered ſome priſoners to eſcape, before whom the *Parthians*, diſcourſing with one another, had deſignedly ſaid, that *their King was far from intending an implacable war with the* Romans, *and would be glad to regain their friendſhip by treating* Craſſus *with generoſity*. That this ſtratagem might more eaſily take effect, he ceaſed hoſtilities, and, attended by his principal officers, advanced in pacific guiſe toward the hill, having his bow unbent, and holding out his hand, as a friend to *Craſſus*, whom he invited to a treaty of accommodation. *The King*, he ſaid, *having, much againſt his will, made the* Romans *ſenſible of his power, and of the bravery of his troops, is now diſpoſed to give them proofs of his clemency and goodneſs, by ſuffering them to retire in ſafety.* *Craſſus*, who ſaw no reaſon for ſo ſudden a change, was not deceived; his ſoldiers were: And, notwithſtanding all he could ſay to perſuade them to have patience till night, when they might make a retreat to the mountains, they ſeditiouſly, and with threats, compelled him to accept of *Surena*'s invitation: (A behaviour ſtrangely ill ſuiting with what has been juſt related of their zeal and fidelity.) At going from them, he is reported to have ſaid; "*Octavius* and *Petronius*, and you the reſt of the "commanders here preſent, you are witneſſes of the violence offered me: "Nevertheleſs, for the honour of the *Roman* name, I deſire you will de- "clare to all the world, that *Craſſus* periſhed by the craft of his enemies, "not by the perfidy of his ſoldiers and fellow-citizens."

Y. R. 700. Bef. Chr. 52. 399 Conſ.

Octavius and *Petronius*, and ſome other officers, not enduring the thought, that their General ſhould go alone, deſcended the hill with him; but he ſent back his Lictors. Certain heralds from *Surena*, having accoſted him with profound reſpect, deſired him, in the *Greek* language, to ſend ſome body before, to ſee that the *Parthian* General and his retinue were without arms. *Craſſus* anſwered, that, *if he had retained the leaſt concern for his life, he would never have put himſelf into their hands.* However, to learn what appearance things had, he ſent forward two men, who were to bring him word. Theſe were inſtantly ſeized, by *Surena*'s order; who then, attended by his principal officers, coming up to him, with an air of aſtoniſhment, ſaid; *How! what an indecent ſight is this! a* Roman *General on foot, and we on horſeback!* "No error "committed on either ſide (anſwered *Craſſus,*) each follows the cuſtom "of his country." "*From this moment* (ſaid the *Parthian*) *there is a league* "*of amity between the King my maſter and the* Roman *People*; *but it muſt be* "*put in writing*; *for you*, Romans, *are very apt to forget your engagements* "*and covenants. Let us go, therefore, and finiſh the treaty on the banks of the* "Euphrates." *Craſſus* hereupon ordered a horſe to be brought him. *There is no need*, ſaid *Surena*, *the King makes you a preſent of one*; and immediately a horſe, with rich trappings, was led to him; and he

V. R. 700. Bef. Chr. 52. 399 Conf.

was forcibly put into the ſaddle: ſome of *Surena*'s attendants ſwitching the horſe, to haſten him forward. The *Romans* now ſaw plainly, that the purpoſe of the *Parthian* was to take *Craſſus* alive. *Octavius* therefore ſeized the bridle of the horſe, and ſtopt him. *Petronius* and the other officers ſurrounded their General, putting themſelves in a poſture to defend him. A tumult and ſcuffle enſued. *Octavius* killed one of the *Parthian* grooms, and was himſelf killed by a ſtroke of a lance run into his back. *Craſſus* himſelf fell dead quickly after; but whether he was diſpatched by the hand of an enemy, or of a friend who would preſerve him from the diſgrace of becoming a priſoner, is uncertain.

Surena, by fair words, notwithſtanding the experience which the *Romans* had of his perfidy, decoyed many of thoſe who had remained on the hill to ſurrender themſelves priſoners. The moſt couragious waited for the night, to attempt a retreat; but of theſe few eſcaped, the reſt being intercepted by the *Arabs*, who ſcoured the country with that intent. In the ſeveral actions and diſaſters of this war, the *Romans* are ſaid to have loſt twenty thouſand men killed, and ten thouſand taken priſoners. It was one of the greateſt blows that *Rome* had ever received from a foreign enemy, and for which ſhe was ever after meditating revenge.

Orodes, at the time of *Craſſus*'s death, was in *Armenia*, having there made peace with *Artabazes*. For this prince, on the return of the meſſengers, which he laſt ſent to the *Roman* camp, finding, by the account which they brought of the meaſures which *Craſſus* took in the *Parthian* war, that he muſt neceſſarily be undone, compounded all matters with *Orodes*; and by giving one of his ſiſters in marriage to *Pacorus*, the ſon of the *Parthian*, reſtored himſelf to full amity with him. And while they were ſitting together at the nuptial feaſt, in came a meſſenger, who preſented *Orodes* with the head and hand of *Craſſus*, which *Surena* had cauſed to be cut off with that intent[m]. This much increaſed the mirth and joy of the feaſt. And it is ſaid, that melted gold was then poured into the mouth of the lifeleſs head by way of mockery; as if they would thus ſatiate that thirſt after riches, for which *Craſſus* had been ſo remarkable.

Dio, lib. xl. Florus, iii. 11.

Mid. 526.

The chief and immediate concern which the City felt on the news of *Craſſus*'s death, and the deſtruction[n] of his forces, was for the detriment that

[m] *Surena* did not long rejoice in his victory: For *Orodes*, envying him the glory of it, and growing jealous of the great augmentation of his power and intereſt from his late ſucceſſes, ſoon after cauſed him to be put to death. *Plut in Craſſ.*

[n] The *Roman* writers generally imputed this diſaſter to *Craſſus*'s *contempt of the auſpices*; "as ſome *Chriſtians* have ſince charged it *to* "*his ſacrilegious violation of the temple of* Je- "ruſalem —— both of them with equal ſu- "perſtition (ſays Dr. *Middleton*) pretending "to unfold the counſels of heaven, and to fa- "thom thoſe depths, which are declared to "be *unſearchable*. Ibid.

D. *Prideaux* is one of the *Chriſtians* here referred to; his words are theſe — "*Craſſus* "made a great number of falſe ſteps in the "whole conduct of this war; and although "he was often warned, yet, being deaf to all "good Conne part. i 465. Ed. 1

that the Republic had ſuffered, and the dangers to which it was expoſed, by the loſs of ſo great an army; yet the principal miſchief lay in what they did not at firſt regard, and ſeemed rather to rejoice at, *the loſs of* Craſſus *himſelf.* For, after the death of *Julia*, *Craſſus*'s authority was the only means left of curbing the power of *Pompey* and the ambition of *Cæſar*, being ready always to ſupport the weaker againſt the encroachments of the ſtronger, and keep them both within the bounds of a decent reſpect to the laws: But this check being now taken away, and the power of the empire thrown, as a kind of prize, between two, it gave a new turn to their ſeveral pretenſions, and created a freſh competition for the larger ſhare.

By the death of *young Craſſus*, a place became vacant *in the college of Augurs*, for which *Cicero* declared himſelf a candidate: Nor was any one ſo hardy as to appear againſt him, except *Hirrus the Tribune*, who, truſting to the popularity of his office, and *Pompey*'s favour, had the vanity to pretend to it: But a competitor ſo unequal furniſhed matter of raillery only to *Cicero*, who was choſen without any difficulty or ſtruggle, with the *unanimous approbation of the whole body* [o].

Middl. 529.

Philip. ii. 2. Ep. Fam. 83.

CHAP.

" good advice, he obſtinately followed his " own deluſions till he periſhed in them, " For, *being, for his impious ſacrilege at* Jeru- " ſalem, *juſtly deſtined to deſtruction*, God did " caſt infatuations into all his counſels, for " the leading him thereto."

Prideaux, part ii. p. 474. Vid. ſupr. p. 269.

The ſame author, ſpeaking afterwards of *the deplorable end of* Pompey *the* Great, writes thus: " *No man had enjoyed greater proſperity* " *till he prophaned the temple of God at* Jeru- " ſalem: *After that, his fortunes were in a* " *continual decline, till at length, to expiate* " *for that impiety, he was thus vilely murdered* " *in the confines of that country where he had* " *committed it.*"

Tom. XIII. p. 71.

M. *Crevier*, another Chriſtian, ſpeaks to the ſame effect with regard to both theſe *Roman* Generals. But it would ſeem, that D. *Prideaux* delivered theſe opinions not as peculiar to a believer of the Holy Scriptures, but as proper to every religious philoſopher: For, having related how *Cambyſes*, King of *Perſia*, in a rage, *drew out his dagger, and ran it into the thigh of the ſacred bull, the* Ægyptian *God* Apis, *of which wound the God died*, he afterwards relates the death of *Cambyſes* in the following words—" As he mounted his " horſe, his ſword, falling out of the ſcabbard, " gave him a wound in the thigh, of which " he died a few days after. The *Ægyptians* " remarking, that it was in the ſame part of the body where he had wounded the *Apis*, *reckoned it as an eſpecial judgment from heaven upon him for that fact*; *and perchance they were not much out in it. For it ſeldom happening in an affront given to any particular mode of worſhip, how erroneous ſoever it may* ' *be, but that* RELIGION *is in general wounded* ' *hereby*; *there are many inſtances in hiſtory* ' *wherein God hath very ſeverely puniſhed the* ' *prophanations of* RELIGION *in the worſt of* ' *times, and under the worſt mode of heathen idolatry.*"

Prideaux. part i. p. 171. p. 173.

[o] This college, from the laſt regulation of it by *Sylla*, conſiſted of *fifteen*, who were all perſons of the firſt diſtinction in *Rome:* It was a prieſthood for life, which no crime or forfeiture could efface: The prieſts of all kinds were originally choſen by their colleges, till *Domitius*, a Tribune, about fifty years before, tranſferred the choice of them to the people, whoſe authority was held to be ſuperior in ſacred as well as civil affairs. This act was reverſed by *Sylla*, and the ancient right reſtored to the colleges; but *Labienus*, when Tribune, in *Cicero*'s Conſulſhip, repealed the law of *Domitius*, to facilitate *Cæſar*'s advancement to high prieſthood. It was neceſſary however, *that every candidate ſhould be nominated to the People by two Augurs, who gave a ſolemn teſtimony upon oath of his dignity and fitneſs for the office:* This was done in *Cicero*'s

Middl. 529. De Leg. Agr. ii. 7.

CHAP. VIII.

Scandalous proceedings of the candidates for the Conſulſhip. MILO, *who of is one of them, has a fatal rencounter with* CLODIUS *on the* Appian way, *which occaſions terrible tumults and miſchiefs in the City. To remedy theſe diſorders,* POMPEY *is elected* SOLE CONSUL: *He publiſhes ſeveral new laws,* MILO *is brought to trial, and, though defended by* CICERO, *is condemned.* CICERO'S *conduct in relation to the ſale of* MILO'S *effects. Two of the late candidates for the Conſulſhip are tried for bribery by* POMPEY'S *new laws. His ſhameful partiality on this occaſion. Two of the late Tribunes are ſentenced to baniſhment, for their riotous proceedings in their magiſtracy. The government of* Cilicia *falls by lot to* CICERO. *The uſurious extortion practiſed by* M. BRUTUS [*the renowned patriot-aſſaſſin.*] CICERO'S *military atchievements, His excellent conduct in the civil government of his province.* APPIUS *and* PISO *are choſen* CENSORS, *the laſt who bore that office during the Republican ſtate of* Rome.

Y. R. 701. THE candidates for the Conſulſhip of the coming year were *T. Annius Milo*, *Q. Metellus Scipio*, and *P. Plaucius Hypſæus*, who puſhed on their ſeveral intereſts with ſuch open violence and bribery, as if the Conſulſhip was to be carried only by money or arms. *Clodius* was putting in at the ſame time for the Prætorſhip, and employed all his credit and intereſt to diſappoint *Milo*. *Pompey* was wholly averſe to *Milo*, who did not pay him that court which he expected, but ſeemed to affect an independency, and to truſt to his own ſtrength, while the other two competitors were wholly at his devotion: *Hypſæus* had been his Quæſtor, and always his creature; and as for *Scipio*, *Pompey* deſigned to become his ſon-in-law, by marrying his daughter *Cornelia*, a lady of celebrated accompliſhments, the widow of young *Craſſus*. *Cicero*, on the other hand, ſerved *Milo* to the utmoſt of his power, and ardently wiſhed his ſucceſs.——In the heat of this competition, *Curio* was coming home from *Aſia*, and expected ſhortly at *Rome*; whence *Cicero* ſent an expreſs to meet him on the road, or at his landing in *Italy*, with a moſt earneſt and preſſing letter to engage him to *Milo*'s intereſt

Mid. 530. Plut. in Cat. Ad Quint. iii. 9. Ep. Fam. ii. 6.

Mid. 534. The Senate and the Ariſtocratical party were generally for *Milo*: But *three of the Tribunes* were violent againſt him, *Q. Pompeius Rufus*, *Munatius Plancus Burſa*, and *Salluſt* the Hiſtorian; the other ſeven were his faſt friends, but above all *M. Cælius*, who, out of regard to *Cicero*, ſerved *Milo* with a particular zeal. But, while all things were proceeding very proſperouſly in his favour, and nothing ſeemed wanting

Brut. in it. caſe by *Pompey* and *Hortenſius*, the two moſt eminent members of the college; and, after the election, he was inſtalled with all the uſual formalities by *Hortenſius*.

to crown his ſucceſs, but to bring on the election, which his adverſaries for that reaſon laboured to keep back, all his hopes and fortunes were blaſted at once by an unhappy rencounter with his old enemy *Clodius*. Y. R. 701.

Quintil. l. vi. c. 5. Dio, l. xl. p. 143. Aſcon. Argum. in Mil.

Their meeting was wholly accidental on the *Appian* road, not far from the City; *Clodius* coming home from the country towards *Rome*, *Milo* going out about three in the afternoon; the firſt on horſeback, with three companions, and thirty ſervants well armed; the latter in a chariot, with his wife and one friend, but with a much greater retinue, and among them ſome gladiators. The ſervants on both ſides began preſently to inſult each other; when *Clodius*, turning briſkly to ſome of *Milo*'s men, who were near him, and threatening them with his uſual fierceneſs, received a wound in the ſhoulder from one of the gladiators; and, after receiving ſeveral more in the general fray, which inſtantly enſued, finding his life in danger, was forced to fly for ſhelter into a neighbouring tavern. *Milo*, heated by this ſucceſs, and the thoughts of revenge, and reflecting that he had already done enough to give his enemy great advantage againſt him, ſhould he be left alive to purſue it, reſolved, whatever was the conſequence, to have the pleaſure of deſtroying him, and ordered the houſe to be ſtormed, and *Clodius* to be dragged out and murdered: The maſter of the tavern was likewiſe killed, with eleven of *Clodius*'s ſervants, while the reſt ſaved themſelves by flight: So that *Clodius*'s body was left in the road where it fell, till *S. Tedius*, a Senator, happening to come by, took it up into his chaiſe, and brought it with him to *Rome*; where it was expoſed in that condition, all covered with blood and wounds, to the view of the populace, who flocked about it in crouds to lament the miſerable fate of their leader. The next day the mob, headed by *S. Clodius*, a kinſman of the deceaſed, and one of his chief incendiaries, carried the body naked, ſo as all the wounds might be ſeen, into the Forum, and placed it on the Roſtra, where the three Tribunes, *Milo*'s enemies, were prepared to harangue upon it, in a ſtile ſuited to the lamentable occaſion; by which they inflamed the multitude to ſuch a height of fury, that, ſnatching up the body, they ran away with it into the Senate-houſe, and, tearing up the benches, tables, and every thing combuſtible, dreſſed up a funeral pile upon the ſpot, and, together with the body, burnt the houſe itſelf, with a *Baſilica* alſo, or public hall adjoining, called the *Porcian*; and in the ſame fit of madneſs proceeded to ſtorm the houſe of *Milo*, and of *M. Lepidus* the Inter-rex, but were repulſed in both attacks with ſome loſs.

Theſe extravagancies raiſed great indignation in the City; and gave a turn in favour of *Milo*; who, looking upon himſelf as undone, was meditating nothing before but a *a voluntary exile*: But now taking courage, he appeared in public, and was introduced into the Roſtra by *Cælius*, where he made his defence to the People; and to mitigate their reſentment, diſtributed through all the tribes *above three pounds a man to every poor Citizen*,

Y. R. 701. Bef. Chr. 51. 400 Conf.

Citizen. But all his pains and expence were to little purpoſe; for *the three Tribunes* made it their buſineſs to keep up the ill-humour of the populace; and what was more fatal, *Pompey* would not be brought into any meaſures of accommodating the matter; ſo that the tumults ſtill encreaſing, the Senate paſſed a decree, *that the Inter-rex, aſſiſted by the Tribunes and* Pompey, *ſhould take care that the Republic received no detriment; and that* Pompey *in particular ſhould raiſe a body of troops for the common ſecurity*; which he preſently drew together from all parts of *Italy*. In this confuſion *the rumour of a Dictator was again induſtriouſly revived*, and gave a freſh alarm to the Senate, who, to avoid the greater evil, came to the reſolution *of creating* Pompey *Conſul* without a collegue. *Bibulus* had made the motion; aſſigning for his reaſon, that *by this means the Commonwealth would be freed from its preſent confuſion*; *or, if it muſt be enſlaved, would have the beſt maſter it could hope for.* Every body was ſurprized at this language from *Bibulus*, who had always ſhewed himſelf an enemy of *Pompey:* But they were yet more ſurprized by what *Cato* ſaid on this occaſion: He declared, *that, though he could never have prevailed with himſelf to be the author of ſuch an advice, nevertheleſs, ſince it had been moved by another, his opinion was, that it ſhould be followed. That any government was preferable to* ANARCHY; *and that he thought no man better qualified than* Pompey *to hold the reigns of government in a time of ſo great diſorder.* Hereupon the Senate paſſed a decree, that *Pompey* ſhould be *ſole* Conſul; and accordingly, on the twenty-fifth of *February*, he was, by *Servius Sulpicius*, the Inter-rex, declared elected *alone* to that magiſtracy. *Pompey*, highly pleaſed with the honour which *Cato* had done him, returned him abundant thanks for it; requeſting at the ſame time, that he would in private give him his advice and aſſiſtance for the worthy diſcharge of his office. *Cato* anſwered; *Pompey, you owe me no thanks: What I ſaid in the Senate was with a view to ſerve the Commonwealth, not to ſerve you; if you conſult me in private, I will freely give you my advice: And, in public, I ſhall always ſpeak my opinion, though you ſhould not aſk it.*

Plut. in Pomp. & in Cat.

Dio tells us that the Senate, and *Bibulus* in particular, were apprehenſive, at this time, leſt *Cæſar* ſhould be choſen one of the Conſuls at the next election, and for that reaſon took this unprecedented ſtep: Which, if true, ſufficiently accounts for *Cato*'s favour to *Pompey:* For the reader muſt have already obſerved, and will hereafter have freſh occaſion to obſerve, that the main ſpring of ſome of *Cato*'s political movements was neither the love of virtue, nor the love of his Country, but *a perſonal hatred to* Cæſar.

Midd. 537. Dio, xl. 143. Aſcon. Argum. in Mil. Midd. 548.

Pompey applied himſelf immediately to calm the public diſorders, by the promulgation of ſeveral *new laws*[a], prepared by him for that purpoſe. One of them was, to appoint *a ſpecial commiſſion to enquire into* Clodius's *death, the burning of the Senate-houſe, and the attack on* M. Lepidus;

[a] *Cicero* ſeems to have written *his Treatiſe on Laws* ſoon after the death of *Clodius.*

and to appoint an extraordinary Judge of Conſular rank to preſide in it: A ſecond was *againſt bribery and corruption in elections, with the infliction of new and ſeverer penalties on thoſe who had been guilty.* *Cato*, according to *Plutarch*, objected to this law, as unjuſt with regard to paſt offences; and he adviſed him to provide only for the future. *Appian* reports, that, by *Pompey*'s new law, all who, from the time of his *firſt* Conſulate, (twenty years before) had been in any public office, might be called to account for corruption in obtaining it, or male-adminiſtration in the exerciſe of it. At this ſpace of time compriſed the Conſulate of *Cæſar*, thoſe of his party imagined there was a deſign to affront him; and they inſiſted what they thought to *Pompey*. He anſwered them, *that their ſuſpicion was injurious to* Cæſar, *whoſe conduct, being out of the reach of cenſure, ſecured him from all danger.* *Appian* adds, that *Pompey* ſhortened the retroſpect to his *ſecond* Conſulate; but would not entirely drop the new law. [*App. de Bell. Civ. lib.* ii. *p.* 441.]

Y. R. 701. B. C. 51. A. C. 53.

By theſe laws the method of trials was altered, and the length of them limited: *Three days were allowed for the examination of witneſſes, and the fourth for the ſentence; on which the accuſer was to have two hours only to enforce the charge; the criminal three for his defence*[b]. *Cœlius* oppoſed his negative to theſe laws, as being rather privileges than laws, and provided particularly againſt *Milo*; but he was ſoon obliged to withdraw it, upon *Pompey*'s declaring *that he would ſupport them by force of arms.*

Middl. 537.

Pompey was the only man in *Rome* who had the power to bring *Milo* to a trial. He was not concerned for *Clodius*'s death, or for the manner of it, but rather pleaſed that the Republic was freed from ſo peſtilent a demagogue; yet he reſolved to take the benefit of the occaſion for getting rid of *Milo* too, from whoſe ambition and high ſpirit he had cauſe to apprehend no leſs trouble. He would not liſten therefore to any overtures from *Milo*'s friends; and when *Milo* offered *to drop his ſuit for the Conſulſhip*, if that would ſatisfy him, he anſwered, *That he would not concern himſelf with any man's ſuing or deſiſting, nor give any obſtruction to the power and inclination of the* Roman *People.* He attended the trial in perſon with a ſtrong guard, to preſerve peace and prevent any violence from either ſide.

Ibid. 539.

When the examination was over (in which many clear and poſitive truths were produced againſt *Milo*) *Manutius Plancus* called the People together, and exhorted them to appear in a full body the next day, when judgment was to be given, and to declare their ſentiments in ſo public a manner, that the criminal might not be ſuffered to eſcape; which *Cicero*

Mid. 537. [b] *Tacitus* ſeems to conſider this regulation as the firſt ſtep towards the ruin of the *Roman* eloquence, by impoſing reins, as it were, upon its free and ancient courſe. Primus tertio conſulatu *Cn. Pompeius* aſtrinxit, impoſuitque veluti frænos eloquentiæ —— &c. *Dialog. de Orator.* 38.

in

A.R. 701. in his defence of *Milo*, reflects upon as an inſult on the liberty of the bench.

Aſcon. Argum. Early in the morning, *on the eleventh of April*, the ſhops were all ſhut, and the whole City gathered into the Forum, where the avenues were poſſeſſed by *Pompey*'s ſoldiers, and he himſelf ſeated in a conſpicuous part, to overlook the whole proceeding, and hinder all diſturbance.

The accuſers were young *Appius*, the nephew of *Clodius*, *M. Antonius*, and *P. Valerius*; who, according to the new law, employed two hours in ſupporting their indictment.

Cicero was the only advocate on *Milo*'s ſide; but, as ſoon as he roſe up to ſpeak, he was received with ſo rude *a clamour by the* Clodians, *that he was much diſcompoſed and daunted at his firſt ſetting out; yet recovered ſpirit enough to go through his ſpeech of three hours; which was taken down in writing, and publiſhed as it was delivered*; though the copy of it now extant is ſuppoſed to have been retouched and corrected by him afterwards [or rather *a new compoſition*] for a preſent to *Milo* in his exile.

In the council of *Milo*'s friends, ſeveral were of opinion, that he ſhould defend himſelf *by avowing the death of* Clodius, and pleading *that it was an act of public benefit:* But *Cicero* thought that defence too deſperate, as it would diſguſt the grave, by opening ſo great a door to licence; and offend the powerful, leſt the precedent ſhould be extended to themſelves, But *young Brutus* [diſcovering from his early years, an apt and promiſing genius for the glorious buſineſs of aſſaſſination] in an oration, which he compoſed and publiſhed in vindication of *Milo*, maintained *the killing of* Clodius *to be right and juſt, and of great ſervice to the Republic.*

Mid. 541. Pro Mil. 9. It was notorious that they had often threatened death to each other: *Clodius* had declared ſeveral times, both to the Senate and the People, *that* Milo *ought to be killed, and that, if the Conſulſhip could not be taken from him, his life could: And when* Favonius *aſked him once, what hopes he could have of playing his pranks while* Milo *was living; he replied, that in three or four days at moſt he ſhould live no more*; which was ſpoken juſt *three days* before the fatal rencounter, and *atteſted by* Favonius. Since *Milo* then was charged with being the contriver of their meeting, and the aggreſſor in it, and ſeveral teſtimonies were produced to that purpoſe, *Cicero* choſe to riſk the cauſe on that iſſue, in hopes to perſuade, *that* Clodius *actually laid wait for* Milo, *and contrived the time and place; and* Milo's *part was but a neceſſary act of ſelf-defence.* This had ſomewhat of a plauſibility, from the nature of the equipage, and the circumſtances in which they met: For though *Milo*'s was the more numerous, yet it was much more encumbered and unfit for an engagement than his adverſary's; *he himſelf being in a chariot with his wife, and all her women along with her; while* Clodius *with his followers were on horſeback, as if prepared and equipt for fighting.* He did not preclude himſelf however

Pro Mil. 10 & 21.

ever by this from the other *plea* [c], which he often takes care to inſinuate, *that if* Milo *had really deſigned and contrived to kill* Clodius, *he would have deſerved honours inſtead of puniſhment, for cutting off ſo deſperate and dangerous an enemy to the peace and liberty of* Rome. Y. R. 701. Pro Mil. 28, &c.

Of one-and-fifty Judges, who ſat upon *Milo*, thirteen only acquitted and thirty-eight condemned him: The votes were uſually given by ballots; but *Cato*, who abſolved him, choſe to give his vote openly; and, if he had done it earlier, ſays *Velleius*, would have drawn others after him. Midd. 544.

Milo went into exile at *Marſeilles* a few days after his condemnation; and his whole eſtate was ſold by public auction for the ſatisfaction of his creditors [d].

Philotimus, a freedman of *Cicero*'s wife, bought this eſtate, in partnerſhip with ſome others, at an under value. It was thought ſtrange, that *Cicero* ſhould ſuffer *Philotimus*, who acted as a ſort of ſteward in his family, to engage in the purchaſe of a baniſhed man's eſtate, ſuch purchaſes being always looked upon as odious; and this was particularly ſo, *Cicero* having received great obligations from *Milo*. Accordingly the latter complained of it in the letters he wrote to his friends at *Rome*. This alarmed *Cicero* for his reputation; and he ſeems to have written to *Cælius*, as he did to ſeveral others of his correſpondents, to accommodate this affair in the way that would be moſt for his honour. He pleaded in his juſtification an intent of ſerving *Milo*; yet it appears very evidently, from the following letters to *Atticus* on this ſubject, that he ſhared with *Philotimus* in the advantages of the purchaſe. Melm. vol. I. p. 298.

"They write to me from *Rome*, that they have ſeen letters from *Milo*, "who complains of my having ſuffered *Philotimus* to enter into partner- "ſhip with thoſe who bought his eſtate: Yet I did it by the advice of "*Duronius*, *Milo*'s particular friend, and whom you know to be an ho- "neſt man. Our view was to hinder his falling into the hands of ſtran- "gers, and oppreſſive people, who might have demanded a great num- "ber of ſlaves that he has with him. We were, in the next place, de- "ſirous, that the proviſion which he intended ſhould be made for his "wife might be ſecured. We likewiſe thought, that, if there was a "poſſibility of ſaving any thing for him, we could manage that matter Ad Att. v. 8.

[c] *Aſconius* ſpeaks as if *Cicero* approved neither the uſe of this plea in the preſent caſe, nor the doctrine itſelf whereon the plea is founded. —— Reſpondit his [accuſatoribus] unus *M. Cicero*, & cum quibuſdam placuiſſet, ita defendi crimen, interfici *Clodium* pro Republica fuiſſe (quam formam *Marcus Brutus* ſecutus eſt in ea oratione quam pro *Milone* compoſuit & edidit, quamvis non egiſſet) *Ciceroni* id non placuit, *quod quis bono publico damnari, idem etiam occidi indemnatus poſſet.* Nevertheleſs *Cicero*, in the caſe of *Catiline*'s accomplices, ſeems to have followed this maxim, *That whoever may, for the public good, be juſtly condemned, may, for the ſame public good, be juſtly put to death without trial and condemnation.*

[d] *Milo* had waſted three eſtates in giving plays and ſhews to the People; and when he went into exile was found to owe above half a million of our money. *Plin. lib.* xvi. 15. *Aſcon. Argum. in Milon.* Midd. 531.

Y. R. 701. Bef. Chr. 51. 400 Conſ.

" better than any body elſe. Endeavour, I beſeech you, to ſearch this " whole matter to the bottom; for things are often magnified in the rela- " tion. But if it be true that *Milo* complains, and writes to his friends on " this head, and if *Fauſta* be of the ſame mind, *Philotimus* ſhall not have " any concern in the purchaſe; for I made him promiſe, before I left " *Rome*, that, without *Milo*'s conſent, he would not. The profit has not " been any thing conſiderable: But you will judge. Talk with *Duronius*. " I have writ to *Camillus* and to *Lamia*, being uncertain whether you were " at *Rome*. In a word, you will reſolve to act as honeſty, reputation, and " my intereſt ſhall require."

Mong. Tome III. p. 22.

[We ſee here, ſays an ingenious writer, *Cicero*'s reaſons for his friendly officiouſneſs; but I doubt whether they will convince any body, that intereſt was not his principal motive; and the rather, as *Milo*'s goods were ſold greatly under value. It appears by two other letters to *Atticus*, and by one from *Cœlius* to *Cicero*, that *Philotimus* reſtored to *Milo* the eſtates he had bought, on condition of allowing him a certain profit, in which *Cicero* was a ſharer.]

Ad Att. vi. 4.

" I have one thing more to mention to you. I ſhall write myſteriouſly, " but you will gueſs my meaning. My wife's freedman (you know whom " I ſpeak of) has embezzled, as I judge by his lame account, part of the " profit made by the purchaſe of the eſtate of the *Crotoniate Tyrant-killer* *. " If you gueſs the meaning of this laſt word, you will underſtand all the " reſt. I dare not be more explicit."

Ibid. 5.

" Do not forget the affair I wrote to you about in my laſt letter; where " I told you, that I have for ſome time ſuſpected, from the confuſed in- " conſiſtent talk of my wife's freedman in ſeveral companies, that he " has not given me a faithful account of the profits ariſing to me from the " purchaſe of the *Crotoniate*'s eſtate.——While I ſuffered him to be " here, I was conſtantly upon my guard: For he came to ſound me, in " the hopes that I would remit ſomewhat of what he owes me; but, find- " ing himſelf diſappointed, he flung away at once——*I will be gone; it* " *would be ſhameful to me for ſtay any longer, and at laſt go away with empty* " *hands:* And he twitted me with the old proverb, *A gift admits of no ac-* " *counting*;" or, as *Mongault* tranſlates the paſſage, *We ſhould be content with what is given.* By this (ſays the ingenious *French* writer) *Philotimus* intimated to *Cicero*, that he ought to be ſatisfied with his yielding to him part of the profit he had made by the purchaſe of *Milo*'s eſtate, ſince his name had never been mentioned in the purchaſe. The proverb, of which *Cicero* cites here only the firſt words, τα μεν διδομενα—is in the *Gorgias* of *Plato*, and anſwers to the *Engliſh* proverb, *We ſhould not look a Gift-horſe in the mouth.* From all this, I think, we may conclude, that *Philotimus* had *Cicero* in his power.

* *Milo*, who carried an ox upon his back at the *Olympic* games, was of *Crotona*. The *Milo*, now in queſtion, is called *Tyrant-killer*, becauſe he killed *Clodius*.

M. Cœlius

—" As to what concerns the behaviour of *Philotimus*, in relation to Ep. Fam. l. viii. Ep. 3.
" *Milo*'s eſtate, I have endeavoured that he ſhall act in ſuch a manner as to
" give full ſatisfaction to *Milo* and his friends, and at the ſame time clear
" your character from all imputation."

The next trial before the ſame tribunal, and for the ſame crime, was of Midd. p. 545-547.
M. Saufeius, one of *Milo*'s confidents, charged with being the ringleader in ſtorming the houſe, and killing *Clodius*. *Cicero* defended him, and he was acquitted by one vote only: But being accuſed a ſecond time on the ſame account, though for a different fact, and again defended by *Cicero*, he was acquitted by a great majority. But *Sex. Clodius*, the Captain of the other ſide, was condemned and baniſhed, with ſeveral others of that faction, for burning the Senate-houſe, and the other violences committed upon *Clodius*'s death.

Pompey no ſooner publiſhed his *new law againſt bribery*, than the late Conſular candidates, *Scipio* and *Hypſæus*, *were ſeverally impeached upon it*, and, being both of them notoriouſly guilty, were in great danger of being condemned: But *Pompey*, calling the Judges together, begged it of them as a favour, *that out of the great number of ſtate criminals they would remit* Scipio *to him:* Whom, after he had reſcued from the proſecution, he declared his *collegue in the Conſulſhip for the laſt five months of the year* [e]; having firſt made him his father-in-law, by marrying his daughter *Cornelia*, a lady of fine accompliſhments. The other candidate *Hypſæus*, was left to the mercy of the law, and being likely to fare the worſe for *Scipio*'s eſcape, he watched an opportunity of acceſs to *Pompey*, *as he was coming out of his bath*; *and*, *throwing himſelf at his feet*, *implored his protection:* But, though he had been his Quæſtor, and ever obſequious to his will, yet *Pompey* is ſaid to have *ſpurned* him away with great haughtineſs and inhumanity, telling him, *that he would only ſpoil his ſupper by detaining him.* [f]

Before

Midd. 550. [e] *Pompey* was preparing *an inſcription* this ſummer for *the front of the new temple*, which he had lately built to *Venus the Conquereſs*, containing, as uſual, *the recital of all his titles:* But, in drawing it up, a queſtion happened to be ſtarted *about the manner of expreſſing his third Conſulſhip*, whether it ſhould be by *Conſul*, *Tertium*, or *Tertio*. This was referred to *the principal critics of Rome*, who could not, it ſeems, agree about it. *Pompey* therefore left it to *Cicero* to decide the matter: But *Cicero*, being unwilling to give judgment on either ſide, when there were great authorities on both, and *Varro* among them, adviſed *Pompey* to order TERT. only to be inſcribed, which fully declared the thing, without determining the diſpute.

A Gell. x. 1.

[f] *Cn.* autem *Pompeius* quam inſolenter? Qui balneo egreſſus ante pedes ſuos proſtratum *Hypſæum* ambitus reum & nobilem virum & ſibi amicum, jacentem reliquit, contumelioſa voce proculcatum. Nihil enim eum aliud agere, quam ut convivium ſuum moraretur, reſpondit.——Ille vero *P. Scipionem* ſocerum ſuum, legibus noxium quas ipſe tulerat, in maxima quidem reorum & illuſtrium ruina muneris loco a judicibus depoſcere—*Val. Max.* ix. 3. *It. Plut. in Pomp.*

This is that *Pompey* of whom *Cicero* ſays, that *he knew him to be a man of integrity*,

Y. R. 701. Bef. Chr. 51. 400 Conſ.

Before the end of the year, two of the late Tribunes, whoſe office was juſt expired, *Q. Pompeius Rufus*, and *T. Munatius Plancus Burſa*, were tried, condemned, and baniſhed, *for the violences of their Tribunate, and burning the Senate-houſe.* *Cælius* accuſed the firſt, *Cicero* the ſecond, the only cauſe, excepting that of *Verres*, in which he ever acted the part of an accuſer. It ſeems *Burſa* had been formerly defended by him, and had proved ungrateful. *Pompey*, before Judges of his own appointing, pleaded the cauſe of *Burſa*: Yet he was condemned by an unanimous vote of the whole bench.

Midd. 550. Dio, p. 142.

Among the other acts of *Pompey*, in this his *third Conſulſhip*, there was a new law againſt bribery, contrived to ſtrengthen the old ones that were already ſubſiſting againſt it, *by diſqualifying all future Conſuls and Prætors from holding any province till five years after the expiration of their Magiſtracies:* For this was thought likely to give ſome check to the eagerneſs of ſuing and bribing for thoſe great offices, *when the chief fruit and benefit of them was removed to ſuch a diſtance.* But, before the law paſſed, *Pompey* took care to provide an exception for himſelf, and *to get the government of* Spain *continued to him for five years longer, with an appointment of money to pay his troops*: And, leſt this ſhould give offence to *Cæſar*, if ſomething of an extraordinary kind was not provided for him too, he propoſed *a law to diſpenſe with* Cæſar's *preſence in ſuing for the Conſulſhip*, of which *Cæſar* at that time ſeemed very deſirous. *Cælius was the promoter of this law, engaged to it by* Cicero, *at the joint requeſt of* Pompey *and* Cæſar; *and it was carried with the concurrence of all the Tribunes*, though not without difficulty and obſtruction from the Senate.

Ad Att. vii. 1. Suet. J. Cæſ. 26.

Midd. 551. Ad Att. v. 15.

By *Pompey*'s *law*, juſt now mentioned, it was provided, that, for a ſupply of governors for the interval *of five years*, in which *the Conſuls and Prætors were diſqualified, the Senators of Conſular and Prætorian rank, who had never held any foreign command, ſhould divide the vacant provinces among themſelves by lot:* In conſequence of which, *Cicero*, who was obliged to take his chance with the reſt, obtained the government [8] of *Cilicia*, now in

Ad. Att. xi. 6. Vol. II. p. 132.

an honeſt, ſincere, and grave man —— hominem integrum, & caſtum, & gravem, cognovi. And Dr. *Middleton* is of opinion, that this was his true character, Nevertheleſs the Reader, I imagine, will not judge that this grave *Pompey* was a proper *Perſon* to be inveſted with that DICTATORIAL POWER, which the Doctor thinks was neceſſary, in the preſent diſorders of the Republic, to reduce it to a tolerable ſtate.

Vid. ſupr. p. 556.

Midd. vol. II. p. 1 and 2.

[8] Theſe preferments were, of all others, the moſt ardently deſired by the Great, for the advantages which they afforded both of acquiring power and amaſſing wealth: For their command, though accountable to the *Roman* People, was abſolute and uncontroulable in the province; where they kept up the ſtate and pride of ſovereign princes, and had all the neighbouring Kings paying a court to them, and attending their orders. If their genius was turned to arms, and fond of martial glory, they could never want a pretext for war, ſince it was eaſy to drive the ſubjects into rebellion, or the adjoining nations to acts of hoſtility by their oppreſſions and injuries, till, from the deſtruction of a number of innocent people, they had acquired *the title of Emperor*, and with it the pretenſion to a triumph,

in the hands of *Appius*, the late Conſul. This province included alſo *Piſidia, Pamphilia, and three dioceſes*, as they are called, *or diſtricts of Aſia, together with the iſland of Cyprus*; for the guard of all which a ſtanding army was kept of two legions, or about twelve thouſand foot, with two thouſand ſix hundred horſe. But, whatever benefit or glory this government ſeemed to offer, it had no charms for *Cicero*. The thing itſelf *was diſagreeable to his temper, nor worthy of his talents, which* (in his own opinion) *were formed to ſit at the helm, and ſhine in the adminiſtration of the whole Republic*: So that he conſidered it only as an honourable exile, or a burden impoſed by his Country, to which his duty obliged him to ſubmit. His firſt care therefore was to provide, that this command might not be prolonged to him beyond the uſual term of a year. Before his departure he ſolicited all his friends not to ſuffer ſuch a mortification to fall upon him. He left the City about the firſt of *May*, attended by his brother, and their two ſons: For *Quintus*, in order to accompany him in the poſt of Lieutenant, had quitted his Lieutenancy under *Cæſar*.

Y. R. 701. Bef. Chr. 51. 400 Conſ.

Midd. vol. II. p. 3. Ep. Fam. ii. 11. Ad. Att. v. 10 & 15.

Y. R. 702. S. Sulpicius and M. Marcellus, Conſuls.

When *Cicero* arrived at *Tarentum*, he made a viſit to *Pompey*, who was taking the benefit of that ſoft air for the recovery of his health at one of his villas in thoſe parts, and had invited and preſſed him to ſpend ſome days with him upon his journey: They propoſed great ſatisfaction on both

Midd. p. 7. Ad Att. v. 6, 7, 8, 9.

umph, without which ſcarce any Proconſul was ever known to return from a remote and frontier province *. Their opportunities of raiſing money were as immenſe as their power, and bounded only by their own appetites: The appointments of the treaſury, for their equipage, plate, and neceſſary furniture, amounted, as it appears, from ſome inſtances, to near *a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds*: And beſides the revenues of kingdoms, and pay of armies, of which they had the arbitrary management, they could exact what contributions they pleaſed, not only from the cities of their own juriſdiction, but from all the ſtates and princes around them, who were under the protection of *Rome*. But, while their primary care was to enrich themſelves, they carried out with them always a band of hungry friends and dependents, *as their Lieutenants, Tribunes, Præfects*, with a crew of freedmen and favourite ſlaves, who were all likewiſe to be enriched by the ſpoils of the province, and the ſale of their maſter's favours. Hence flowed all thoſe accuſations and trials for the plunder of the ſubjects, of which we read ſo much in the *Roman* writers: For as few or none of the Proconſuls behaved themſelves with that exact juſtice as to leave no room for complaint, ſo the factions of the City, and the quarrels of fam lies, ſubſiſting from former impeachments, generally excited ſome or other to revenge the affront in kind, by undertaking the cauſe of an injured province, and dreſſing up an impeachment againſt their enemy.

* While the ancient diſcipline of the Republic ſubſiſted, no General could pretend to a triumph who had not enlarged the bounds of the empire by his conqueſts, and killed at leaſt five thouſand enemies in battle, without any conſiderable loſs of his own ſoldiers. This was expreſsly enacted by an old law: In ſupport of which, a ſecond was afterwards provided, that made it penal for any of their triumphal Commanders to give a falſe account of the number of ſlain, either on the enemies ſide or their own, and obliged them, upon their entrance into the City, to take an oath before the Quæſtors, or public Treaſurers, that the accounts which they had ſent to the Senate of each number was true. [*Val. Max.* ii. 8.] But theſe laws had long been neglected, and treated as obſolete; and the honour of a triumph uſually granted, by intrigue and faction, to every General of any credit who had gained ſome little advantage againſt pirates or fugitives, or repelled the incurſions of the wild barbarians who bordered upon the diſtant provinces.

ſides

Y. R. 702. Bef. Chr. 50. 401. Conf.

ſides from this interview, for the opportunity of conferring together with all freedom on the preſent ſtate of the Republic, which was to be their ſubject: And *Cicero* expected likewiſe to get ſome leſſons of the military kind from this renowned Commander. He promiſed *Atticus* an account of this conference; but, the particulars being too delicate to be communicated by letter, he acquainted him only in general, *that he found* Pompey *an excellent Citizen, and provided for all events that could poſſibly be apprehended.*

After three days ſtay with *Pompey* he proceeded to *Brunduſium*, where he was detained for twelve days by a ſlight indiſpoſition, and the expectation of his principal officers, particularly of his Lieutenant *Pontinius*, an experienced leader, the ſame who had triumphed over the *Allobroges*, and on whoſe ſkill he chiefly depended in his martial affairs. From *Brunduſium* he ſailed to *Actium on the fifteenth of June*; whence partly by ſea, and partly by land, he arrived, *on the twenty-ſixth*, at *Athens*, where he ſpent ten days, and where *Pontinius* at length joined him.

Vid. ſupra, p. 526.

Upon leaving *Italy* he charged his friend *Cœlius* with the taſk [h] of ſending him the news of *Rome*; and, while he was at *Athens*, he received from him the firſt letter of intelligence.

Middd. p. 10.

Cœlius to *Cicero.*

Ep. Fam. viii. 1. Melm. iii. 15.

" AGREEABLY to my promiſe when we parted, I have ſent you a full " account of every event that has happened ſince you left *Rome*. For this " purpoſe I employed a perſon to collect the news of the Town, and am " only afraid you will think he has executed his office much too punctual- " ly, *&c. &c.*

" *M. Marcellus* [the Conſul] not having yet moved that *Cæſar may* " *be recalled from his government in Gaul*, and intending to defer it, as " he told me himſelf, to *the firſt of June*, it has occaſioned the revival of " thoſe ſuſpicions to his diſadvantage, which ſo ſtrongly prevailed when " you were here. If you ſaw *Pompey*, as you deſigned to do, pray ſend " me word in what temper you found him; what converſation he had with " you; and what you could diſcover of his deſigns: For, though he ſel- " dom ſpeaks his real ſentiments, he has not wit enough to conceal them.

[h] *Cœlius* (who, by his father, had been introduced to *Cicero*'s acquaintance and friendſhip) performed the taſk very punctually, in a ſeries of letters, which made a conſiderable part in the collection of his Familiar Epiſtles; and as they contain the jealouſies and fears which gave birth to the civil war which ſoon broke out, it may not be diſagreeable to the Reader to preſent him with ſome extracts of them. He had been Tribune of the People in 701, the year before this letter was written, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that office, by zealouſly ſupporting the intereſts of the Ariſtocratical Faction. His morals were ſuitable to the degenerate age in which he lived; luxurious and diſſolute; and his temper was remarkably inflammable, and apt to kindle into the moſt implacable reſentment. *Vid. Ad. Att.* v. 2.

" As

"As for *Cæſar*, there are many ugly reports about him; but propagated Y. R. 702.
" only in whiſpers: ſome ſay that he has loſt all his cavalry; which I
" take indeed to be true: others, that the ſeventh legion has been beaten,
" and that he himſelf is ſo ſurrounded and beſieged by the *Bellovaci* *, * A people of the Belgic Gaul.
" that he cannot receive ſuccours from the main body of his army. There
" is nothing yet certain; nor are theſe uncertain ſtories publicly talked of;
" but among a few, whom I need not name, told openly by way of ſe-
" crets: *Domitius* [i] never mentions them without clapping his hand to his
" mouth, *&c.*"

M. T. Cicero to *M. Cælius.*

" Could you ſeriouſly then imagine, my friend, that I commiſſioned Ep. Fam.
" you to ſend me the idle news of the town; matches of gladiators, ad- ii. 8.
" journments of cauſes, robberies, *&c.* ——? Far other are the accounts Melm. iii.
" which I expect from your hand, as *I know not any man whoſe judgment* 28. [dated
" *in politics I have more reaſon to value.*———I paſſed ſeveral days with July 6.
" *Pompey*, converſing with him on nothing elſe but the Republic: But it 702.]
" is neither prudent nor poſſible to give you the particulars in a letter.
" Take this only from me, that *Pompey is an excellent Citizen* [k], *prepared*
" *both with courage and counſel for all events which can be foreſeen:* Where-
" fore give yourſelf up to the man; believe me, he will embrace you;
" for he now holds the ſame opinion with us of good and bad Citizens.
" I have been ten days at *Athens, and am juſt now leaving it, this ſixth of*
" *July.* As I earneſtly recommend all my affairs to your care, ſo no-
" thing more particularly, than that the time of my provincial command
" be not prolonged.———Farewel."

Cicero ſet ſail for *Aſia the ſixth of July*, and landed at *Epheſus* on *the*
" *twenty-ſecond*, after a ſlow [l] but ſafe paſſage of fifteen days. Having re- Midd. 14.
" poſed himſelf for three days at *Epheſus*, he marched forwards towards his Ad Att. i.
" province; and *on the laſt of July* arrived at *Laodicea*, one of the capital 13 & 15.

[i] This is *Domitius*, the decree-forging Conſul, and the declared enemy of *Cæſar*. *Vid. ſupra*, p. 507.

[k] " *Cicero* ſo often changed his opinion, or " at leaſt his language, in regard to *Pompey*, " that it is difficult to determine what his " true ſentiments of him were. It is pro- " bable, however, that he here ſpeaks the " dictates of his real thoughts, not only as he " gives the ſame account to *Atticus*, but be- " cauſe *Pompey* received him with particular " civility; a circumſtance which ſeems at all " times to have had a very conſiderable in- " fluence upon *Cicero*'s judgment concerning " the characters and deſigns of men." *Vid. Ad. Att.* v. 6, 7. Melm. vol. I. p. 290.

[l] The tedioufneſs of this voyage was agreeably relieved by touching on the way at ſeveral of the iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea, of which he ſends a kind of journal to *Atticus*. Many deputations from the cities of *Aſia*, and a great concourſe of people, came to meet him as far as *Samos*; but a much greater ſtill was expecting his landing at *Epheſus*: The *Greeks* flocked eagerly from all parts to ſee a man, ſo celebrated through the empire for the fame of his learning and eloquence; ſo that all his boaſtings, as he merrily ſays, of many years paſt were now brought to the teſt. Midd. P. 14.

Y. R. 702. Bef. Chr. 50. 401 Conſ. cities of his juriſdiction. From this moment the date of his government commenced; which he bids *Atticus* take notice of, that he might know how to compute the preciſe extent of his annual term.

Midd. p. 14. It was *Cicero*'s reſolution, in his provincial command, to practiſe thoſe admirable rules which he had drawn up formerly for his brother; and from an employment wholly tedious and diſagreeable to him, to derive freſh glory upon his character, by leaving the innocence and integrity of his adminiſtration as a pattern of governing to all ſucceeding Proconſuls.

When any governors went abroad to their provinces, the cuſtom had always been, that the countries through which they paſſed ſhould defray the charges of their journey: But *Cicero* no ſooner ſet his foot on foreign ground, *than he forbad all expences whatſoever, public or private, to be made either upon himſelf or any of his company*; which raiſed a great admiration of him *in the cities of Greece*. In *Aſia* he did the ſame, not ſuffering his officers to accept, *what was due to them even by law, forage and wood for firing, nor any thing elſe, but mere houſe-room, with four beds*; which he remitted alſo, as oft as was practicable, and obliged them *to lodge in their tents*; and by his example and conſtant exhortations, brought *his Lieutenants, Tribunes, and Præfects, ſo fully into his meaſures, that they all concurred with him*, he ſays, *wonderfully in a jealous concern for his honour.*

Ad Att. v. 9, 10, 11.

Ibid. 16, 1

Midd. 16. About the twenty-fourth of *Auguſt* he went to the camp of *Iconium* in *Lycaonia*, where he had no ſooner reviewed the troops than he received an account from *Antiochus*, King of *Comagene*, which was confirmed from the other princes of thoſe parts, that the *Parthians* had paſſed the *Euphrates* with a mighty force under the conduct of *Pacorus*, the King's ſon, in order to invade the *Roman* territory. Upon this news he marched towards *Cilicia*, to ſecure his province from the inroads of the enemy, or any commotions within: But as all acceſs to it was difficult, except on the ſide of *Cappadocia*, an open country, and not well provided, he took his route through that Kingdom, and encamped in that part of it which bordered upon *Cilicia*, near to the town of *Cybiſtra*, at the foot of mount *Taurus*. His army, as it is ſaid above, conſiſted of about twelve thouſand foot and two thouſand ſix hundred horſe, beſides the auxiliary troops of the neighbouring ſtates, and eſpecially of *Dejotarus*, King of *Galatia*, the moſt faithful ally of *Rome*, and *Cicero*'s particular friend; whoſe whole forces he could depend upon at any warning.

Ep. Fam. xv. 1.

Ibid. 2, 3, 4. While he lay in this camp he had an opportunity of executing a ſpecial commiſſion, with which he was charged by the Senate; to take *Ariobarzanes*, King of *Cappadocia*, under his particular protection; and provide for the ſecurity of his perſon and government: In honour of whom the Senate had decreed, what they had never done before to any foreign Prince, *that his ſafety was of concern to the Senate and People of* Rome. His father had been killed by the treachery of his ſubjects, and a conſpiracy

piracy of the ſame kind was apprehended againſt the ſon: *Cicero* therefore, in a council of his officers, gave the King an account of the decree of the Senate, and that, in conſequence of it, he was then ready to aſſiſt him with his troops and authority in any meaſures that ſhould be concerted for the ſafety and quiet of his Kingdom.——The King, after great profeſſions of his thanks and duty to the Senate for the honour of their decree, and to *Cicero* himſelf for his care in the execution of it, ſaid, *that he knew no occaſion for giving him any particular trouble at that time, nor had any ſuſpicion of any deſign againſt his life or crown:* Upon which *Cicero*, after congratulating him upon the tranquillity of his affairs, adviſed him however *to remember his father's fate, and from the admonitions of the Senate, to be particularly vigilant in the care of his perſon*; and ſo they parted. But the next morning the King returned early to the camp, attended by his brother and counſellors, and with many tears implored the protection of *Cicero, and the benefit of the Senate's decree, declaring*, " that he had " received undoubted intelligence of a plot, which thoſe, who were privy " to it, durſt not venture to diſcover till *Cicero*'s arrival in the Country; " but, truſting to his authority, had now given him information of it; " and that his brother, who was preſent, and ready to confirm what he " had ſaid, had been ſolicited to enter into it by the offer of the crown: " He begged, therefore, that ſome of *Cicero*'s troops might be left with " him for his better guard and defence." *Cicero* told him, " that, under " the preſent alarm of the *Parthian* war, he could not poſſibly lend him " any part of his army; that, ſince the conſpiracy was detected, his own " forces would be ſufficient for preventing the effects of it; that he ſhould " learn to act the King, by ſhewing a proper concern for his own life, " and exert his regal power in puniſhing the authors of the plot, and par- " doning all the reſt; that he need not apprehend any farther danger, " when his people were acquainted with the Senate's decree, and ſaw a " *Roman* army ſo near to them, and ready to put it in execution." And having thus encouraged and comforted the King, he marched towards *Cilicia*, and gave an account of this accident, and of the motions of the *Parthians*, in *two public letters to the Conſuls and Senate*[m].

Y. R. 701. Bef. Chr. 50. Cor. 401

While

[m] He added a private letter alſo to *Cato* who was a particular favourer of *Ariobarzanes*, in which he informed him " that he " had not only ſecured the King's perſon from " any attempt, but had taken care, that he " ſhould reign for the future with honour and " dignity, by *reſtoring to his favour and ſervice his old Counſellors, whom* Cato *had recommended*, and who had been diſgraced by " the intrigues of his court; and by obliging " a turbulent young prieſt of *Bellona*, who " was the head of the malecontents, and the " next in power to the King himſelf, to quit " the country." Ep. Fam. xv. 4.

This King, *Ariobarzanes*, ſeems to have been poor even to a proverb: Midd. 18.

Manicipiis locuples, eget æris Cappadocum rex.
Hor. Ep. i. 6.

For he had been miſerably ſqueezed and drained by the *Roman* Generals and Governors, to whom he owed vaſt ſums, either actual-

Y. R. 702.

Ad Att. v. 23.

While he lay encamped in *Cappadocia*, expecting what way the [illegible] to *Amanus* would move, he received an account that they had taken a dissatisfactory route, and were advanced to *Antioch* in *Syria*, where they held *C. Cassius* blocked up; and that a detachment of them had actually penetrated into *Cilicia*, *but were routed and cut off by those troops which were left to guard the country.* Upon this he presently decamped, and, by *great journeys over Mount Taurus*, marched in all haste to possess himself *of the passes of Amanus*, a great and strong mountain, lying between *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and the common boundary of them both. By this march, and the approach of his army to the neighbourhood of *Syria*, the *Parthians*, being discouraged, retired from *Antioch*, which gave *Cassius* an opportunity *of falling upon them in their retreat, and gaining a considerable advantage, in which one of their principal commanders*, Osaces, *was mortally wounded.*

In the suspence of the *Parthian* war, which the late disgrace of *Crassus* had made terrible at *Rome*, *Cicero*'s friends, who had no great opinion of his military talents, were in some pain for his safety and success, as appears by the following letter from *Cælius*.

ly borrowed, or stipulated to be paid for particular services. It was a common practice with the great men of *Rome*, *to lend money, at an exorbitant interest, to the Princes and Cities dependent on the empire.* The ordinary interest of the provincial loans was *one per cent. by the month, with interest upon interest:* This was the lowest; but it was frequently four times as much. *Pompey* received *monthly*, from this very King, above six thousand pounds sterling; which yet was short of his full interest. *Brutus* also had lent him a very large sum, and earnestly desired *Cicero* to procure the payment of it, with the arrears of interest: But *Pompey*'s agents were so pressing and the King so needy, that, though *Cicero* solicited *Brutus*'s affair very heartily, he had little hopes of getting any thing for him. When *Ariobarzanes* came, therefore, to offer him the same present of money which he had usually made to every other Governor, he generously refused, and desired only, *that, instead of giving it to him, he would pay it to* Brutus: But the poor Prince was so distressed, that he excused himself by the necessity which he was under of satisfying some other more pressing demands; so that *Cicero* gives a sad account of his negociation in a long * letter to *Atticus*, who had warmly recommended *Brutus*'s interest to him.

Ad Att. vi. 1. Y. 703.

*----" I come now to *Brutus*, whom, by your authority, I embraced with inclination, and begun even " to love: But---what am I going to say? I recall myself, lest I offend you.----Do not think that I ever " entered into any thing more willingly, or took more pains, than in what he recommended to me. He gave " me a memorial of the particulars which you have talked over with me before: I pursued your instructions " exactly: In the first place I pressed *Ariobarzanes* to give to *Brutus* that money which he promised to " me. As long the King continued with me, all things looked well; but he was afterwards teized by " six hundred of *Pompey*'s agents; and *Pompey*, for other reasons, can do more with him than all the world " besides; but especially when it is imagined that he is to be sent to the *Parthian* war: They now pay " *Pompey* thirty-three Attic talents per month out of the taxes; though this falls short of a month's in- " terest: But our friend *Cneius* takes it calmly; and is content to abate somewhat of the interest without " pressing for the principal. As for others, he neither does nor can pay any man: For he has no treasury, " no revenues: He raises taxes by *Appius*'s method of capitation: But these are scarce sufficient for *Pom-* " *pey*'s monthly pay: Two or three of the King's friends are very rich; but they hold their own as closely " as either you or I.------I do not forbear however to ask, urge, and chide him by letters: King *Deiotarus* " also told me, that he had sent people to him on purpose to solicit for *Brutus*; but they brought him word " back, that he had really no money: Which I take indeed to be the case; that nothing is more drained than " his Kingdom; nothing poorer than the King."

Y.R 702.

Ep. Fam. viii. 10 Melm. iv. 14 (dated 18th Novemb.)

Marcus Cælius to *Cicero*.

" I expe[illegible]ly o[illegible]

" We cleave received an expreſs from *Caius Caſſius*, and another from " *Deiotarus*, which greatly alarm us. The former writes that the *Par-* " *thian* army had paſſed the *Euphrates*, and the latter, that they are " actually marching towards your province, by the way of *Comagene*. " As I well know how ill provided you are with troops, the principal " concern I feel from this invaſion, with reſpect to you, is, leſt you ſhould " be a loſer by it in point of reputation. Had you been better prepared " indeed to receive the enemy, I ſhould have been in great pain for your " life: But, as the very ſmall number of your forces will incline you, " I imagine rather to think of a retreat than an engagement, I am only " anxious concerning your honour. For how far the world may conſider " the neceſſity of the caſe, and approve of your thus declining a battle, " is a point, I confeſs, which gives me much uneaſy reflection. In ſhort, " I ſhall be in continual anxiety, till I hear of your arrival in *Italy*. " In the mean time, this news of the *Parthians* has occaſioned a variety " of ſpeculations. Some are of opinion, that *Pompey* ought to be ſent " againſt them: And others, that it is by no means convenient that he " ſhould leave *Rome*. A third party is for aſſigning this expedition to " *Cæſar* and his army; whilſt a fourth names the Conſuls as the moſt " proper perſons to be employed. But all agree, however, in being ſilent " as to any decree of the Senate for placing this command in private hands. " The Conſuls, in the apprehenſion that they ſhall either be nominated " to a commiſſion which they do not reliſh, or ſuffer the diſgrace of its " being given from them, forbear to convene the Senate: And by this " means incur the cenſure of neglecting the public intereſt. But whether " indolence or puſillanimity be the real motive of their declining the " conduct of this war, it is concealed under the ſpecious appearance how- " ever of modeſty.

" *As we have received no courier from you*, it was ſuſpected, till the " diſpatch from *Deiotarus* arrived, that the whole was an invention " of *Caſſius*, who, it was thought, in order to colour his own rapine, " had ſuffered a parcel of *Arabs* to make an incurſion into the province, " and then repreſented them to the Senate as a formidable body of *Par-* " *thians*. Whatever therefore may be the true ſtate of the affair, let me " perſuade you to be extremely circumſpect in giving a faithful and ac- " curate account of it to the Senate: That you may neither be reproached " with magnifying matters, in order to gratify the private purpoſes of " *Caſſius*, nor with concealing any thing which may be of importance for " the public to know.

" It is now *the eighteenth of November*; and as we are advanced thus far " towards the end of the year, I do not ſee that any thing can be done

Y. R. 702. Bef Chr. 50. 401 Conf.

" in this affair till the firſt of *January*. For you know how ſtions of the active *Marcellus* is upon all occaſions, and are no ſtran to *Am* the dilatory diſpoſition of *Sulpicius*: You will eaſily judge ther ſatisfy what is to be expected from two men of this unperforming caſt; an ſi hat thoſe who uſually act with ſo much coldneſs as to make one doub their inclinations, even in points they really deſire to effect, will n be very warm in forwarding a buſineſs to which they are certainly averſe.

" If the *Parthian* war ſhould become a ſerious matter, the new Magiſtrates will be engaged for the firſt two or three months of their office in adjuſting the proper meaſures to be taken in this conjuncture. On the other hand, if it ſhould appear to be an invaſion of no conſequence, or ſuch at leaſt, as, with the ſupply of a few additional troops, may eaſily be repelled by you and the other Proconſuls already in thoſe provinces, or by your ſucceſſors: *Curio*, I foreſee, will begin to play his double game; that is, he will in the firſt place attempt to weaken the authority of *Cæſar*; and in the next, endeavour to throw ſome little advantages on the ſide of *Pompey*. As for *Paullus* *, he declares moſt vehemently againſt ſuffering *Cæſar* to continue in *Gaul*; And our friend *Furnius* is the only Tribune whom I ſuſpect of obſtructing his meaſures for that purpoſe. You may depend upon theſe articles as certain: But beyond theſe I cannot with any aſſurance pronounce. Time indeed may produce much; as many ſchemes I know are concerted: But they all turn upon the points I have already ſpecified.——

" I forgot to mention, that *Curio* deſigns to make an attempt to procure a diviſion of the lands in *Campania*. It is pretended that *Cæſar* does not concern himſelf in this matter: Certain, however, it is, that *Pompey* is very deſirous of having the diſtribution ſettled before *Cæſar*'s return, that he may be precluded from applying them to his own purpoſes.

" As to what concerns your leaving the province, I dare not promiſe that you ſhall be relieved by a ſucceſſor; but you may rely upon my endeavouring all I can, that your adminiſtration ſhall not be prolonged. Whether you will think proper to remain in your government, if affairs ſhould be ſo circumſtanced as to render it indecent for me to oppoſe any decree of the Senate for that purpoſe, depends upon yourſelf to determine: As it does upon me to remember, how warmly you made it your requeſt, when we parted, that I would prevent any ſuch reſolution from being taken. Farewell."

* One of the Conſuls elect.

It is no wonder that *Cicero*'s friends ſhould be in pain for him, when they thought he would have to do with the *Parthians*: Nevertheleſs, when he found himſelf engaged, and puſhed to the neceſſity of acting the General, he wanted (by his own account) neither the courage nor conduct of an experienced leader. In a letter to *Atticus*, dated from his camp:

Midd. 15.

" We

" I expect great ſpirits, ſays he; and, as our counſels are good, have Y. R. 702.
" nearly one of an engagement: We are ſecurely encamped, with plenty Ad Att.
" of provisions, and in ſight almoſt of *Cilicia*; with a ſmall army indeed, v. 15.
" but, as I clearly have reaſon to believe, intirely well affected to me: which
" I ſhall double by the acceſſion of *Deiotarus*, who is upon the road
" to join me. I have the allies more firmly attached to me than any
" Governor ever had: They are wonderfully taken with my eaſineſs and
" abſtinence: We are making new levies of Citizens, and eſtabliſhing
" magazines: If there be occaſion for fighting, we ſhall not decline it;
" if not, ſhall defend ourſelves by the ſtrength of our poſts. Wherefore
" be of good heart; for I ſee, as much as if you were with me, the ſym-
" pathy of your love for me."

The danger of the *Parthians* being over, *Cicero*, unwilling to diſmiſs his army without attempting ſomething, led it againſt an untamed race of banditti, or freebooters inhabiting the mountains, cloſe to which he now lay. They had never ſubmitted to the *Roman* power, but lived in defiance of it. *Cicero* thought the reduction of them a matter of importance. To take them unprovided, he drew off his forces, on pretence of marching to the diſtant parts of *Cilicia*; but, after a day's journey, ſtopped ſhort, and, having refreſhed his army and left his baggage behind, turned back again in the night with the utmoſt celerity, and reached *Amanus* before day on the thirteenth of *October*. Coming upon the natives by ſurpriſe, he eaſily killed or made them all priſoners. *Erana*, indeed, the capital of the mountain, made a brave reſiſtance; for it held out almoſt a whole day. Upon this ſucceſs, *Cicero* was ſaluted EMPEROR.

It appears, by a letter from the VICTORIOUS EMPEROR, that he thought his victory gave him a juſt claim to a *Triumph*.

Cicero to *M. Cælius*, Curule Ædile elect.

" I wiſh you would enquire the reaſon that your letters miſcarry; for Ep. Fam.
" I cannot be induced to think that you have not once written to me ſince Mdlm. 17.
" your election. But to turn to the principal purpoſe of this Epiſtle— 13. [written about the end of November.]
" Your wiſh has ſucceeded, and *I have juſt had employment enough of the*
" *military kind to entitle me to a Triumph.* You were under ſome appre-
" henſions, I perceive, about the *Parthians*, as being diffident of my
" forces. I muſt acquaint you then, that, having received advice, that
" the *Parthians* had committed hoſtilities, I took the advantage of ſome
" defiles, and of the neighbouring mountains, to lead my army, ſup-
" ported by a tolerable number of auxiliaries, to *Amanus*. The reputation
" of my name was of ſome benefit to me likewiſe in my march: As you
" cannot imagine of what importance it is, in places of this kind, to have
" the populace aſk, *Is this the Conſul that ſaved* Rome? *Is this he that*

" *was*

Y R. 702. Bef. Chr. 50. Conſ. 401

" *was ſo honoured by the Senate?* Together with other queſtions of the ſame import, which I need not add. When I approached to *Amanus*, a mountain which ſeparates *Cilicia* from *Syria*, I had the ſatisfaction to hear that *Caſſius* had obliged the enemy to abandon the ſiege of *Antioch*; and that *Bibulus* had taken upon himſelf the command of the province. However, I employed my army in haraſſing the *Amanienſes*, our eternal enemies: And, having put many of them to the ſword, as well as taken a great number of priſoners, and entirely diſperſed the reſt, I ſurprized and burnt ſome of their fortreſſes. Having thus obtained a compleat victory, I was ſaluted with the title of *Imperator* by the whole army at *Iſſus*, the very place where *Alexander* defeated *Darius*. From thence I marched into the moſt infeſted parts of *Cilicia*, where I am now before *Pindeniſſum*; a city of great ſtrength, and *which I have already been battering above theſe three weeks* [n]. The garriſon makes a moſt obſtinate and vigorous defence: So that nothing ſeems wanting to complete the glory I ſhall here obtain, but that the name of this place were leſs obſcure [o].

" If I ſhould make myſelf maſter of it, as I truſt I ſhall, I will ſend an immediate expreſs to the Senate. In the mean time, I have given this general account of my operations, to let you ſee there is ſome foundation to hope that your good wiſhes will be accompliſhed. But to return to the *Parthians:* This ſummer's campaign has proved, you find, tolerable ſucceſsful: I am in great pain, however, for the next. Let me intreat you, therefore, my dear friend, to endeavour that a ſucceſſor be appointed to my government: But, if that ſhould prove a matter of too much difficulty (as you intimate in one of your letters, and as I am myſelf inclined to ſuſpect) be careful at leaſt to guard againſt what may eaſily be prevented, I mean the prolongation of my reſidence [p].

" I ex-

[n] The ſiege was begun about the firſt of *November:* So that this letter was written towards the end of *November*, if he began to batter in a few days after his inveſting the place.

[o] *Cicero* in a letter to *Atticus*, ſpeaking of this ſiege, writes thus: " What the plague, " you will ſay, are theſe *Pindeniſſians?* I " never heard their names before.—How " can I help that? Could I turn *Cilicia* into " *Ætolia* or *Macedonia?* Take this how- " ever for certain, that no man could do " more than I have done with ſuch an ar- " my, *&c.*" Ad Att. v. 20.

[p] *Cicero* wrote, about the ſame time, a letter of congratulation to *Curio*, on his being elected to the Tribunate; and preſſes him to be ready to the intereſts of the Senate, and *to employ his Tribunitian power in his favour*, that he may not be continued in his government beyond his year.

Cicero to *Curio*, Tribune of the People.

" The congratulations of a friend are not " uſually conſidered as too late, if they are " paid as early as poſſible: My great diſtance " therefore from *Rome*, together with the ſlow " progreſs with which news travels into this " corner of the world, will excuſe me for not " ſooner ſending you mine. But now I ſin- " cerely give them you: And moſt ardently " wiſh you may obtain immortal honour by Ep. Fam. ii. 7. Melm. iv. 16.

your

"I expect from your letters (as I mentioned in one of my former) not merely on account of what is at preſent going forward in the Republic, but a clear proſpect of what is likely to happen—Farewell." A. R. 702. Bef. Chr. 50. 401 Conſ.

To ſatisfy the earneſt deſire which *Cicero* had formerly expreſſed (and which he here again expreſſes) of being informed of what paſſed at *Rome*, in his abſence, his correſpondent wrote ſeveral letters to him concerning the ſtate of public affairs; particularly *one* of *the firſt of Auguſt*, and, *a ſhort time after*, *another*, which refers to it; and which *Cicero*, by ſome words in the beginning of the letter now before us, appears to

"your adminiſtation of the Tribunate. To "this end, I muſt exhort you not to ſuffer your- "ſelf to be turned aſide from your natural bias, "in compliance with the ſentiments and ad- "vice of others: On the contrary, let me "intreat you to be directed in your miniſtry "by the faithful light of your own ſuperior "wiſdom. No man indeed is capable of "giving you more prudent counſels than will "ariſe from the ſuggeſtions of your own good "ſenſe: And, believe me, you can never be "miſguided, ſo long as you purſue the honeſt "dictates of your uninfluenced judgment. "I ſay not this inconſiderately, but as per- "fectly well knowing the genius and prin- "ciples of him to whom I am addreſſing "myſelf. Yes, my friend, I can never be "apprehenſive that you will act either weakly "or irreſolutely, whilſt you ſupport the mea- "ſures your heart approves. It was neither "chance nor ignorance that led you to ſolicit "the Magiſtracy in ſo important a criſis. It was "a deliberate and well-conſidered reſolution "that engaged you in this deſign: And you "were perfectly ſenſible of the great and ge- "neral confuſion in which the Commonwealth "is involved, together with the utter uncer- "tainty in what manner theſe our unhappy "diviſions will finally be terminated. You "frequently reflect, I doubt not, on the vain, "the treacherous, and the pliant diſpoſitions "of the preſent generation. To repeat then "what I juſt now mentioned: Let me con- "jure you to perſevere ſtedfaſtly in your old "principles, to conſult the dictates of your "own breaſt, and faithfully to comply with "its wiſe and worthy admonitions. Hardly, "perhaps, is any man more qualified than "yourſelf to direct the conduct of others: "None, I am ſure, to ſteer your own. Good "Gods! why am I thus prevented from being "a witneſs of your glorious actions, and an "aſſociate of your patriot deſigns? The lat- "ter, I am perſuaded, you are far from want- "ing: However, the ſtrength and warmth of "my affection might poſſibly render the con- "junction of my counſels with yours not al- "together unprofitable.

"You will hear from me again very ſoon, as "I purpoſe in a few days to ſend an expreſs "to the Senate, with particulars of the ſucceſs "of my arms during the laſt ſummer's cam- "paign. In the mean time you will per- "ceive, by the letter which I delivered to "your freedman *Thraſo*, with what zealous "pains I have ſolicited your election to the "Pontifical Dignity: An election indeed "which will be attended with much difficulty "I conjure you in return, my dear *Curio*, not "to ſuffer this my very troubleſome provin- "cial adminiſtration to be lengthened out be- "yond the uſual period: And I intreat it by "all the ſtrong and tender tie of our mutual "friendſhip. When I firſt made this requeſt "to you in perſon, and ſeveral times after- "wards repeated it by letter, I had not the "leaſt imagination of your being Tribune. I "then indeed only intreated your good offices "as an illuſtrious Senator, and one who ſtood "high in the favour and eſteem of every *Ro-* "*man*. But *I now apply to* Curio, not only "as my noble friend, but *as a powerful Tri-* "*bune*. I do not deſire however (what indeed "would be more difficult to obtain) that any "thing unuſual ſhould be decreed in my fa- "vour: But, on the contrary, that you would "ſupport that decree, and maintain thoſe "laws, by which I was appointed to this go- "vernment. In a word, my ſingle and moſt "earneſt requeſt is, that the terms upon "which I ſet out for this province may not "be changed. Farewell."

have

Y. R. 702. have received: But it is not improbable, that a letter from *Cælius*, dated *the ſecond of September*, and another written in *October*, full of intelligence,

p. 555. were not yet come to *Cicero*'s hands; and as to that (above* tranſcribed) *of the eighteenth of November*, he had unqueſtionably not received it; and this perhaps occaſioned his apprehenſions, that ſome of *Cælius*'s letters had *miſcarried*.

I doubt not but the Reader has a portion of the ſame curioſity which *Cicero* had; nor do I know how it can be better gratified, than by adding here, to the letter *of the eighteenth of November*, *the other Four*, juſt above mentioned, *of dates prior to that*; or ſo much of them, at leaſt, as is to the purpoſe. There will be occaſion hereafter to refer to them as the beſt vouchers of the facts they relate.

M. Cælius to *Cicero.*

Ep. Fam. viii. 4. Melm. iii. 12. [dated Aug. 1. 702.]

——" *Curio* is a candidate [for the Tribuneſhip.] This greatly " alarms thoſe who are unacquainted with the real good qualities of " *Curio*'s heart. I hope, and indeed believe, he will act agreeably to " his profeſſions, and join with the Senate in ſupporting the friends of the " Republic: I am ſure, at leaſt, he is full of theſe deſigns at preſent; in " which *Cæſar*'s conduct has been the principal occaſion of engaging " him. For *Cæſar*, though he ſpares no pains or expence to gain over " even the loweſt of the People to his intereſt, has thought fit to treat " *Curio* with ſingular contempt. The latter has behaved himſelf with " ſo much temper upon this occaſion, that he, who never acted with " artifice in all his life, is ſuſpected to have diſſembled his reſentment, " in order the more effectually to defeat the ſchemes of thoſe who oppoſe " his election; I mean the *Lælii* and the *Antonii*, together with the reſt of " that worderful party.

" I have been ſo much engaged by the difficulties, which have retarded " the ſeveral elections, that I could not find leiſure to write to you ſooner: " And indeed, as I every day expected they would be determined, I waited " their concluſion, that I might give you at once an account of the whole. " But it is now *the firſt of Auguſt*," and they are not yet over; the elections " of Prætors having met with ſome unexpected delays. As to that in which " I am a candidate [the *Curule Ædileſhip*] I can give no account which " way it is likely to be decided: Only it is generally thought that *Hirrus* " will not be choſen. This is collected from the fate that has attended " *Vincianus*, who was a candidate for the office of *Plebeian Ædile*. " That fooliſh project of his, for the nomination of a DICTATOR [q], " (which we formerly, you may remember, expoſed to ſo much ridicule)

[q] *Vincianus* and *Hirrus*, elected Tribunes for the year 700, were the chief promoters of the project of making *Pompey* Dictator. *Vide ſupra*, p. 526 & 542. And *Vid. Ad Q. Fr.* iii. 8.

" ſuddenly turned the election againſt him; and the People, by the loud- Y. R. 702.
" eſt acclamations, expreſſed their joy at his repulſe. At the ſame time Bef. Chr. 50.
" *Hirrus* was univerſally called upon by the populace to give up his pre- 401 Conſ.
" tenſions at the enſuing election. I hope therefore you will very ſoon hear,
" that this affair is determined in the manner you have wiſhed with regard
" to me, but have ſcarce[r] dared to wiſh with regard to him."

" As to the ſtate of the Commonwealth, we begin to give up all
" expectation that the face of public affairs will be changed. However,
" at a meeting of the Senate, held *on the twenty-ſecond of the laſt month*,
" in the Temple of *Apollo*, upon a debate relating to the payment of the
" forces commanded by *Pompey*, mention was made of that legion,
" which, as appeared by his accounts, had been lent to *Cæſar:* And
" he was aſked of what number of men it conſiſted, and for what purpoſes
" it was borrowed. In ſhort, *Pompey* was puſhed ſo ſtrongly upon this
" article, that he found himſelf under a neceſſity of promiſing to recall
" this legion out of *Gaul:* But he added at the ſame time, that the cla-
" mours of his enemies ſhould not force him to take this ſtep too pre-
" cipitately.

" It was afterwards moved, that the queſtion might be put concerning
" the election of a ſucceſſor to *Cæſar*. Accordingly the Senate came to
" a reſolution, that *Pompey* (who was juſt going to the army at *Arimi-*
" *num*[t], and is now actually ſet out for that purpoſe) ſhould be ordered
" to return to *Rome* with all expedition; *That the affair relating to a*
" *general election of Governors for all the provinces might be debated in* his
" *preſence.* This point, I imagine, will be brought before the Senate on
" *the thirteenth of this month*,, when, if no infamous obſtacles ſhould be
" thrown in the way by the Tribunes[u], the Houſe will certainly come to
" ſome reſolution: For *Pompey*, in the courſe of the debate, let fall an
" intimation, that *he thought every man owed obedience to the authority of*
" *that Aſſembly.* However, I am impatient to hear what *Paullus*, the ſe-
" nior Conſul *elect*, will ſay, when he delivers his opinion upon this que-
" ſtion, &c. ——Farewell."

[r] Becauſe *Hirrus* was ſupported by *Pompey*. *Melm.*

Melm. vol. I. p. 309.

[s] " *Pompey*, though he remained in *Rome*, " was at this time Governor of *Spain*; which " had been continued to him for four years " at the end of his late Conſulſhip. It was " the payment of his troops in that province " which was under the conſideration of the " Senate." *Plut. in Pomp.*

[t] " Now called *Rimini*, ſituated upon the " *Rubicon*, a river which divides *Italy* from " that part of the *Roman* province called *Ciſ-* " *alpine Gaul.* The army here mentioned is " ſuppoſed to be part of thoſe four legions, " which were decreed to *Pompey* for the ſup- " port of his government in *Spain.*" *Plut. ibid.*

[u] " Some of the Tribunes, together with " *Sulpicius*, one of the preſent Conſuls, were " wholly in *Cæſar*'s intereſt. They thought, " or pretended to think, that it was *highly* " *unjuſt to diveſt* Cæſar *of his government be-* " *fore the time was compleated for which it* " *had been decreed*; of which there remained " about two years unexpired." *Dio*, xl. *p.* 148. Melm.

Y. R. 702.

Marcus Cœlius to *Cicero.*

Ep. Fam. viii. 5. Melm. iii. 33. written in Auguſt.

" How far you may be alarmed at the invaſion which threatens your " province and the neighbouring countries, I know not: But for myſelf, " I confeſs, I am extremely anxious for the conſequence. Could we " contrive indeed, that the enemies forces ſhould be only in proportion " to yours, and *juſt ſufficient to entitle you to the honour of a Triumph,* " there could not be a more deſirable circumſtance. But the misfortune " is, if the *Parthians* ſhould make any attempt, I well know it will be " a powerful one: And I am ſenſible at the ſame time, that you are ſo " little in a condition to oppoſe their march, that you have ſcarce troops " to defend a ſingle defile. But the world in general will not be ſo " reaſonable as to make the proper allowances for this circumſtance. " On the contrary, it is expected from a man in your ſtation, that he " ſhould be prepared for every occurrence that may ariſe: Without once " conſidering whether he be furniſhed with the neceſſary ſupplies for that " purpoſe. I am ſtill the more uneaſy on your account, as *I foreſee the* " *conteſt concerning affairs in* Gaul *will retard the nomination of your ſuc-* " *ceſſor:* And, though I dare ſay you have already had this contingency in " your view, yet I thought proper to apprize you of its probability, that " you might be ſo much the more early in adjuſting your meaſures accord- " ingly. I need not tell you *the uſual artifices will undoubtedly be played off.* " *A day will be appointed for conſidering of a ſucceſſor to* Cæſar; *upon which* " *ſome Tribune will interpoſe his negative; and that a ſecond will probably* " *declare, that, unleſs the Senate ſhall be at liberty to put the queſtion freely* " *concerning all the provinces in general, he will not ſuffer it to be debated* " *with regard to any in particular. And thus ſhall we be trifled with for* " *a conſiderable time: Poſſibly indeed two or three years may be ſpun out by* " *theſe contemptible arts.*

" If any thing new had occured in public affairs, I ſhould, as uſual, " have ſent you the account, together with my ſentiments thereupon: " But *at preſent the wheels of our political machine ſeem to be altogether* " *motionleſs.* Marcellus *is ſtill purſuing his former deſigns concerning the* " *provinces: But he has not yet been able to aſſemble a competent number of* " *Senators. Had this motion been brought on the preceding year, and had* Curio " *at the ſame time been Tribune, it would probably have ſucceeded: But, as* " *affairs are now circumſtanced, you are ſenſible how eaſy it will be for* Cæſar, " *regardleſs as he is of the public intereſt, when it ſtands in competition with* " *his own, to obſtruct all our proceedings.* Farewell."

Ep. Fam. viii. 9. Melm. iii. 34. [dated Sept 2. 702.] Vid. ſup. p. 561.

M. Cœlius to *Cicero.*

——" I mentioned, in one of my former, that the affair of the provinces " would come before the Senate *on the thirteenth of the laſt month:* Never- " theleſs,

" theleſs, by the intervention of [*Caius*] *Marcellus*, the Conſul elect, it Y.R. 702.
" was put off to *the firſt of this inſtant*. But, when the day arrived, they Bef. Chr. 50.
" could not procure a ſufficient number of Senators to be preſent. It is 401 Conſ.
" now *the ſecond of September*, and nothing has yet been done: And I am
" perſuaded it will he adjourned to the following year. As far as I can
" ſee therefore, you muſt be contented to leave the adminiſtration of your
" province in the hands of ſome perſon whom you ſhall think proper to
" appoint for that purpoſe, as I am well convinced you will not ſoon be
" relieved by a ſucceſſor. For, as *Gaul* muſt take the ſame fate with
" the reſt of the provinces, any attempt that ſhould be made for ſettling
" the general ſucceſſion will certainly be obſtructed by *Cæſar*'s party.
" Of this I have not the leaſt doubt: And therefore I thought it neceſſary
" to give you notice, that you might be prepared to act accordingly.
" ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ———
" Your friend *Pompey* openly declares, that *Cæſar* ought not to be admit-
" ted as a candidate for the Conſulſhip while he retains his command in
" the province [w]. He voted however againſt the paſſing a decree for this
" purpoſe at preſent. *Scipio* moved, that *the firſt of March next* might be
" appointed for taking into conſideration the nominating a ſucceſſor in the
" *Gallic* provinces; and that this matter ſhould be propoſed to the Houſe
" ſeparately, and without blending it with any other queſtion. *Balbus*
" *Cornelius* was much diſcompoſed at this motion: And I am well aſſured
" he has complained of it to *Scipio* in very ſtrong terms."

M. Cælius to *Cicero.*

——— " As to public affairs, we had waited ſeveral days in ex- Ep. Fam.
" pectation that ſomething would be determined concerning *Gaul*; fre- viii. 8.
" quent motions having been made in the Senate for this purpoſe, which Melm. iv
" were followed by very warm debates. At length, however, *it plainly ap-* 7. written
" *pearing agreeable to* Pompey's *ſentiments, that* Cæſar's *command in* Gaul in Octo-
" *ſhould not be continued longer than the firſt of March*, the SENATE paſſed ber.
" the following ORDERS and DECREES [x].
" By AUTHORITY OF THE SENATE, *held in the Temple of* APOLLO, *on*
" *the* thirtieth day of September. *Signed*; L. Domitius Ahenobarbus; Q.

Melm. [w] " *Pompey*, who contributed more than
" any man to the advancement of *Cæſar*'s
" power, had lately procured a law, by
" which the perſonal appearance of the latter
" was diſpenſed with, in ſoliciting the Con-
" ſular office. But *Pompey* now began to re-
" pent: —— Not that his own deſigns were
" more favourable to the liberties of *Rome*
" than thoſe of *Cæſar*; but was diſcovering at
" laſt, that they could not both ſubſiſt toge-
" ther."

[x] When an act paſſed, the Senate in a full Houſe, held according to the preſcribed forms, and without any oppoſition from the Tribunes (who had the privilege of putting a negative upon all proceedings in the Senate) it was called *a Senatus conſultum*, a decree of the Senate. But if any of thoſe eſſentials were wanting, or a Tribune interpoſed, it was then only ſtiled a *Senatus auctoritas*, an ORDER of the Senate, and conſidered as of leſs authority. *Manut.* Melm. vol. I. p. 64.

Y. R. 702. Bef. Chr. 50. 401 Conſ.

" Cæcilius; Metellus Pius Scipio; L. Villius Annalis; C. Septimius;
" Caius Lucceius Hirrus; C. Scribonius Curio; L. Atteius Capito; M.
" Oppius. WHEREAS *a motion was made by* Marcus Marcellus, *the Conſul,*
" *concerning the Conſular provinces; it is* ORDERED, *that* Lucius Paullus
" *and* Caius Marcellus, *Conſuls elect, ſhall,* on the firſt of March, *next fol-*
" *lowing their entering upon their office, move the Senate concerning the Conſu-*
" *lar provinces: At which time no other buſineſs ſhall be proceeded upon, nor*
" *any other motion made in conjunction therewith. And for this purpoſe the*
" *Senate ſhall continue to aſſemble, notwithſtanding the* Comitial [y] days, *and*
" *until a decree ſhall be paſſed.*

" ORDERED, *That when the Conſul ſhall move the Senate upon the queſtion*
" *aforeſaid, they ſhall be impowered to ſummon ſuch of the three hundred*
" *Judges, who are members of the Senate, to attend.*

" RESOLVED, *That if any matters ſhall ariſe upon the queſtion aforeſaid,*
" *which ſhall be neceſſary to be laid before the People, that* Servius Sulpicius
" *and* Marcus Marcellus, *the preſent Conſuls, together with the Prætors*
" *and Tribunes of the People, or ſuch of them as ſhall be agreed upon, ſhall*
" *call an Aſſembly of the People for that purpoſe: And if the Magiſtrates*
" *aforeſaid ſhall fail herein, the ſame ſhall be propoſed to the People by their*
" *ſucceſſors.*

" THE THIRTIETH DAY OF SEPTEMBER, in the temple of APOLLO. *Sign-*
" *ed*; L. Domitius Ahenobarbus; Q. Cæcilius; Metellus Pius Scipio;
" L. Villius Annalis; C. Septimius; C. Scribonius Curio; M. Oppius.

" *The Conſul,* Marcus Marcellus, *having moved the Senate concerning the*
" *provinces,*

" RESOLVED, *That it is the opinion of the Senate, that it will be highly*
" *unbecoming any Magiſtrate, who has a power of controuling their proceed-*
" *ings, to occaſion any hindrance, whereby the Senate may be prevented from*
" *taking the aforeſaid motion into conſideration as ſoon as poſſible: And that*
" *whoſoever ſhall obſtruct or oppoſe the ſame, ſhall be deemed an enemy to the*
" *Republic.*

" ORDERED, *That if any Magiſtrate ſhall put a negative upon the foregoing*
" *reſolution, the ſame ſhall be entered as an* ORDER *of the Senate, and again*
" *referred to the conſideration of this Houſe.*

" This reſolution was proteſted againſt by *Caius Cælius, Lucius Vinicius,*
" *Publius Cornelius,* and *Caius Vibius Panſa.*

Mehn.

[y] " The Comitial days were thoſe on " which the Comitia or Aſſemblies of the " People were held: And on theſe days the " Law prohibited the Senate to be convened. " The Senate, however, in the preſent in- " ſtance, and upon many other occaſions, " took upon themſelves to act with *a diſpenſing* " *power.*" See Midd. on the Rom. Sen. p. 121. They had the impudence, as we ſee, to *reſolve*, That, if the Tribunes made uſe of their *legal* privilege, they ſhould be deemed enemies to the Republic. And, what is worthy to be obſerved, the Tribunes, in the preſent caſe, were uſing their legal privilege in ſupport *of Juſtice*; the Senate were diſpenſing with the laws, in order to *injure* and *oppreſs*. The Reader will remark, that *Curio* is one of thoſe who *ſign* this reſolution of the Houſe.

RESOLVED,

" RESOLVED, *That the Senate will take into conſideration the caſe of ſuch of* Y. R. 702.
" *the ſoldiers under* Cæſar's *command who have ſerved out their legal time* [z], *or* Bef. Chr.
" *who, for other reaſons, are entitled to a diſcharge*; and make ſuch order 50.
" thereupon as ſhall be agreeable to equity. 401 Conſ.

" RESOLVED, *That, if any Magiſtrate ſhould put his negative upon the fore-*
" *going* DECREE, *the ſame ſhall ſtand as an* ORDER *of the Senate, and be again*
" *referred to the conſideration of this Houſe.*

" This reſolution was proteſted againſt by *Caius Cælius* and *Caius Panſa*,
" Tribunes of the Peoples.

—— " In the debates which preceded theſe decrees, *Pompey* let fall an
" expreſſion that was much obſerved, and gave us confident hopes of his
" good intentions. *He could not, without great injuſtice*, he ſaid, *determine*
" *any thing in relation to the provinces under* Cæſar's *command*, before the
" firſt of March: *But after that time*, he aſſured the Senate, *he ſhould*
" *have no ſort of ſcruple.* Being aſked, *what if a negative ſhould then be*
" *put upon a decree of the Senate for recalling* Cæſar? *Pompey* anſwered,
" *he ſhould look upon it as juſt the ſame thing, whether* Cæſar *openly refuſed*
" *to obey the authority of the Senate, or ſecretly procured ſome Magiſtrate to*
" *obſtruct their decrees. But ſuppoſe*, ſaid another member, Cæſar *ſhould*
" *inſiſt upon being a candidate for the Conſulſhip, and at the ſame time, of*
" *retaining his command?*" " *Suppoſe*, replied *Pompey* with great temper,
" *my own ſon ſhall take a ſtick and beat me?*" From expreſſions of this
" kind the world has conceived a notion, that a rupture will undoubtedly
" enſue between *Pompey* and *Cæſar*. I am of opinion [a] however, that
" the latter will ſubmit to one of theſe two conditions: Either to give up
" his preſent pretenſions to the Conſulate, and continue in *Gaul*; or to
" reſign his command of the province, provided he can be aſſured of his
" election. *Curio* is preparing moſt ſtrongly to oppoſe his demands. What
" he may be able to effect I know not; but ſure I am, that a man who
" acts upon ſuch patriot principles muſt gain honour at leaſt, if he gain
" nothing elſe ——————."

FROM *Amanus*, *Cicero* led his army to another part of the Highlands, Midd. 27.
the moſt diſaffected to the *Roman* name, poſſeſſed by a ſtout and free peo- Ep. Fam.
ple, who had never been ſubject even to the Kings of that country. Their xv. 4.
chief town was called *Pindeniſſum*, ſituated on a ſteep and craggy hill:
It was the conſtant refuge of all deſerters, and the harbour of foreign

Melm. [z] As the ſtrength of *Cæſar*'s army in *Gaul* conſiſted principally in his veterans, this clauſe was added, as *Gronovius* obſerves, with a view of drawing off thoſe ſoldiers from his troops.

Vid. ſupr. p 551 & 559. [a] It is remarkable that *Cælius*, the writer of this Letter, whom *Cicero* judged to be an able politician, and to have a longer foreſight than any body, was miſtaken in almoſt all his conjectures; miſtaken concerning *Cæſar*, concerning *Curio*, and concerning himſelf. For *Cæſar* did not ſubmit, &c. and *Curio* took *Cæſar*'s part; and ſo did *Cælius* himſelf in the beginning of the civil war. *Cælius* obtained the Ædileſhip this year [702] from his competitor *Hirrus*, formerly *Cicero*'s competitor for the Augurate.

Y. R. 702. Bef. Chr. 50. 401 Conf.

enemies, and at that very time was expecting and prepared to receive the *Parthians*. *Cicero* laid ſiege to it in form; and though he attacked it with all imaginable vigour, and a continual battery of his engines, yet it coſt him above ſix weeks to reduce it to the neceſſity of ſurrendering at diſcretion. The inhabitants were ſold for ſlaves; all the other plunder, excepting the horſes, was given to the ſoldiers.

After this action, another neighbouring nation, called *Tiburani*, terrified by the fate of *Pindenſſum*, voluntarily ſubmitted, and gave hoſtages; ſo that *Cicero* ſent his army, under the command of his brother, into winter-quarters, in thoſe parts of the province which were thought the moſt turbulent.

Middl. 29. Ad Att. v. 20.

Theſe martial exploits ſpread *Cicero*'s fame into *Syria*, where *Bibulus* was juſt arrived to take upon him the command; but kept himſelf cloſe within the gates of *Antioch till the country was cleared of all the Parthians*. His envy of *Cicero*'s ſucceſs, and title of EMPEROR, made him impatient to purchaſe the ſame honour by the like ſervice *on the* Syrian *ſide of the mountain* Amanus: But he had the misfortune to be repulſed in his attempt, with the intire loſs of *the firſt cohort, and ſeveral officers of diſtinction, which* Cicero *calls an ugly blow, both for the time and the effect of it.*

Though *Cicero*, for his victory (which he calls a *juſt* victory) at *Amanus*, had been ſaluted EMPEROR, and had ever ſince aſſumed that appellation, *yet he ſent no public account of it to* Rome *till after the affair of* Pindeniſſum, an exploit of more eclat and importance; for which he expected the honour of a *Thankſgiving*, and began to entertain hopes even of a *Triumph*. His public Letter is loſt, but that loſs is ſupplied by a particular narrative of the whole action in a private letter to *Cato*. His deſign, in paying *Cato* this compliment, was to engage his vote and concurrence to the decree of the *ſupplication* [q].

Ad Att. vii. 1. and Vid. ſupra, p. 557.

Y. R. 703. Melm. B. v. Let. 1. Ep. Fam. xv. 4. Ed. Grev.

After a detail of his proceedings, and ſucceſſes from the time of his arrival in the province, he thus continues—"And now, if a motion "ſhould be made in the Senate concerning the honours due to the ſucceſs "of my arms, I ſhall eſteem it the higheſt glory to be ſupported in my "pretenſions by your ſuffrage. I am ſenſible it is uſual for the graveſt "characters to *requeſt*, as well as to *be requeſted for*, favours of this nature, "in the ſtrongeſt terms: But I perſuade myſelf it will be more proper "for me to remind than ſolicit you in the preſent inſtance. You have "frequently indeed, not only diſtinguiſhed me with your vote, but with "your higheſt applauſe, both in the Senate and the Aſſemblies of the "People. And, believe me, I have ever thought there was ſo much "weight and authority in all you uttered, that a ſingle word of yours in "my favour was the higheſt honour I could poſſibly receive. I remember "upon a certain occaſion, when you refuſed to vote for a *public thankſgiving*, "which was propoſed in favour of a very worthy and illuſtrious Citizen,

[q] *Cicero* wrote at the ſame time, for the ſame end, to *C. Claudius Marcellus*, and *P. Æmilius Paullus, the two Conſuls of the preſent year* 703.

"you

" you told the Senate; you ſhould willingly have given your ſuffrage in " ſupport of the honour in queſtion, had it been deſigned as a reward for " any *civil* ſervices which that Conſul had performed in *Rome*. Agreeably " to this maxim, you formerly concurred in voting that a *public thankſ-* " *giving* ſhould be decreed to me, not indeed for having advanced the glory " of our Country by my military atchievements (for that would have been " a circumſtance nothing uncommon) but for having, in a moſt ſingular " and unexampled manner, preſerved the liberties of the whole Common- " wealth without drawing a ſword. I forbear to mention the general ſhare " you have taken in all the envy, the difficulties, and the dangers, to " which my life has been expoſed: And *a far greater you were willing to* " *have taken, if I could have been prevailed upon to have conſented*[r]. I for- " bear to mention likewiſe that you conſidered my enemy * as your own: " And that, in order to give me a convincing proof of your great regard, " you ſcrupled not to ſhew your approbation even of his death, by defend- " ing *Milo* in the Senate. In return, (and I ſpeak of it, not as a favour " for which you are indebted to me, but as a tribute which I owed to " truth) I have been no ſilent admirer of your virtues: For who indeed " can ſuppreſs his applauſe of them? In all my ſpeeches, both in the " Forum and in the Senate, as well as in the ſeveral pieces I have pub- " liſhed, either in our own language or in Greek, I have ever repreſented " your character as ſuperior, not only to the nobleſt amongſt our con- " temporaries, but to the moſt celebrated in hiſtory.

A. R. 703. Bef. Chr. 49. 402 Conſ.

Vid. ſupra, p. 434, 5, 6, 7.

* Clodius.

" After all, you will wonder, perhaps, what ſhould induce me to ſet " ſo high a value upon theſe little tranſient honours of the Senate. I will " acknowledge then the whole truth, and lay open my heart before you " with a freedom becoming that philoſophy we cultivate, and that friend- " ſhip we profeſs: A friendſhip delivered down to us from our parents, " and improved by many reciprocal good offices.

" Let me previouſly obſerve, that, *if ever any man was a ſtranger to the* " *deſire of empty applauſe and vulgar admiration, it is myſelf*: And this " frame of mind which I poſſeſs by temper, has been ſtill ſtrengthened " (if I am not deceived) by reaſon and philoſophy. As an evidence of " this, I appeal to my Conſulate; in which, as in every other part of my " life, though I purſued that conduct, I confeſs, from whence true honours " might be derived, yet I never thought they were of themſelves an ob- " ject worthy of my ambition. On the contrary, I refuſed the govern- " ment of a very noble province: And, notwithſtanding it was highly " probable I might have obtained a Triumph, yet I forbore to proſecute " my pretenſions of that kind. I forbore too the offering myſelf as a " candidate for the office of Augur: Though you are ſenſible, I dare ſay,

[r] This ſeems to import, that *Cato* would have concurred in meaſures to defend *Cicero* by arms, againſt the ſovereign authority of the People, if *Cicero* had followed that counſel. But *Plutarch* reports, that *Cato* adviſed *Cicero* to ſubmit. *Plut. in Cat.*

Y.R.703. Bef. Chr. 49. 402 Conſ.

" that I might have ſucceeded without much difficulty. But I will ac-
" knowledge, that the injurious treatment I afterwards ſuffered, though
" you always ſpeak of it indeed as a circumſtance which reflects the higheſt
" honour upon my character, and as a misfortune only to the Republic,
" has rendered me deſirous of receiving the moſt diſtinguiſhed marks of my
" Country's approbation. For this reaſon I ſolicited the office of Augur,
" which I had before declined: And, as little as I once thought the mi-
" litary honours deſerved my purſuit, I am now ambitious of that di-
" ſtinction which the Senate uſually confers on its ſucceſsful Generals. I
" will own, I have ſome view by this means of healing the wounds of my
" former unmerited diſgrace: And therefore, though I juſt now declared
" that I would not *requeſt* your aid on this occaſion, I recall my words,
" and do moſt earneſtly *requeſt* your ſuffrage and aſſiſtance; upon the ſup-
" poſition, however, that what I have performed in this campaign ſhall not
" appear contemptible in your eyes, but, on the contrary, far ſuperior to
" the actions of many of thoſe Generals who have obtained the moſt glo-
" rious rewards from the Senate.

" I have obſerved (and you are ſenſible I always liſten with great at-
" tention whenever you deliver your opinions) that as often as any queſtion
" of this nature has come before the Senate, you were leſs inquiſitive
" into the military than civil conduct of the Proconſul. It was the poli-
" tical ordinances he had eſtabliſhed, and the moral qualities he had diſ-
" played, that ſeemed to have the principal weight in determining your
" vote. If you ſhould examine my pretenſions in this view, you will ſee,
" that with a weak and inconſiderable army, I found a ſtrong defence,
" againſt the danger of a very formidable invaſion, in the lenity and juſtice
" of my government. By theſe aids I effected what I never could by the
" moſt powerful legions: I recovered the friendſhip of our alienated allies,
" firmly ſtrengthened their allegiance to the Republic, and conciliated
" their affection at a time when they were waiting the opportunity of ſome
" favourable revolution to deſert us. But perhaps I have expatiated far-
" ther upon this ſubject than was neceſſary; eſpecially to you, *before whom*
" *all our allies in general are accuſtomed to lay their complaints.* To them
" therefore I refer you for an account of the benefits they have received
" by my adminiſtration. They will all of them as with one voice, I am
" perſuaded, give you the moſt advantageous teſtimony in my favour;
" but particularly *thoſe illuſtrious clients of yours,* " *the Cyprians* [a] and
" *Cappa-*

Vid. ſupra, p. 554. the note. Midd. p. 21--27.

[a] The debt above mentioned, that was owing from *Ariobarzanes* to *Brutus*, was not the only affair which the latter had recommended to *Cicero*: He had burdened him with another much more troubleſome.

The city of *Salamis* in *Cyprus* owed to two of his friends, as he pretended, *Scaptius* and *Martinius*, above *twenty thouſand pounds ſterling* upon bond, at a moſt extravagant intereſt; and he begged of *Cicero* to take their perſons and concerns under his ſpecial protection. *Appius*, who was *Brutus's father-in-law*, had granted every thing which was aſked to *Scaptius*, *a Præfecture in* Cyprus, *with ſome troops of horſe*, with which he miſerably haraſſed the poor *Salaminians*, in order to force them to comply

"*Cappadocians:* To whom I may likewiſe add your great and royal friend, Y. R. 701
"Prince *Deiotarus.* If thus to act is a merit of the moſt ſuperior kind, Bef. Chr. 49.
"if, 402 Conſ.

Ad Att. vi. 1. comply with his unreaſonable demands: *For he ſhut up their whole Senate in the Council-room, till five of them were ſtarved to death with hunger.* *Brutus* laboured to place him in the ſame degree of favour with *Cicero:* But *Cicero*, being informed at *Epheſus* of this violence, *by a deputation from* Salamis, made it the firſt act of his government to recall the troops from *Cyprus*, and put an end to *Scaptius*'s *Præfecture*, having laid it down for a rule, to grant no command to any man, *who was concerned in trade, or negociated money* in the province: To give ſatisfaction however to *Brutus*, he enjoined *the Salaminians to pay off* Scaptius's *bond*, which they were ready to do according to the tenor of his edict, by which he had ordered, *that no bond in his province ſhould carry above one per cent. by the month.* Ad Att. v. 21. *Scaptius* refuſed to take the money on thoſe terms, inſiſting *on four per cent.* as the condition of his bond expreſſed; which by computation almoſt doubled the principal ſum; while the *Salaminians*, as they proteſted to *Cicero*, *could not have paid the original debt, if they had not been enabled to do it by his help, and out of his own dues, that he had remitted to them, which amounted to ſomewhat more than* Scaptius's *legal demand.*

This extortion raiſed *Cicero*'s indignation; and, notwithſtanding the repeated inſtances of *Brutus* and *Atticus*, he was determined to over-rule it; though *Brutus*, in order to move him the more effectually, thought proper to confeſs, *what he had all along diſſembled, that the debt was really his own, and* Scaptius *only his agent in it.* This ſurprized *Cicero* ſtill more, and though he had a warm inclination to oblige *Brutus*, yet he could not conſent to ſo flagrant an injuſtice, but makes frequent and heavy complains of it in his letters to *Atticus.* In one of them he ſays, "You have "now the ground of my conduct; if *Brutus* "does not approve it, I ſee no reaſon why "we ſhould love him; but I am ſure it will "be approved by his uncle *Cato* *." In an other, "If *Brutus* thinks, that I ought to al- "low him four per cent. when by edict I "have decreed but one through all the pro- "vinces, and that to the ſatisfaction of the "keeneſt uſurers; if he complains, that I "denied a Præfecture to one concerned in "trade, which I denied for that reaſon to your "friend *Lanius*, and to *Sex. Statius*, though "*Torquatus* ſolicited for the one, and *Pompey* "himſelf for the other, yet without diſguſt- "ing either of them; if he takes it ill, that I "recalled the troops out of *Cyprus*, I ſhall be "ſorry indeed, that he has any occaſion to be "angry with me; but much more, not to "find him the man that I took him to be.— "I have not forgot, however, what you in- "timated to me in ſeveral of your letters, "*that if I brought back nothing elſe from the* "*province but* Brutus's *friendſhip, that would* "*be enough:* Let it be ſo, ſince you will have "it ſo; yet it muſt always be with this ex- "ception, as far as it can be done, without "my committing any wrong."—In a third, Ad Att. "How, my dear *Atticus*, you, who applaud vi. 2. "my integrity and good conduct, and are "vexed ſometimes, you ſay, that you are not "with me, how can ſuch a thing, as *Ennius* "ſays, come out of your mouth, to deſire me "to grant troops to *Scaptius*, for the ſake of "extorting money? Could you, if you were "with me, ſuffer me to do it, if I would?— "If I really had done ſuch a thing, with "what face could I ever read again, or touch "thoſe books of mine, with which you are ſo "much pleaſed? He tells him likewiſe in Ibid. vi. 1 confidence, that all *Brutus*'s letters to him, & 3. even when he was aſking favours, *were un-*

* It is very difficult to ſuppoſe that *Cato* was *ignorant* of his nephew's *infamous extortion*, and the horrible proceedings of his nephew's agent. For *Cato* (as *Plutarch* informs us) having ſettled a correſpondence throughout all the *Roman* provinces, received conſtant intelligence of the conduct of the ſeveral Governors in their reſpective commands. And the *Cyprians* had a particular claim to the patronage of *Cato*, as he had been employed in executing a commiſſion, by which the iſland was annexed to the dominions of the Republic. *Cicero*, in a letter to *Cato*, calls them (as we ſee) *thoſe illuſtrious clients of yours*—and refers him to them for a teſtimony of his good conduct in his government, of which *Cyprus* was a part. See Melm. Vol. I. p. 426. note 12 and 13. Vid. ſupra. p. 568.

Y.R. 703 Bef. Chr. 49. 702 Conſ.

" if, in all ages, the number has been far leſs conſiderable of thoſe who " knew how to ſubdue their deſires than to vanquiſh their enemies, he " that has given an inſtance of both, cannot certainly but be deemed, in " *Cato*'s eſtimation at leaſt, to have ſtrengthened his claim to the honours " of his country, and to have improved the ſplendor of his military at- " chievements, by the more unuſual luſtre of his civil conduct.

" Let me in the laſt place, and as in diffidence of my own ſolicitations, " call in Philoſophy for my advocate; than which nothing has afforded " me a more valuable ſatisfaction. The truth is, ſhe is one of the nobleſt " bleſſings that the Gods have beſtowed on man. At her ſhrine we have " both of us, from our earlieſt years, paid our joint and equal adorations: " And, while ſhe has been thought, by ſome, the companion only of in- " dolent and ſecluded ſpeculatiſts, we (and we alone I had almoſt ſaid) have " introduced her into the world of buſineſs, and familiarized her with the " moſt active and important ſcenes. She therefore it is that now ſolicits " you in my behalf; and when Philoſophy is the ſupplicant, *Cato*, ſurely, " can never refuſe. To ſay all in one word: Be well aſſured, if I ſhould " prevail with you to concur in procuring a decree I ſo much wiſh to ob- " tain, I ſhall conſider myſelf as wholly indebted for that honour to your " authority and friendſhip. Farewell."

Middl. p. 29.

But *Cato* was not to be moved from his purpoſe by theſe compliments, or motives of friendſhip: He was an enemy by principle to all decrees of this kind, and thought them beſtowed too cheaply, and proſtituted to occaſions unworthy of them; ſo that, when *Cicero*'s letters came under deliberation, though he ſpoke with all imaginable honour and reſpect of *Cicero*, and highly extolled both his *civil and military adminiſtration, yet he voted againſt the ſupplication*[t], which was decreed however, without any other diſſenting voice, except that of *Favonius*, who loved always to mimic *Cato*, and of *Hirrus*, who had a perſonal quarrel with *Cicero:* Yet, when the vote was over, *Cato himſelf aſſiſted in drawing up the decree, and had his name inſerted in it*, which was the uſual mark of a particular approbation of the thing, and friendſhip to the perſon in whoſe favour it paſſed. But *Cato*'s anſwer to *Cicero*'s letter will ſhew the temper of the man, and the grounds on which he acted on this occaſion.

Ep. Fam. xv. 6.

mannerly, churliſh, and arrogant, without regarding either what or to whom he was writing; and, if he continued in that humour, you may love him alone, ſays he, *you ſhall have no rival of me; but he will come, I believe, to a better mind.* But, to ſhew, after all, what a real inclination he had to oblige him, he never left urging *King* Ariobarzanes *till he had ſqueezed from him a hundred talents, in part of* Brutus's *debt, or about twenty thouſand pounds*; the ſame ſum, probably, which had been deſtined to *Cicero* himſelf.

[t] *Cicero* had undoubtedly no claim to the honour he demanded; and for this reaſon, among others, becauſe the number of the ſlain, on the ſide of the enemy, was not ſo great as the laws in theſe caſes required; as is evident from a letter of *Cælius* to *Cicero* on the ſubject. *Vid. Ep. Fam.* VIII. ii. *Melm.* vi. 6. Melm. Vol. II. p. 51.

M. Cato to *M. T. Cicero*, Emperor.

Y. R. 703. Bef. Chr. 50. 402 Conf.

" Not only my regard for the Republic, but my affection for you, " makes me very ſincerely rejoice in finding, that you exerciſe the ſame " integrity and vigilance in the conduct of our arms abroad, as diſtin- " guiſhed our adminiſtration of your moſt important affairs at home. I " have therefore paid your actions that honour, which, according to my " beſt judgment, was due to them: And, in ſpeaking of them before the " Senate, as well as afterwards, when I aſſiſted in drawing up the decree " in your favour, I aſcribed to your probity and prudent conduct the de- " fence of your province, the preſervation of the crown and perſon of [illegible], and the recovery of the allies to their duty and affection " to our empire. If you rather chuſe, however, that we ſhould aſcribe " to the Gods thoſe advantages, for which the Republic is not at all in- " debted to fortune, but wholly to your moderation and conſummate wiſ- " dom, I am glad that the Senate has decreed a *thankſgiving*. But if your " willingneſs to let fortune have the credit of your actions be for this " reaſon, that you imagine a *thankſgiving* neceſſarily opens your way to " a *triumph*, I muſt obſerve, that the latter is not always a conſequence " of the former. Yet granting it were, *is it not far more to the honour of* " *a General to have it declared, by a vote of the Senate, that he preſerved* " *his province by the mildneſs and equity of his adminiſtration, than that he* " *owed it either to the ſtrength of his troops, or to the favour of the Gods?* " ſuch, at leaſt, were my ſentiments when this queſtion came before the " Houſe: And, if I have employed more words than uſual in explaining " them, it was from a deſire of convincing you, that, though I propoſed " to the Senate what I thought would be moſt for the advantage of your " reputation, I rejoice that they have determined what is moſt agreeable " to your wiſhes. I have only to requeſt the continuance of your friend- " ſhip; and to intreat you ſteadily to perſevere in thoſe paths of integrity " which you have hitherto purſued, both in reſpect to our allies and to the " Republic[u]. Farewell."

Ep. Fam. xv. 5. Melm. v. 2.

Cæſar

[u] " This letter (to ſpeak in Virtuoſo lan- " guage) is an *unique*, and extremely valuable, " as being the only compoſition that has been " tranſmitted to us from the hands of *Cato*. " It confirms what *Plutarch* expreſsly aſſerts, " that *Cato*'s manners were by no means of a " rough and unpoliſhed caſt, as no refuſal " could have been drawn up in more decent and " civil terms. A judicious eye, however, can- " not but diſcern, through this veil of polite- " neſs, the nice touches of a delicate and con- " cealed raillery."—Nevertheleſs, as *Cicero* had a farther ſuit to make to the Senate, in the demand of a triumph, he choſe to diſſemble his reſentment, and returned the following civil anſwer to *Cato*.

Melm. Vol. I. p. 31. n. 1.

To *Marcus Cato*.

" *Praiſe from thy lips 'tis mine with joy to boaſt:* Ep. Fam. xv. 6.
" *He beſt can give it, who deſerves it moſt:* Melm. vi. 10.

Y. R. 703. *Cæſar* was not diſpleaſed, perhaps, to hear of *Cato*'s ſtiffneſs, as it might naturally create a coldneſs between him and *Cicero*! For, in a congratulatory letter to *Cicero* upon the ſucceſs of his arms, and the *ſupplication* decreed in his honour, he aggravated the rudeneſs and ingratitude of *Cato*. *Cicero* himſelf was highly diſguſted at it, eſpecially when *Cato* ſoon afterwards voted a *ſupplication* to his ſon-in law *Bibulus*. *Cato*, ſays *Cicero*, *was ſhamefully malicious; he gave me what I did not aſk, a character of integrity, juſtice, and clemency, but denied me what I did.—Yet this ſame man voted a* ſupplication *of twenty days to* Bibulus: *Pardon me if I cannot bear this uſage.*

Midd. 31. Ad Att. vii. 2.

Midd. 58. Ad Att. vi. 8. *Cicero*, in writing afterwards to *Atticus* on the ſame ſubject, ſays, "Conſider what you would adviſe me with regard to a Triumph, to which "my friends invite me: For my part, if *Bibulus*, who, while there "was a *Parthian* in *Syria*, never ſet a foot out of the gates of *Antioch*, "any more than he did upon a certain occaſion out of his own houſe[w], "had not ſolicited a triumph, I ſhould have been quiet; but now it is "a ſhame to ſit ſtill." Again, "As to a Triumph, I had no thoughts "of it before *Bibulus*'s moſt impudent letters, by which he obtained

Vid. ſupr. p. 406 & 413. Ad Att. vii. 2.

"As *Hector*, I think, ſays to the venerable "*Priam* in one of *Nævius*'s plays. Honourable indeed is that applauſe which is beſtowed "by thoſe who have themſelves been the conſtant object of univerſal approbation. Accordingly, I eſteem the encomiums you conferred upon me in the Senate together with "your congratulatory letter as a diſtinction of "the higheſt and moſt illuſtrious kind. Nothing could be more agreeable to my wiſhes, "as nothing could be more glorious for my reputation, than your having thus freely given "to friendſhip whatever you could ſtrictly give "to truth. Were *Rome* entirely compoſed of "*Catos*, or could it produce many (as it is "ſurprizing it can furniſh even one) of that venerable character, my deſires would be amply ſatisfied: And I ſhould prefer your ſingle "approbation to all the laurels and all the "triumphal cars in the univerſe. In my own "judgment, indeed, and according to the refined eſtimate of true philoſophy, the compliments you paid me in the Senate, and "which have been tranſmitted to me by my "friends, are undoubtedly the moſt ſignificant "diſtinction I can poſſibly receive. I acquainted you, in my former letter, with the particular motives which induced me to be deſirous (for I will not call it ambitious) of a "triumph: And if the reaſons I have aſſigned "will not, in your opinion, juſtify a warm purſuit of that honour, they muſt prove, at leaſt, "that I ought not to refuſe it, if the Senate "ſhould make me the offer. And I hope that "Aſſembly, in conſideration of my ſervices in "this province, will not think me undeſerving of a reward ſo uſually conferred. If I "ſhould not be diſappointed in this hope, "my only requeſt is, (what indeed you kindly "promiſe) that, as you have paid me the honour you thought moſt to my glory, you "would rejoice in my obtaining thoſe which "are moſt to my inclination. And this diſpoſition you have already very ſincerely "ſhewn, not only by your letter, but by having ſigned the decree that has paſſed in my "favour. For decrees of this kind, I know, "are uſually ſubſcribed by thoſe who are "moſt in the intereſt of the perſon to whoſe "honour they are voted. I will only add, "that I hope to ſee you very ſoon: And "may I find the Republic in a happier ſituation than what my fears preſage! Farewell."

[w] *N. B.* This is that *Bibulus*, *of whoſe lot*, when the contempt he met with abroad made him *ſhut himſelf up in his own houſe*, *Cicero* once ſaid, or pretends to have ſaid, even in the preſence of *Pompey*, that *he preferred it*, *unhappy as it might appear*, *to all the ſplendid Triumphs of the moſt victorious General.* Vide ſupra, p. 510.

"an

"an honourable ſupplication. If he had really done all that he has Y. R. 703
"written, I ſhould rejoice at it, and wiſh well to his ſuit; but for him Bef. Chr.
"who never ſtirred beyond the walls while there was an enemy on this ſide 49.
"the *Euphrates*, to have ſuch an honour decreed; and for me, whoſe 402 Conſ.
"army inſpired all their hopes and ſpirits into his, not to obtain the ſame,
"will be a diſgrace to us; I ſay to us, joining you to myſelf: Wherefore
"I am determined to puſh at all, and hope to obtain all."

The remaining part of *Cicero*'s government was employed in the civil affairs of the province, where his whole care was to eaſe the ſeveral cities and diſtricts of that exceſſive load of debts, in which the avarice and rapaciouſneſs of former Governors had involved them. He laid it down for the firſt rule of his adminiſtration, not to ſuffer *any money to be expended either upon himſelf or his officers:* And when one of his Lieutenants, *L. Tullius*, in paſſing through the country, *exacted only the forage and firing which was due by law, and that but once a-day, and not, as all others had done before, from every town and village through which they paſſed,* he was much out of humour, and could not help complaining of it, *as a ſtain upon his government, ſince none of his people beſides had taken even a ſingle farthing.* All the wealthier cities of the province uſed to pay to all their Proconſuls large contributions, *for being exempted from furniſhing winter-quarters to the army: Cyprus* alone had paid yearly, on this ſingle account, *two hundred talents, or about forty thouſand pounds:* But *Cicero* remitted this whole tax to them, which alone made a vaſt revenue; and applied all the cuſtomary perquiſites of his office to the relief of the diſtreſſed province: Yet for all his ſervices and generoſity which amazed the poor people, he would accept no honours but what were merely verbal, prohibiting all expenſive monuments, *as ſtatues, temples, brazen horſes, &c.* which, by the flattery of *Aſia*, uſed to be erected of courſe to all Governors, though never ſo corrupt and oppreſſive. While he was upon his viſitation *of the Aſiatic diſtricts*, there happened to be a kind of famine in the country; yet, wherever he came, he not only provided for his family as his own expence, but prevailed with the merchants and dealers, who had any quantity of corn in their ſtorehouſes, *to ſupply the people with it on eaſy terms*; living himſelf all the while *ſplendidly and hoſpitably, and keeping an open table, not only for all the* Roman *officers, but the gentry of the province.* In the

Midd. 33. Ad Att. v. 21.

Ad Att. v. 15.

Midd. 25.

* After the contemptible account which *Cicero* gives of *Bibulus*'s conduct in *Syria*, it muſt appear ſtrange to ſee him honoured with a *ſupplication*, and aſpiring even to a *triumph*: But this was not for any thing that he himſelf had done (for he had ſuffered a defeat) but for what, before the arrival of *Bibulus*, his Lieutenant *Caſſius* had performed againſt the *Parthians*; the ſucceſs of the Lieutenants being aſcribed always to the auſpices of the General, who reaped the reward and glory of it: And as the *Parthians* were the moſt dangerous enemies of the Republic, and the more particularly dreaded at this time for their late victory over *Craſſus*, ſo any advantage gained againſt them was ſure to be well received at *Rome*, and repaid with all the honours that could reaſonably be demanded.

Vid. ſup. p. 566. Vid. ſupr. p. 553 & 554.

following

Y. R. 703. following letter to *Atticus* he gives him a ſummary view of his manner of governing.

Ad Att. vi. 2. "I ſee, ſays he, that you are much pleaſed with my moderation and "abſtinence; but you would be much more ſo, if you were with me; "eſpecially at *Laodicea*, where I did wonders at the ſeſſions, which I have "juſt held, for the affairs of the dioceſes, *from the thirteenth of February* "*to the firſt of May.* Many cities were wholly freed from all their debts; "many greatly eaſed; and all, by being allowed to govern themſelves "by their own laws, have recovered new life. There are two ways, "by which I have put them in a capacity of freeing, or of eaſing "themſelves at leaſt from their debts; the one is by ſuffering no expence "at all to be made on the account of my government. When I ſay "none at all, I ſpeak not hyperbolically; there is not ſo much as a far-"thing: It is incredible to think, what relief they have found from this "ſingle article. The other is this; their own *Greek* Magiſtrates had "ſtrangely abuſed and plundered them. I examined every one of them "who had borne any office for ten years paſt: They all plainly confeſſed; "and, without the ignominy of a public conviction, made reſtitution "of the money, which they had pillaged: So that the people, who had "paid nothing to our farmers for the preſent luſtrum, have now paid the "arrears of the laſt, even without murmuring. This has placed me in "high favour with the publicans: A grateful ſet of men, you will ſay; "I have really found them ſuch.—The reſt of my juriſdiction ſhall be "managed with the ſame addreſs, and create the ſame admiration of my "clemency and eaſineſs[y]. There is no difficulty of acceſs to me, as there "is

[y] Surely a corrupt and vicious taſte for glory was never more viſible in any man than it is in *Cicero*, when he effects to deſpiſe* his provincial government of *Cilicia*; where he had done more good and deſerved more praiſe, than in any one ſcene of his life; having, agreeably to his determined purpoſe, when he entered upon that employment, ſo conducted himſelf as to leave the innocence *and integrity of his adminiſtration for a pattern of government to all ſucceeding* Proconſuls. But, though he had there (as our late Laureate obſerves) "thrown into "actual practice thoſe various virtues, of "which, as a private man, he had hitherto on-"ly recommended the precepts; yet ſo quiet, "ſo confined an eminence, ſuch ſimplicity of "virtue, alas! had no charms for *Cicero*. "*The thing itſelf was quite diſagreeable to his temper.* And truly a temper more delicately "difficult to pleaſe we ſeldom meet with; "yet was not this diſtaſte more extraordinary "than the reaſons for it. — *The whole affair* "*is too inconſiderable for a man of my ſtrength* "*and capacity, who am able to ſuſtain, as I* "*uſed to do, the weightier buſineſs of the Re-*"*public.* [*Iſtum negotium non eſt dignum viri-*"*bus noſtris, qui majora onera, in Republica,* "*ſuſtinere et poſſem et ſoleam.*"] This weightier buſineſs of the Republic, if we conſider the whole political conduct of *Cicero*, we muſt obſerve to be mere party-buſineſs; nothing more than employing his utmoſt eloquence to defend the Senate in its uſurpations upon the rights of the People,

Vid. ſupr. p. 549.

Cibb. p. 178.

Ep. Fam. ii. 12. Melm. iv. 4.

* When juſt ſetting out from his province for *Italy*, he writes thus to *Cœlius*: "*Rome*, my friend, *Rome* alone, "is the object that merits your attention: And may you ever live within the ſplendor of that illuſtrious "ſcene! All foreign employments (and it was my ſentiment from my firſt entrance into the world) are below the "ambition of thoſe who have talents to diſtinguiſh themſelves on that more conſpicuous theatre. And would to God, "as I was ever well convinced of this truth, I had always acted accordingly."

and

" As to all other provincial Governors; no introduction by my Chamber- Y. R. 703.
" lain: I am always up before day, and walking in my hall, with my Bef. Chr. 49.
" doors open, as I uſed to do when a candidate at *Rome:* This is great 402 Conſ.
" and gracious here; though not at all troubleſome to me, from my old ——
" habit and diſcipline, &c.——"[z].

But *Cicero*'s method of governing gave no ſmall umbrage, it ſeems, to Midd. 36.
his predeceſſor *Appius*, who conſidered it as a reproach upon himſelf, and ſent ſeveral querulous letters to *Cicero*, becauſe he had reverſed ſome of his conſtitutions: " *And no wonder*, ſays *Cicero*, *that he is diſpleaſed with* Ad Att.
" *my manner*; *for what can be more unlike than his adminiſtration and mine?* VI. 1.
" *Under him the province was drained by expenſes and exactions*; *under me*, Vid. infra.
" *not a penny levied for public or private uſe: What ſhall I ſay of his Præ-* P. 580.
fects, Attendants, Lieutenants? Of their plunders, rapines, injuries?
" Whereas now, there is not a ſingle family governed with ſuch order, diſ-
" cipline, and modeſty, as my province. This ſome of *Appius*'s friends
" interpret ridiculouſly, as if I was taking pains to exalt my own character,
" in order to depreſs his; and doing all this, not for the ſake of my own
" credit, but of his diſgrace."

Cicero's letters to *Appius* make one book of his familiar epiſtles, the Midd. 40.
greateſt part of which are of the expoſtulatory kind, on the ſubject of their mutual jealouſies and complaints. In this ſlippery ſtate of their friendſhip, an accident happened at *Rome*, which had like to have put an end to it. His daughter *Tullia*, after parting from her ſecond huſband *Craſſipus*, as it is *probably* thought, *by divorce*, he being alive at Ad Att. VII. 1.

and to defend every ſuper-egregious villain who profeſſed himſelf *his* admirer, or to be of the Ariſtocratical faction; becauſe, ſo long as the Senate governed with ſovereign authority, ſo long *Cicero*, by the means of that ſame eloquence, had a conſiderable ſhare in the government.

For, as to what the Laureate imagines, that *Cicero*'s great object was " *to mend the* " *morals of Rome*, an enterprize not within " the reach of human policy, benevolence, or " wiſdom to effect," it does not appear that *Cicero* had any ſuch chimerical project. Ill qualified muſt he have been for *a Reformer of manners*, who made it his buſineſs to ſkreen from puniſhment the moſt notorious violators of the laws, even corrupt Judges, that ſold decrees. *Vid. ſupra*, 394 & 399. He em- Vid. ſupr. p. 408.
ployed his eloquence to defend *Antonius*, of whoſe robberies he ſhared the profit: He defended *Vatinius* and *Gabinius*, men whom he himſelf had branded for knaves; and, as we have ſeen, was ready to defend *Catiline*, if *Catiline* would have requeſted that favour. *Vid. ſupra*, *p.* 318. Even in the *ſuppreſſion* of *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy, which he for ever boaſts of as the moſt glorious of all exploits, his *manner* of doing it was abſolutely illegal and inexcuſable, and of ſo pernicious a tendency, that he ſeems richly to have deſerved the baniſhment to which he was condemned on that account. *Vide ſupra*, *p.* 368. the note; and 379.

[z] What pity it is that a man who knew ſo well what was right, and could occaſionally conform his conduct ſo ſtrictly to it, ſhould appear, even by his own account of himſelf, to have had no better motive for ſo doing than *mere vain-glory*, and the *deſire of applauſe*; and ſhould be all the while a deteſtable hypocrite, a villain in his heart, and ſo ſhameleſs as to make no ſcruple to own to his intimate friend, that he practiſed falſhood and hypocriſy without ſcruple, and as a neceſſary means to the living comfortable in the world. We ſhall meet with this confeſſion very ſoon, in one of his letters.

this

Y. R. 703. this time, and under *Cicero*'s diſpleaſure, was married, in her father's abſence, to a third, *P. Cornelius Dolabella:* Several parties had been offered to her, and, among theſe, *Tib. Claudius Nero*, who afterwards married *Livia*, whom *Auguſtus* took away from him: *Nero made his propoſals to* Cicero *in* Cilicia, who referred him to the women, to whom he had left the management of that affair; but, before theſe overtures reached them, they had made up the match with *Dolabella, being mightily taken with his complaiſant and obſequious addreſs.* He was a nobleman of *Patrician deſcent, and of great parts and politeneſs*, but of a violent, daring, ambitious temper, and, by a life of pleaſure and expence, greatly diſtreſſed in his fortunes; which made *Cicero* very uneaſy when he came afterwards to know it. *Dolabella*, at the time of his marriage, for which he made way alſo *by the divorce of his firſt wife*, gave a proof of his enterprizing genius, by impeaching *Appius Claudius* of *practices againſt the ſtate in his government of* Cilicia, *and of bribery and corruption in his ſuit for the Conſulſhip.* This put a great difficulty upon *Cicero*, and made it natural to ſuſpect that he privately favoured the impeachment, where *the accuſer was his ſon-in-law:* But, in clearing himſelf of it to *Appius*, though he diſſembled in diſclaiming any knowledge of that match, yet he was very ſincere in profeſſing himſelf an utter ſtranger to the impeachment, and was in truth, for his own ſake, greatly diſturbed at it. But as, from the circumſtance of his ſucceeding to *Appius* in his government, he was of all men the moſt capable of ſerving or hurting him at the trial, ſo *Pompey*, who took great pains to ſcreen *Appius*, was extremely deſirous to engage *Cicero* on their ſide, *and had thoughts of ſending one of his ſons to him for that purpoſe:* But *Cicero* ſaved them that trouble, by declaring early and openly for *Appius*, and promiſing every thing from the province that could be of any ſervice to him: So that *Appius*, inſtead of declining a trial, contrived to bring it on as ſoon as he could; and with that view, having dropt his pretenſions to a Triumph, entered the City, and offered himſelf to his Judges, before his accuſer was prepared for him: He was acquitted, without any difficulty, of both the indictments.

Ad Att. vi. 6.

Ep. Fam. viii. 6.

Ib. iii. 12.

The following letters not only lay before the baſe hypocritical conduct of *Cicero*, with regard to *Appius* and *Dolabella*, but contain ſeveral important particulars of what at this time was doing at *Rome* in relation to *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, and the approaching breach between them.

Marcus Cœlius to *Cicero.*

Ep. Fam. viii. 6. Melm. v. 5.

" You have been informed, I doubt not, that *Dolabella* has exhibited " articles of impeachment againſt *Appius:* And *this proſecution ſeems to be* " *more agreeable to the world in general than I imagined.* *Appius* however " has acted with great prudence upon the occaſion: For, as ſoon as his ad-

verſary had lodged his information, he withdrew his petition for a Triumph, and immediately entered the City. By this means he ſilenced the reports to his diſadvantage; as he appeared more willing to take his trial than his proſecutor expected. *Appius* relies greatly, in this conjuncture, upon your aſſiſtance: And, I am perſuaded, you are not diſinclined to ſerve him. You have it now in your power to do ſo, as far as you ſhall think proper: Though I muſt add, you would be more at liberty to limit your good offices toward him, if you and he had never been ill together. But, as the caſe now ſtands, were you to meaſure out your ſervices by the right he has to demand them, it might be ſuſpected that you were not ſincere in your reconcilement: Whereas you can hazard no cenſure by obliging him, as you will ſhew that you are not to be diſcouraged from acting a generous part, even where *friendſhip* might incline you to the contrary. This reminds me of acquainting you, that *Dolabella's wife obtained a divorce juſt upon the commencement of this proſecution. I remember the commiſſion* [a] *you left with me, when you ſet out for the province: As, I dare ſay, you have not forgotten what I afterwards wrote to you concerning that affair. I have not time to enlarge upon it at preſent: Only let me adviſe you, how much ſoever you may reliſh the ſcheme, to wait the event of this trial, before you diſcover your ſentiments. If, indeed, your inclinations ſhould be known, it will raiſe a very invidious clamour againſt you: And ſhould you give* Dolabella *the leaſt intimation of them, they will certainly become more public than will be convenient either for your intereſt or your honour.* He would undoubtedly be unable to conceal a circumſtance ſo advantageous to his preſent views, and which would give ſo much credit to the proſecution in which he is engaged: And, I am perſuaded, he would ſcarce refrain from making it the ſubject of his converſation, notwithſtanding he was ſure the diſcovery would prove to his prejudice.

A.U.C. 703. Ant. Chr. 49. 49 Cont.

"*Pompey*, I am told, intereſts himſelf extremely in behalf of *Appius*; inſomuch that it is generally imagined he has a deſign of ſending one of his ſons to ſolicit you in his favour. Mean while *we are in the humour here of acquitting all criminals: Nothing, in truth, ſo baſe and ſo villainous can be perpetrated, that is not ſure of eſcaping puniſhment.* You will perceive how wondrouſly active our Conſuls are in their office, when I tell you that they have not yet been able to procure a ſingle decree of the Senate, except one for appointing the *Latian feſtivals.* Even our friend *Curio has not hitherto acted with any ſpirit in his Tribunate: As indeed it is impoſſible to deſcribe the general indolence that has ſeized us.* If it were not for my conteſt with the vinters, and the

[a] *It ſeems very evident from this paſſage, that there was ſome proſpect of a divorce between* Dolabella *and his wife before* Cicero *left* Rome; *and that* Cicero *had commiſſioned* Cœlius, *in caſe this event ſhould happen, to take ſome meaſures for procuring a match between* Dolabella *and his daughter* Tullia. Melm. Vol. I. p. 438.

Y. R. 703. Bef. Chr. 49. 402 Conf.

" ſurveyors of the public acqueducts, all *Rome* would appear in a profound " lethargy. In ſhort, I know not to what degree the *Parthians* may have " animated *you:* But as for us, in this part of the world, we are faſt aſleep. " But how much ſoever we may want to be awakened, I hope it will not " be by the *Parthians.* It is reported, nevertheleſs, though I know not on " what foundation, that they have gained ſome ſlight advantage over the " troops of *Bibulus* near mount *Amanus.*

Vid ſupr. p. 566.

" Since I wrote the above, I muſt recall what I ſaid concerning *Curio:* " The cold fit is at length expelled by the *warmth* of thoſe cenſures to " which the levity of his conduct has expoſed him. For, not being able " to carry his point with reſpect to the *intercalation* [*for which he had ap-* " *plied himſelf to the Pontifical college, in order to lengthen out the period* " *of his Tribunician miniſtry*] he has deſerted the intereſt of the Senate, " and harangued the People in favour of *Cæſar.* He threatens likewiſe " to propoſe a *Viarian* Law, ſomewhat of the ſame tendency with the " *Agrarian*, which was formerly attempted by *Rullus:* As alſo another, " empowering the Ædiles to diſtribute corn among the People.

" If you ſhould determine (as I think you ought) to employ your good " offices in behalf of *Appius*, I beg you would take that opportunity " of recommending me to his favour. *Let me prevail with you likewiſe* " *not to declare yourſelf with reſpect to* Dolabella; *as your leaving that* " *point at large will be of ſingular importance, not only to the affair I hint* " *at, but alſo in regard to the opinion the world will entertain of your juſtice* " *and honour.*

" Will it not be a high reflection upon you, if I ſhould not be furniſhed " with ſome *Grecian* panthers? Farewell."

To *Marcus Cœlius.*

Ep. Fam. ii. 11. Melm. v. 12.

" Would you imagine I ſhould ever be at a loſs for words? I do not " mean of that choſen and elegant kind which are the privilege of you " celebrated Orators, but thoſe of ordinary and common uſe. Yet, " believe me, I am utterly incapable of expreſſing the ſolicitude I feel " concerning the reſolutions that may be taken in the Senate in regard " to the provinces. I am extremely impatient indeed to return to my " friends at *Rome:* Among which number you are principally in my " thoughts. I will confeſs likewiſe, that *I am quite ſatiated with my* " *government.* For, in the firſt place, *I have more reaſon to apprehend* " *that ſome reverſe of fortune may deprive me of the glory I have here acquired,* " *than to expect I ſhould be able to raiſe it higher:* And, in the next place, " *I cannot but look upon the whole buſineſs of this ſcene as much inferior to* " *my ſtrength; which is both able and accuſtomed to ſupport a far more* " *important weight.* I will acknowledge too, that *I am uneaſy in the ex-* " *pectation of a very terrible war* [with the *Parthians*] *which is like to be*

kindled in this part of the world; and which I may probably eſcape, if I Y. R. 703. Bef. Chr. 49.
" *ſhould obtain my diſmiſſion at the ſtated time.*

" I do not forget the panthers you deſired; and have given my orders 49 Conſ.
" to the perſons uſually employed in hunting them: But theſe animals are
" exceedingly ſcarce with us. They take it ſo unkind, you muſt know,
" that they ſhould be the only creatures in my province for whom any
" ſnares are laid, that they have withdrawn themſelves from my govern-
" ment, and are gone into *Caria.*——Be well aſſured the honour of your
" Ædileſhip is much my care: And *this day* particularly reminds me of it,
" as it is the feſtival of the *Megaleniſian games,*" [*which were under the conduct of the Curule Ædiles, of whom* Cœlius *was now one. The feſtival began on* the fourth of April, *and continued ſix days.*
" I hope you will ſend me a minute detail of our public affairs; as I
" have an entire dependance on the accounts which are tranſmitted to me
" by your hand. Farewell."

To *Marcus Cœlius* Curule Ædile.

" Your very agreeable letters viſit me but ſeldom: Perhaps by ſome Ep. Fam. II. 13. Mollm. v. 15.
" accident or other they loſe their way. *How full was the laſt* * *which came* * Vid. ſup. p. 576.
" *to my hands of the moſt prudent and obliging advice! I had determined in-*
" *deed to act in the manner you recommend:* But it gives an additional ſtrength
" to one's reſolution, to find them agreeable to the ſentiments of ſo
" faithful and ſo judicious a friend. *I have often aſſured you of my extreme*
" *affection for* Appius: And I had reaſon to believe, after our mutual
" reconcilement, that he entertained the ſame favourable diſpoſition to-
" wards me. For he diſtinguiſhed me, in his Conſulate, with great marks
" of honour and amity.——I appeal to you, that I was not wanting, on
" my part, in a ſuitable return And, indeed, he ſtood ſo much the higher
" in my eſteem, as I was ſenſible of the affection he had conceived for you.
" Add to this, that *I am, as you well know, wholly devoted to* Pompey,
" *and tenderly attached alſo to* Brutus. Can I then want a reaſon of
" uniting myſelf with *Appius,* thus ſupported, as he is, by the moſt
" powerful friends and alliances, and flouriſhing in every other advantage
" that can be derived from affluent poſſeſſions, in conjunction with great
" abilities?——Believe me, I have never ſaid or done the leaſt thing,
" throughout the whole courſe of my government, with a view of pre-
" judicing his reputation. And now, that my friend *Dolabella* has
" ſo raſhly attacked him, I am exerting all my good offices to diſſipate
" the riſing ſtorm with which he is threatened. You mentioned ſome
" thing of a lethargic inactivity that had ſeized the Republic. I rejoiced,
" no doubt, to hear that you were in a ſtate of ſuch profound tranquillity,
" as well as that *our ſpirited friend* * was ſo much infected with this gene- * Curio.
" ral indolence, as not to be in a humour of diſturbing it. But the laſt

Y. R. 703. Bef. Chr. 49. 402 Conſ.

" paragraph of your letter, which was written, I obſerved, with your own " hand, changed the ſcene, and ſomewhat indeed diſcompoſed me. Is *Curio* " really then become a convert to *Cæſar?* But, extraordinary as this " event may appear to others, believe me, it is agreeable to what I al- " ways ſuſpected. Good Gods! how do I long to laugh with you at the " ridiculous farce which is acting in your part of the world!

" I have finiſhed my juridical circuit; and not only ſettled the finances " of the ſeveral cities upon a more advantageous baſis, but ſecured to the " farmers of the revenues the arrears due to their former agreements, " without the leaſt complaint from any of the parties concerned. In ſhort, " I have given entire ſatisfaction to all orders and degrees of men in this " province. I propoſe, therefore, to ſet out for *Cilicia on the ſeventh of* " *May.* From whence, after having juſt looked upon the troops in their " ſummer cantonment, and ſettled ſome affairs relating to the army, I in- " tend, agreeably to the decree of the Senate for that purpoſe, to ſet for- " ward to *Rome.* I am extremely impatient, indeed, to return to my friends; " but particularly to you, whom I much wiſh to ſee in the adminiſtration " of your Ædileſhip.——Farewell."

To *Appius Pulcher.*

Ep. Fam. lib. 10. Melm. vol. 1.

" When I firſt received an account of the ill-judged proſecution which " had been commenced againſt you, it gave me great concern; as nothing " could poſſibly have happened that I leſs expected. But, as ſoon as I " had recovered from my ſurpriſe, I was well ſatisfied that you will eaſily " diſappoint the malice of your enemies; as I have the higheſt confi- " dence in your own judicious conduct for that purpoſe; as well as a very " great one in that of your friends. I ſee many reaſons, indeed, to be- " lieve, that *the envy of your adverſaries will only brighten that character* " *they meant to ſully.* Though I cannot but regret, that they ſhould have " thus ſnatched from you an honour you ſo juſtly merit, and of which " you had ſo well-grounded an aſſurance; the honour I mean of *a Tri-* " *umph.* However, *you will ſhew your judgment, if you ſhould conſider this* " *pompous diſtinction in the light it has ever appeared to my own view;* " *and at the ſame time enjoy a triumph of the completeſt kind, in the confu-* " *ſion and diſappointment of your enemies:* As I am well convinced, that the " vigorous and prudent exertion of your power and influence will give " them full reaſon to repent of their violent proceedings. *As for myſelf,* " *be well aſſured (and I call every God to witneſs the ſincerity of what I pro-*

Vid. ſupr. p. 575.

" *miſe) that I will exert my utmoſt intereſt in ſupport, I will not ſay of your* " *perſon, which I hope, is in no danger, but of your dignities and honour.*

" To this end, I ſhall employ my beſt good offices for you in this province, " where you once preſided; and employ them with all the warmth of an " interceſſor, with all the aſſiduity of a relation, with all the influence

" of

" of a man, who, I truſt, is dear to thoſe cities, and with all the authority Y. R. 703.
" of one who is inveſted with the ſupreme command. In a word, I hope Bef. Chr. 49.
" you will both aſk and expect of me every ſervice in my power: And, 402 Conſ.
" believe me, I ſhall give you greater proofs of my affection than you
" are diſpoſed, perhaps to imagine. Notwithſtanding, therefore, the letter
" I received from you by the hands of *Quintus Servilius* was extremely
" ſhort, yet I could not but think it much too long: For it *was doing an*
" *injury to the ſentiments of my heart, to ſuppoſe you had any occaſion to ſo-*
" *licit my aſſiſtance.* I am ſorry you ſhould have an opportunity of ex-
" periencing, by an incident ſo little agreeable to you, *the rank you bear*
" *in my affection*, the *eſteem which I entertain for* Pompey, *whom I juſtly*
" *value above all men, and the meaſure of my unfeigned regard for* Brutus:
" Circumſtances, I ſhould hope, of which our daily entercouſe had ren-
" dered you ſufficiently ſenſible. However, ſince it has ſo happened, *I*
" *ſhould think I acted a moſt unworthy, not to ſay a criminal part, if I were*
" *to omit any article wherein my ſervices can avail you.*

" *Pontinius* remembers the ſingular inſtances of friendſhip he has re-
" ceived from you, and of which I myſelf was a witneſs [b], with all the
" gratitude and affection to which you have ſo undoubted a right. The
" urgency of his affairs had obliged him, though with great reluctance, to
" leave me. Nevertheleſs, having been informed, juſt as he was going to
" embark at *Epheſus*, that his preſence in this province might be of ad-
" vantage to your cauſe, he immediately returned back to *Laodicea*. I am
" perſuaded you will meet with numberleſs ſuch inſtances of zeal upon
" this occaſion: Can I doubt then that this troubleſome affair will prove,
" in the concluſion, greatly to your credit?

" If you ſhould be able to bring on an election of CENSORS, *and ſhould*
" *exerciſe that office in the manner you certainly ought, and for which you are*
" *ſo perfectly* [c] *well qualified*, you can never want that authority in the
" Republic which will afford at once a protection both to yourſelf and
" your friends. *Let me intreat*, therefore, *your moſt ſtrenuous endeavours*
" *to prevent my adminiſtration from being prolonged:* That, after having
" filled up the meaſure of my affectionate ſervices to you here, I may have
" the ſatisfaction alſo of preſentingthem to you at *Rome.*

" I read with pleaſure, *though by no means with ſurprize, the account*
" *you gave me of that general zeal which all orders and degrees of men*
" *have ſhewn in your cauſe: A circumſtance of which I had likewiſe been*
" *informed by my other friends* *. It affords me great ſatisfaction to find, * Vid. ſup. p. 576.

[b] *Pontinius* met with ſo ſtrong an oppoſition to his claim of a triumph for quelling the *Allobroges*, and particularly from *Cato*, that it was four years before his petition was granted. *Appius* was then Conſul, and favoured him. *Vid. ſupra, p* 576.

[c] *N. B. Cicero*, while he wrote this, thought no man leſs qualified for the office than *Appius*; whoſe projects of reformation are a ſubject of ridicule to him and his correſpondent *Cælius*. *Ep. Fam.* viii. 14.

Y. R. 703. Bef Chr. 49. 702 Conſ.

" that *a man, with whom I have the honour and pleaſure to be ſo intimately* " *united*, is thus diſtinguiſhed with *that univerſal approbation he ſo juſtly* " *deſerves. But I rejoice in this* upon another conſideration likewiſe; " and *as it is a proof that there ſtill remains a general diſpoſition in* Rome " *to ſupport the cauſe of illuſtrious*[d] *merit:* A diſpoſition, which I have " myſelf alſo experienced, upon every occaſion, as the honourable recom- " pence of my pains and vigils in the public ſervice. But I am aſto- " niſhed that *Dolabella*, a young man whom I formerly reſcued with " the utmoſt difficulty from the conſequences of two capital impeach- " ments, ſhould ſo ungratefully forget the patron to whom he owes all " that he enjoys, as to be the author of this ill-conſidered proſecution " of *my friend.* And what aggravates the folly of his conduct is, that " he ſhould thus adventure to attack a man, who is diſtinguiſhed with the " higheſt honours, and ſupported by the moſt powerful friendſhips; at " the ſame time that he himſelf (to ſpeak of him in the ſofteſt terms) is " greatly deficient in both theſe reſpects. I had received an account from " our friend *Cælius*, before your letter reached my hand, of *the idle and* " *ridiculous report he has propagated, and on which you ſo largely expatiate.* " *There is ſo little ground, however, for what he aſſerts, that be aſſured I* " *would much ſooner break off all former friendſhip with a man who had thus* " *declared himſelf your enemy, than be prevailed upon to engage with him in* " *any new connexions*[e].

" You

Melm.

[d] The *illuſtrious merit* of *Appius* we have ſeen above. *Vid. ſupra*, 575.

[e] " Nothing could be more diſtant from *Ci-* " *cero*'s heart than what he here pretends. For " there is the ſtrongeſt evidence to believe " that it was his fixed intention, at this very " time, to enter into an alliance with *Dola-* " *bella*: And, in fact, *Tullia* was married to " him ſoon after the date of this letter. *Cicero* " affirms, I muſt acknowledge, in an epiſtle " to *Atticus*, that this tranſaction was entirely " without his knowledge: But he ſeems to " have dealt as inſincerely upon this occaſion " with his boſom friend, as he too frequently " did with all the world beſide. Accordingly " he aſſures *Atticus*, he ſo little expected the " news of his daughter's match, that he was " actually in treaty for the diſpoſal of her to " another perſon. But, if the *latter part* of " this aſſertion were *true*, it aggravates his diſ- " ſimulation: For the *former* moſt evidently " was *falſe*. For, not to mention the great " probability there is that *he left a commiſſion* " *with* Cœlius, *when he ſet out for the province,* " *relating to the marriage in queſtion*, it appears " that he had received more than one letter " from him upon this ſubject, before he wrote " the laſt mentioned to *Atticus*; and conſe- " quently that he could not have been ſo much " a ſtranger to the affair as he choſe to repre- " ſent himſelf. For *Cicero*'s anſwer to the " letter of *Cælius*, concerning this treaty with " *Dolabella*, is extant, and it cannot be dated " later than *the beginning of May* in the pre- " ſent year; becauſe he mentions the *ſeventh* " of that month as a future day, on which " he propoſed to return from another part of " his province into *Cilicia*. But the letter " to *Atticus* muſt have been written *in the* " *latter end of the ſame year*, becauſe he takes " notice in it of the death of *Hortenſius*. " Now he was not informed of that event " till he came to *Rhodes*, in his voyage from " *Cilicia*; as he himſelf tells us in the intro- " duction of his oratorical treatiſe, inſcribed " to *Brutus*. If *Cicero* then was capable of " thus diſguiſing the truth concerning *Dola-* " *bella*, to the neareſt and moſt valuable of " his friends; it is no wonder he ſhould not " ſcruple to act a ſtill more counterfeit part " in all that he ſays of him to *Appius*.

Ad Att. xi. 6.

Vid. ſupr. p. 577.

" And

" You have not the leaſt reaſon to doubt of my zeal to ſerve you; of which I have given many conſpicuous teſtimonies in this province, as well as at *Rome:* Your letter nevertheleſs intimates ſome ſort of ſuſpicion of the contrary. —— —— ——. Y. R. 703. Bef. Chr. 49. 402 Conſ.

" If ever you experienced *the probity of my heart*, or obſerved *a diſpoſition in me worthy of thoſe ſublime contemplations to which I have devoted myſelf from my earlieſt youth*; if ever you diſcovered, by my conduct in the moſt important tranſactions, that I was neither void of ſpirit nor deſtitute of abilities, you ought to have believed me incapable of acting a low and little part towards my friends, much more a baſe and a treacherous one —— —— ——.

" But abſtracted from theſe numerous and powerful motives, there is *one*, which, of itſelf, might be ſufficient to evince the diſpoſition in which I ſtand towards you. For, tell me, did ever any man entertain, or had

" And this diſſimulation he very freely acknowledges to *Cælius*, who indeed was in the whole ſecret of the affair; as it was by his intervention that it ſeems to have been principally conducted. Accordingly *Cicero*, taking notice to *Cælius* of the letter now before us, which he tells him was written in conſequence of the information he had received from him, expreſſes himſelf in the following remarkable words: "What would you have ſaid, had you ſeen the letter I wrote to *Appius* after my receiving yours upon that ſubject? *Quid ſi meam (ſc. epiſtolam) legas quam ego tum ex tuis literis miſi ad* Appium? *ſed quid agas? ſic vivitur:* Which, in plain *Engliſh*, amounts to this, "*That, if a man will live in the world, he muſt ſubmit to the loweſt and moſt contemptible hypocriſy* *. And it muſt be owned that *Cicero*, in the preſent inſtance, as well as in moſt others, acted up to the full extent of his maxim." *Ad Att.* vi. 6. *Ep. Fam.* viii. 6. *De Clar. Orator.* i. *Ep. Fam.* ii. 15.

Vid infra, p. 584.

Ep. Fam. ii. 15. Melm. vi. 15.

The letter to *Cælius*, in which we find this convenient maxim, contains the following paſſage.

——" It is with great pleaſure I find that *Dolabella* enjoys the happineſs of your eſteem and friendſhip. I was at no loſs to gueſs the circumſtance to which you alluded when you mentioned *your hopes, that the prudence of my daughter* Tullia *would temper his conduct.*" M. *Bayle* obſerves, that *Cælius*'s letter to *Cicero*, concerning *Dolabella* (whom *Cælius* knew to be a rake and a ſpendthrift) is exactly in the ſtile of compliment that would now be uſed in the like caſe. " On excuſeroit le paſſé ſur la jeuneſſe; et ſi " l'on n'oſoit pas aſſurer que toutes les im- " perfections de cet age fuſſent corrigée, on " diroit que le mariage avec une perſonne ſi " accomplie, avec la fille d'un ſi excellent pere, " acheveroit la gueriſon." The letter runs thus: Article Tullie.

Marcus Cælius to *Cicero.*

" I congratulate you on your alliance with ſo worthy a man as *Dolabella*: For ſuch I ſincerely think him. His former conduct, it is true, has not been altogether for his own advantage. But time has now worn out thoſe little indiſcretions of his youth: At leaſt, if any of them ſhould ſtill remain, the authority and advantage of your advice and friendſhip, together with the good ſenſe of *Tullia*, will ſoon, I am confident, reclaim him. He is by no means, indeed, obſtinate: And it is not from any incapacity of diſcerning better, whenever he deviates from the right path. To ſay all in one word, I infinitely love him."—— Ep. Fam. viii. Melm. vi. 1.

* How admirably well does this *maxim* accord with thoſe words in the above Letter---*The probity of my heart, a diſpoſition in me worthy of thoſe ſublime contemplations to which I have devoted myſelf from my earlieſt youth!*

" had

Y. R. 703. Bef. Chr. 49. 402 Conf. "had ever any man reason to entertain, so high an esteem for another, "as that which you know I am filled with for the illustrious father-in-law "of your daughter? If personal obligations indeed can give him a title "to these sentiments; do I not owe to *Pompey* the enjoyment of my "Country, my family, my dignities, and even my very self[f]?——— ——"Upon the whole, as you are united, not only by alliance, but "by affection to *my illustrious friend*; what are the sentiments, do you "imagine, that I ought to bear towards you? The truth of it is, were "I your professed enemy, as I am most sincerely the reverse, yet, *after the* "*letter which I lately received from* Pompey, *I should think myself obliged to* "*sacrifice my resentment to his request, and be wholly governed by the inclinations* "*of a man to whom I am thus greatly indebted.*—— I expect every day to "hear that you are chosen CENSOR, &c.——Farewell."

In a subsequent letter to *Appius* he writes thus ——

Ep. Fam. iii. 11. Melm. iii. 11. "WHILST I lay encamped on the banks of the *Pyramus* [a river in "*Cilicia*] I received two letters from you, and both at the same time.— "One of them was dated on *the fifth of April*; but the other, which "seemed to have been written later, was without any date. I will answer "the former therefore in the first place, wherein you give me an account "of *your having been acquitted of the impeachment exhibited against you for* "*male-administration in this province. I had before been apprised of many* Vid. supr. p. 575. "*circumstances of this event* by various letters and expresses, as well as by "general report.——But, notwithstanding your letter was in some "measure anticipated, yet *it heightened my satisfaction to receive the same* "*good news from your own hand.* My information was by this means Vid. supr. p. 583. "not only more full than what I had learnt from common fame, but *it* "*brought you nearer to my imagination, and rendered you in some sort pre-* "*sent to those sentiments of joy which arose upon this occasion in my heart.* "*Accordingly, I embraced you in my thoughts, and* kissed the letter *that gave* "*me so much reason to rejoice upon my own account as well as upon yours.* "I say, *upon my own account, because I look upon those honours, which are* "*thus paid by the general voice of my Country to* VIRTUE, industry, *and* "genius, *as paid to myself*; being too much disposed, perhaps, to ima- "gine that these are qualities to which my own character is no stranger. "But, though I am by no means surprised that this trial should have "ended so much to your credit, yet I cannot forbear being astonished at "*that mean and unworthy spirit which carried your enemies* to engage in "this prosecution." [*Hinting at* Dolabella, *whose friendship and alliance*

Melm. [f] "*Cicero* by no means thought himself so "much obliged to *Pompey* as he here pre- "tends: And all these extravagant profes- "sions were a mere artifice (and a thin one "it must be owned) to make *Pompey* believe "that he had forgotten the ill-usuage he had "formerly received from him." *Vid. ad Att.* ix. 13.

Cicero

A
MAP
of
BELGIUM
Roman Miles of 3000 feet each
10 20 30 60 80 100
BRITAIN
Cenimagni
Cassii
Ancalites
Trinobantes
Bibroci
CANTIUM
KENT
Segontiaci
OCEAN
GERMANY
Batavi
Isle of the Batavi
Usipetes
Sicambri
Menapii
Morini
Nervii
Aduatici
Eburones
Condrusi
Tencheri
Ubii
GERMANS
BELGIUM
Atrebates
Ambiani
Caletes
Vellocasses
Bellovaci
Veromandui
Suessones
Treviri
Suevi
Vangiones
Unelli
Cadetes
Lexovii
Aulerci Eburovices
Sesuvii
Parisians
Rhemois
Mediomatrices
Leuci
Aulerci Diablintes
Aulerci Cenomani
Carnutes.
Senones
Lingones
Triboces
Nemetes
Lingones
Rauraci
Helvetia or the Country of the Helvetii
Andes
Turones
Bituriges
Æduii
Sequani
CELTICA
Rhine R.
Meuse R.
Mosa R.
Scaldis R.
Sequana R.
Loire R.
Marne R.
Seyne R.
Yonne R.
Moselle R.
Saone R.
Rhone R.
Tarnis R.
Garonne R.
Dubis R.
Aar R.
Lutetia Parisiorum
Melodunum
Melun
Meaux
Soissons
Amiens
Arras
Tournay
Namur
Liege
Treves
Metz
Toul
Langres
Besançon
Autun
Orleans
Chartres
Sens
Auxerre
Troyes
Rheims
Chalons
Verdun
Basil
Zurich
Berne
Geneva
Lausanne
Vevay
Soleure
Augst
Windisch
Constance
Tigurum
Aventicum
Noviodunum
Durocortorum
Divodurum
Augustobona
Augustodunum
Vellaunodunum
Genabum
Agendicum
Cenabum
Gergovia
Alesia
Bibracte
Vesontio
Augusta Rauracorum
Augustobona Tricassium
Augustodunum Æduorum
Augustonemetum Arvernorum
Augustoritum Lemovicum
Forum Julii
Arelate
Massilia
Narbo
Tolosa
Burdigala
Portus Itius
Gesoriacum
Rhine R.
Meuse R.
Mouths of the Escaut
Escaut
Thames R.
City of Cassivellaunus
Gordini
Levaci
Centrones
Pleumosii
Condrusi
Segni
Aduatuca Tungrorum
Confluentes
Colonia
Imagotaburgus
Bingen
Forest of Ardenne
Caleti
Velocasses
Veromandui
Suessones
Rhemi
Mediomatrici
Leuci
Treviri
Vangiones
Nemetes
Triboci
Lingones
Rauraci
Helvetii
Sequani
Aedui
Bituriges
Turones
Andes
Carnutes
Senones
Aulerci Cenomani
Aulerci Diablintes
Aulerci Eburovices
Sesuvii
Lexovii
Cadetes
Unelli
Ambiani
Atrebates
Morini
Nervii
Aduatici
Eburones
Menapii
Batavi
Usipetes
Sicambri
Tencheri
Ubii
Suevi
Vangiones
Rauraci
Helvetii
Sequani
Aedui
Bituriges
Turones
Andes
Carnutes
Senones
Lingones
Leuci
Rhemi
Mediomatrici
Treviri
Nemetes
Triboci
Caletes
Vellocasses
Veromandui
Suessones
Bellovaci
Parisians
Aulerci Eburovices
Aulerci Diablintes
Aulerci Cenomani
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Lexovii
Cadetes
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Ambiani
Atrebates
Morini
Nervii
Aduatici
Eburones
Menapii
Batavi
Usipetes
Sicambri
Tencheri
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Vangiones
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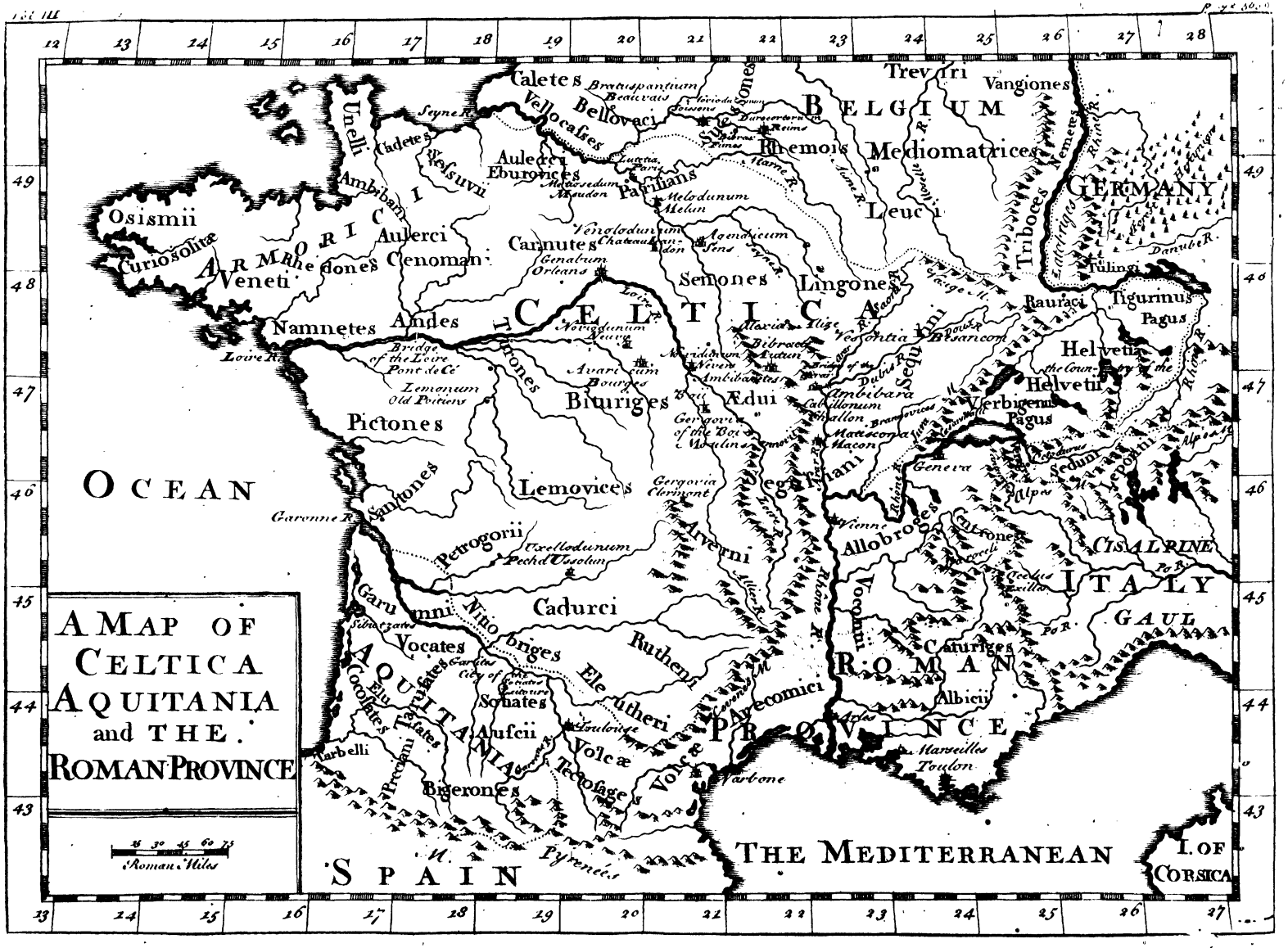
Helvetii
Sequani
Aedui
Bituriges
Turones
Andes
Carnutes
Senones
Lingones
Leuci
Rhemi
Mediomatrici
Treviri
Nemetes
Triboci


A MAP OF CELTICA AQUITANIA and THE ROMAN PROVINCE
Roman Miles
OCEAN
SPAIN
THE MEDITERRANEAN
I. OF CORSICA
BELGIUM
GERMANY
ITALY
GAUL
CISALPINE
CELTICA
AQUITANIA
ROMAN PROVINCE
ARMORICA
Caletes
Vellocasses
Bellovaci
Rhemois
Mediomatrices
Treviri
Vangiones
Triboces
Nemetes
Leuci
Lingones
Sequani
Helvetii
Helvetii Pagus
Tigurinus Pagus
Rauraci
Tulingi
Unelli
Cadetes
Veliocasses
Aulerci Eburovices
Aulerci Cenomani
Aulerci Diablintes
Carnutes
Senones
Parisians
Osismii
Curiosolitæ
Veneti
Namnetes
Andes
Turones
Bituriges
Ædui
Pictones
Santones
Lemovices
Arverni
Petrocorii
Cadurci
Ruteni
Nitiobriges
Vocates
Tarusates
Cocosates
Sotiates
Ausci
Tarbelli
Bigerones
Volcæ Tectosages
Volcæ Arecomici
Allobroges
Centrones
Vocontii
Caturiges
Albici
Segusiani
Helvetii
Verbigenus Pagus
Rhodanus R.
Rhenus R.
Ligeris R.
Sequana R.
Matrona R.
Garumna R.
Druentia R.
Isara R.
Arar R.
Mosa R.
Sabis R.
Axona R.
Mosella R.
Danubius R.
Lacus Lemannus
Pyrenæi M.
Caletes
Britannia
Beauvais
Durocortora
Reims
Melodunum
Melun
Venoglodunum
Chatillon
Agendicum
Sens
Genabum
Orleans
Noviodunum
Nevers
Avaricum
Bourges
Gergovia
Clermont
Alesia
Bibracte
Autun
Vesontio
Besançon
Cabillonum
Chalon
Matisco
Macon
Lugdunum
Lyons
Vienne
Genava
Geneva
Sedunum
Augusta Taurinorum
Turin
Forum Julii
Frejus
Arelate
Arles
Massilia
Marseilles
Toulon
Narbone
Tolosa
Toulouse
Burdigala
Bourdeaux
Tarbelli
Lemanum
Old Poitiers
Bridge of the Loire
Pont de Cé
Loire R.
Garonne R.
Seine R.
Marne R.
Aisne R.
Yonne R.
Saone R.
Rhone R.
Po R.
Durance R.
Isere R.
Druentia R.
Var R.
Duria R.
Dubis R.
Ambibarii
Ambibarii
Ambibarii

Cicero *was at this time courting.*]——"Farewell: And if you are (as I "ſincerely hope) in the poſſeſſion of the *Conſorial* office, reflect often on "the virtues of your illuſtrious anceſtor *."

* App. Claud. Cæcus. Dio, p. 147. Vid. ſupr. p. 429. Mid. p. 42. Ep. Fam. viii. 14.

In a little time after *Appius*'s trial he was choſen CENSOR, together with *Piſo*, *Cæſar's father-in-law*, the laſt men who bore that office during the *Ariſtocracy*, or rather the *Anarchy* of *Rome*. *Clodius*'s Law, mentioned above, which had greatly reſtrained the power of theſe Magiſtrates, was repealed the laſt year by *Scipio* the Conſul (*Pompey*'s *father-in-law*,) and their ancient authority reſtored to them, which was now exerciſed with great rigour by *Appius*: Who, though really a Libertine, and remarkable for indulging himſelf in all the luxury of life, yet, by an affectation of ſeverity, hoped to retrieve his character, and paſs for an admirer of that ancient diſcipline, for which many of his anceſtors had been celebrated.* But this vain and unſeaſonable attempt of reformation ſerved only *to alienate people from* Pompey's *cauſe*, *with whom* Appius was ſtrictly allied: Whilſt his Collegue *Piſo*, who foreſaw that effect, choſe to ſit ſtill, and ſuffer him to *diſgrace the Knights and Senators at pleaſure*, which he did with great freedom, and, among others, turned *Salluſt the Hiſtorian out of the Senate*, and was hardly reſtrained from putting the ſame affront upon *Curio*. This added ſtrength to *Cæſar*; of whom both the SENATE and *Pompey* were at this time become extremely jealous: The SENATE, becauſe of *Cæſar*'s amazing victories, which made him idolized more than ever by the PEOPLE: *Pompey*, becauſe *Cæſar*, as in all other accompliſhments, ſo even in *military virtue*, appeared now to be his ſuperior beyond compare.

Dio, p. 150.

CHAP. IX.

The war of CÆSAR *in* Gaul, *commenced in the year* 695, *and continued to the year* 703

GAUL (without including the *Roman* province) was, at the time of *Cæſar*'s going thither, divided into three principal parts, *Aquitain*, *Celtic Gaul* and *Belgic Gaul*.

C. J. Cæſ. de Bell. Gall. Com. lib. i.

Aquitain, the *ſmalleſt* of the three, was bounded on the North by the river *Garrone*, on the South by the *Pyrenees*, on the Weſt by the *Ocean*, and on the Eaſt by the *Roman province* *.

Aquitania.

* Containing almoſt all Provence and Languedoc Gallia Celtica.

The *largeſt* of the three, named *Celtic Gaul*, becauſe inhabited by a people who called themſelves *Celtæ*, though by the *Romans* they were called † *Galli* [Gauls,] had for its boundaries the *Ocean* on the Weſt, the *Rhine* on the Eaſt, the *Garrone* on the South, and the *Seine* and the *Marne* on the North.

† *Cæſar* very rarely, if ever, gives the name of *Gauls* to the people of *Aquitania* or of *Gallia Belgica*. Crev.

Gallia Belgica.

The two laſt named rivers made the Southern boundary of *Belgic Gaul.* On its other ſides it was encompaſſed by the *Britiſh channel* and the *Lower Rhine.*

Each of theſe nations had its diſtinct language, cuſtoms, and laws. Of the three, the *Belgæ* (or *Belgic* nation) were the moſt warlike, becauſe ſituated the moſt remote from the refinements and luxury of the *Roman* province, and becauſe continually engaged in war with their neighbours, the *Germans*, on the other ſide the *Rhine.*

The people of Switzerland.

For the ſame reaſon the *Helvetii* were diſtinguiſhed above the reſt of the *Celtæ* for their bravery, being almoſt conſtantly, either as aggreſſors, or as acting on the defenſive, at war with the *Germans.*

In the Conſulſhip of *M. Meſſala* and *M. Piſo* [Y. of R. 692.] *Orgetorix*, the moſt opulent and moſt illuſtrious of the *Helvetian* nobles, formed a ſingular project of ambition. Having firſt gained to his purpoſe the principal men of the ſtate, he exhorted the people to remove all together in a body out of their own country; repreſenting to them, that, as they ſurpaſſed all the other *Celtæ* in bravery, they would find it eaſy to acquire the ſovereignty over the whole country of *Celtic Gaul.* To this propoſal the *Helvetii* liſtened the more readily, not only becauſe they thought themſelves confined within limits too narrow for their number (their territory being only 140 miles in length, and 80 in breadth) but becauſe, being bounded on one ſide by the *Rhine*, a broad and deep river; on another by *Mount Jura**, a high ridge of hills that runs between them and the *Sequani*†; and on the ſide of the *Roman* province by the lake ‡ *Leman* and the river *Rhone*, they could not eaſily make hoſtile incurſions on their neighbours, which reſtraint was a great grievance, a ground of much diſcontent to a numerous people that took delight in war.

* Mount St. Claude.
† Inhabitants of Franche-Comte.
‡ Lake of Geneva.

Moved by theſe conſiderations, and by the authority and perſuaſions of *Orgetorix*, they preſently reſolved to ſet about the providing of all neceſſaries for the projected migration. They imagined two years would be ſufficient for theſe preparations, and they obliged themſelves by a law to begin their march on the third. The whole management of this deſign was commited to *Orgetorix*, who undertook an embaſſy to two of the neighbouring ſtates, the *Sequani* and *Ædui*, in order to eſtabliſh peace and amity with them. As his aim was to make himſelf King of his own nation, he took this opportunity to perſuade *Caſticus*, whoſe father had for many years reigned over the *Sequani*, and been ſtiled *Friend* by the Senate and People of *Rome*, to poſſeſs himſelf of the ſame regal authority which his father had held. He likewiſe perſuaded *Dumnorix* the *Æduan* (brother of *Divitiacus*, at that time the leading man in the ſtate, and greatly beloved of the people) to aſpire to Royalty, and he gave him his daughter in marriage.

The people of Autun.

Theſe three entered into ſtrict engagements to aſſiſt and ſupport one another in their reſpective ſchemes; and they entertained the flattering hope,

that, having once brought thoſe to effect, they ſhould afterwards, with their united forces, eaſily get poſſeſſion of all *Celtic Gaul.*

It happened, that the ambitious deſign of *Orgetorix*, to raiſe himſelf to empire at home, became known to his countrymen: Upon which diſcovery his perſon was ſeized, and a capital proceſs commenced againſt him. Had he been found guilty, the law condemned him to be burnt alive: But, on the day appointed for his trial, his relations, ſervants, clients, and debtors, aſſembling in a body to the number of ten thouſand, reſcued him out of the hands of juſtice. The people, provoked at this contempt of the laws, reſolved to ſupport the authority of them; and the Magiſtrates had collected a conſiderable force for that purpoſe, when *Orgetorix* died ſuddenly: It was given out he periſhed by his own hand.

The *Helvetii*, notwithſtanding the death of the projector, continued to purſue the project of migration with the ſame diligence as before: When they had furniſhed themſelves with proviſions for three months, and completed their other preparations, they burnt all their towns, twelve in number; their boroughs and villages, amounting to four hundred; and what corn they could not carry off; that, having thus baniſhed all thoughts of returning to their own country, they might proceed in their enterprize with the more determined courage. Before their departure, they ſtrengthened themſelves by allies and companions (who after their example, and at their perſuaſion, burnt and deſtroyed their reſpective dwellings), the *Rauraci*, *Tulingi*, *Latobrigi*, and a ſwarm of *Boii* from *Norica*[h].

There were only two ways by which they could march out of their own country: One through the territories of the *Sequani*, between mount *Jura* and the *Rhone*, narrow and difficult, inſomuch that in ſome places a ſingle file of waggons could hardly paſs. The impending mountain was beſides very high and ſteep, ſo that a handful of men would be ſufficient to ſtop them. The other lay through *the Roman province*, far eaſier and readier, becauſe the *Rhone*, which flows between the confines of the *Helvetii* and the *Allobroges**, a people lately ſubjected to the *Romans*, but ſeemingly not yet well affected to their government, was in ſome places fordable: And *Geneva*, a frontier town of the *Allobroges*, had a bridge which be-

* Inhabitants of Savoye and Dauphiné.

[h] The *firſt* were the people of *Baſil*, who then made part of the *Helvetic* body. The *ſecond* and *third* were neighbours of the *Helvetii*. This is all we know of them with certainty. The *Boii* were originally inhabitants of the *Bourbonnois*, colonies of whom had ſettled in *Germany* and in *Italy*. *Norica* was *Bavaria*, and part of *Auſtria*. Crev.

After the total defeat of this multitude, a roll, written in *Greek* characters, was found in their camp, and brought to *Cæſar*. It contained a liſt of all who had ſet out upon this expedition, not only of thoſe who were able to bear arms, but of the children, women, and old men. By this liſt it appeared, that the number of the *Helvetii* was 263,000; of the *Tulingi* 36,000; of the *Latobrigi* 14,000; of the *Rauraci* 23,000; of the *Boii* 32,000; in all 368,000.

longed to the *Helvetii*, whoſe country bordered upon theirs. The *Helvetii* therefore doubted not of obtaining a paſſage, either by perſuaſion or by force, through the territories of the *Allobroges*. Their general rendezvous was to be on the banks of the *Rhone*; and the day they fixed for it was the twenty-eighth of *March*, in the Conſulſhip of *Piſo* and *Gabinius*.

[Year of *Rome* 695.]

Cæſar, having notice of theſe proceedings, and that it was the deſign of the *Helvetii* to attempt a paſſage through the *Roman* province, haſtened his departure[1] from *Rome*; and, poſting by great journeys into *Farther Gaul*,

[1] We ſee by this account, which is from *Cæſar* himſelf, that the reaſon of his ſudden and expeditious journey, from his quarters near *Rome* into *Tranſalpine Gaul*, was the intelligence he received of the motions and purpoſes of the *Helvetii*; who had fixed upon the *twenty-eighth of March* for their rendezvous on the banks of the *Rhone*, which they were to paſs by the bridge at *Geneva*: And that he arrived at *Geneva* time enough to prevent their paſſage, by breaking down the bridge, receive an embaſſy from the *Helvetii*, and, by deferring his anſwer to the thirteenth of *April*, gain time ſufficient to aſſemble forces out of the province, and draw up lines ſixteen feet high, and nineteen miles in length, before the ſaid thirteenth of *April*: We cannot, therefore, well ſuppoſe, that he left the neighbourhood of *Rome* much later than *the middle of March*.

Nevertheleſs M. *Crevier*, who all along ſeems (like Dr. *Middleton*) to be ſtrongly biaſſed by prepoſſeſſion and prejudice againſt *Cæſar*, finds a different reaſon from what *Cæſar* himſelf gives, for his going ſuddenly and in haſte to his province; and gives that journey a different date. He writes thus:— "*Cæſar*, having driven from the Commonwealth "the two men he moſt feared [*Cicero* and "*Cato*,] had no longer any reaſon to ſtay in "the neighbourhood of the City, but *had "reaſon to remove from it*: For the partiſans "of the Ariſtocracy, beginning to recover "from the conſternation they had been thrown "into by the Conſulſhip of *Cæſar*, and the "violence exerciſed towards *Cicero*, thought "of beſtirring themſelves to do ſomething "againſt *the oppreſſor of the public liberty*. "Two of the Prætors, *L. Domitius* and *C. "Memmius*, would have the acts of *Cæſar*'s "Conſulſhip ſubmitted to the examination "of the Senate, in order to their being annulled. His Queſtor was proſecuted, *and "he himſelf attacked* by the Tribune *Antiſtius*; "but he implored the aid of the other Tribunes, that he might have the benefit of "the law which ſheltered from all proſecutions thoſe who were abſent in the ſervice "of the State: And *he made haſte to get "away*."

Crevier, tom xii. p. 202.

Cæſar is here repreſented as running away from the neighbourhood of *Rome*, like a criminal who feared to be arreſted and brought to puniſhment;—not a word of the *Helvetii*:—And this running away, which (as was juſt now obſerved) could not well be later than about *the middle of March*, was, according to M. *Crevier*, ſome time in *April*: For he tells us that *Cicero went from* Rome *by night in the beginning of April*, and that *Cæſar* did not leave the neighbourhood of *Rome* till he had driven *Cicero* from thence.

Crevier, tom. xii p. 181, 182.

Now what authority has M. *Crevier* for contradicting *Cæſar*'s account of the *reaſon* which induced him to go away on a ſudden, and in haſte, to his province, and of the *time* when he went? *Suetonius* is the only author cited, an Hiſtorian remarkable for *delighting in detraction*, and for having *no regard to the order of events*, nor even to probability, in many things which he relates. But it happens in the preſent inſtance, that, though *Suetonius* ſays ſomething not true, he does not ſay that for which he's cited. He does not ſay that *Cæſar* ſtaid in the neighbourhood of *Rome* till he had driven *Cicero* out of it*, that is, *till the month of April*; he does not poſtpone to that time the motion made in the Senate by the two Prætors; but ſpeaks of it as made in the beginning of *January*: Nor does he repreſent *Cæſar* as having any apprehenſion of danger from that motion; but, on the contrary, as conſenting to have the Senate take cognizance of the acts of his Conſulſhip [*cogni-*

* Plutarch in Cæſ. tells us, that ſuch a report there was.

Gaul, came to *Geneva*. He began with breaking down the bridge over the *Rhone*; and, as there was at that time but one *Roman* legion in *Transalpine Gaul*, he ordered great levies to be made throughout the whole province. The *Helvetii*, being informed of his arrival, deputed several Noblemen of the first rank to wait upon him in the name of the State, and represent, "That they meant not to offer the least injury to the "*Roman* province; that necessity alone had determined them to the design "of passing through it, because they had no other way by which to direct "their march; that they therefore intreated they might have his per-"mission for that purpose." But *Cæsar* did not think proper to grant their request: However, that he might gain time, till the troops he had ordered to be raised could assemble, he told the Ambassadors he would consider of their demand; and that, if they returned by the *thirteenth of April*, they should have his final answer. Mean while, with the legions he then had, and the soldiers that came in to him from all parts of the province, he raised a rampart sixteen feet high, and nineteen miles in length, with a ditch from the lake *Lemanus*, into which the *Rhone* discharges itself, to mount *Jura*, which divides the territories of *Sequani*

[*cognitionem Senatui detulit.*] And, according to *Suetonius*, the prosecution, begun against *Cæsar*'s Quæstor, and the attack, made by the Tribune *Antistius* upon *Cæsar* himself, were not *before* his sudden departure from the neighbourhood of *Rome*, but *after* it. ——

Sueton. J. Cæs. 23. *Functus Consulatu*, C. Memmio, Lucioque Domitio *Prætoribus*, *de superioris anni actis referentibus*, cognitionem Senatui detulit; *nec illo suscipiente, triduoque per irritas altercationes absumpto*, in provinciam abiit: *& statim quæstor ejus in præjudicium aliquot criminibus arreptus est.* Mox *& ipse a* L. Antistio *tribuno plebis postulatus, appellato demum collegio, obtinuit, cum reip. causa abesset, reus ne fieret. Ad securitatem ergo posteri temporis, in magno negotio habuit obligare semper annuos magistratus, & è competitoribus non alios adjuvare, aut ad honorem pati pervenire quam qui sibi pepigissent, propugnaturos absentiam suam:* Cujus pacti non dubitavit a quibusdam jusjurandum, atque etiam syngrapham exigere. [*The last part of this tale appeared, I presume, too ridiculous to Dr.* Middleton *and M.* Crevier, *to be adopted by them, notwithstanding their great dislike of* Cæsar.]

Doctor *Middleton* conforms his relation to *Suetonius*, as to the *time* when the motion was made in the Senate by the two Prætors; but does not conform it either to *Suetonius*, or to *Cæsar*, as to the TIME *when* Cæsar *went to his province:* For the Doctor places this journey *after* Cicero's departure into banishment, that is, in the month of *April*; whereas *Suetonius* places it in *January*, and *Cæsar* himself, manifestly, not later than about *the middle of March*.

The Doctor's words are these: "*Cæsar* Mid. 337. "continued at *Rome* till he saw *Cicero* driven "out of it [*i. e.* according to the Doctor, "till *about the end of March* †:] But had no † See "sooner laid down his Consulship [*on the last* Midd. p "*day of December preceding*] than he began to 350. "be attacked and affronted himself by *two* Sueton. J. "*of the new Prætors, L. Domitius* and *C.* Cæs. 23. "*Memmius*, who called in question *the validity of his acts, and made several efforts in the* "*Senate to get them annulled by public authority.* But the Senate had no stomach to "meddle with an affair so delicate; so that "the whole ended in some fruitless debates "and altercations [*which had lasted only three* "*days:*] And *Cæsar*, to prevent all attempts "of that kind in his absence, took care al-"ways, *by force of bribes, to secure the leading* "*Magistrates in his interests*; and so went off "to his province of *Gaul*."——I do not see how these last words, *and so went off*, &c. can be reconciled with *Cæsar's continuing at* Rome *till he saw* Cicero *driven out of it*. The Doctor seems not consistent with himself.

from

from thoſe of the *Helvetii*. This work finiſhed, he ſtrengthened it with redoubts from ſpace to ſpace, and manned them with troops. When the Ambaſſadors, on the appointed day, returned for an anſwer, he told them, that he could not, conſiſtently with the uſages of the People of *Rome* on the like occaſions, grant any foreign troops a paſſage through the province: And he let them ſee, that, ſhould they attempt it by force, he was prepared to oppoſe them.

The *Helvetii*, driven from this hope, endeavoured, ſome by the means of boats faſtened together, and of floats which they had prepared in great abundance, others by the fords of the *Rhone*, where was the leaſt depth of water, to force a paſſage over the river; ſometimes by day, oftener in the night: But, being conſtantly repulſed by the ſtrength of the works thrown up, and by flights of darts, they at laſt abandoned the attempt. One way ſtill remained, which was through the territories of the *Sequani*, but ſo narrow, that, without the conſent of the natives, they could not paſs. Not able to prevail by their own perſuaſions, they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Dumnorix* the *Æduan*, that, through his interceſſion, they might obtain this favour of the *Sequani*. *Dumnorix*, by his popularity and generoſity, had great influence with the *Sequani*, and was alſo well affected to the *Helvetii*, becauſe he had married an *Helvetian*, the daughter of *Orgetorix*. Beſides, he was framing to himſelf ſchemes of ambition, and wanted to have as many ſtates as poſſible bound to him by offices of kindneſs. He readily therefore undertook the negociation, and he obtained for the *Helvetii* the liberty of paſſing through the territories of the *Sequani*, the two nations mutually giving hoſtages to ſecure their not moleſting or injuring each other during the march.

Cæſar had intelligence of their deſign; which was to paſs through the countries of the *Sequani* and *Ædui* into the territories of the *Santones* *, which border upon thoſe of the *Toloſati* †, a ſtate that made part of the *Roman* province. He foreſaw many inconveniencies likely to ariſe to the *Romans*, ſhould they have for their neighbours, in an open and plentiful country, a people ill-affected to them, and of a martial diſpoſition. Leaving, therefore, the care of the new works he had raiſed to *T. Labienus*, his Lieutenant, he himſelf haſtened by great journeys into *Italy*. There he raiſed two legions, and drew three more, that were cantoned round *Aquileia*, out of their quarters; and with theſe five legions took the neareſt way over the *Alps* into *Farther Gaul*. The mountaineers oppoſed his paſſage, but without effect: He deſcended into the country of the *Vocontii* †, traverſed the territories of the *Allobroges*, croſſed the *Rhone*, entered upon the lands of the *Seguſii* ‡, and all this with ſuch expedition, that he overtook the *Helvetii* at the paſſage of the *Arar* ‖.

They had marched their forces through the narrow paſs of mount *Jura*, and the territories of the *Sequani*; and were at this time actually employed in paſſing the *Arar*. *Cæſar*, informed by his ſcouts, that three parts of

* Saintonge.
† People of Toulouſe.
† Le Dois.
‡ Le Lyonnois.
‖ The Saone.

of their forces were got over the river, and that the fourth, which was the canton of the *Tigurini*, ſtill remained on this ſide, left his camp about midnight, with three legions, and came up with the troops of the enemy that had not yet paſſed. As he found them unprepared for fighting, and encumbered with their baggage, he attacked them immediately, and put a great number of them to the ſword: The reſt fled, and ſheltered themſelves in the neareſt woods. The people of Zurich.

The forces of this very canton, about fifty years before, had vanquiſhed and killed the Conſul *L. Caſſius*, and obliged his army to paſs under the yoke. Thus, ſays *Cæſar*, whether by chance or the direction of the immortal Gods, that part of the *Helvetic* ſtate, which brought ſo ſignal a calamity upon the *Roman* People, was the firſt to feel the weight of their reſentment. In this caſe, *Cæſar* revenged not only the public, but likewiſe his own domeſtic injuries; becauſe in the ſame battle where *Caſſius* fell, was ſlain alſo his Lieutenant, *L. Piſo*, the grandfather of *L. Piſo*, *Cæſar*'s father-in-law. Vid. ſupra, p. 72.

After this victory, *Cæſar*, throwing a bridge over the river, led his army, without delay, in purſuit of the enemy. The *Helvetii*, diſmayed at his ſudden approach, as he had ſpent only one day in croſſing the river, which they had not, without the utmoſt difficulty, accompliſhed in twenty, ſent an embaſſy to him, at the head of which was *Divico*, who had been General of the *Helvetii* in the war againſt *Caſſius*. He addreſſed *Cæſar* in words to this effect:

"If you are diſpoſed to conclude a peace, we are willing to go and "ſettle in what country you ſhall think fit to aſſign us. But, if you per- "ſiſt in the reſolution of making war, you will do well to call to mind "the diſgrace which befell the *Romans* heretofore, and the experienced "bravery of the *Helvetic* nation."

Cæſar anſwered: "I have the leſs doubt concerning what will be "the iſſue of a war, as I do bear in mind that diſaſter to which you refer, "and which I well know to have happened to the *Romans* undeſervedly. "Had they been conſcious of any injury by them committed, had they "done any thing which could give them cauſe to fear, they would have "kept themſelves upon their guard; a conduct which admitted of no "difficulty.—— But, were I inclined to forget old injuries, can you ex- "pect I ſhould forget likewiſe your late inſult in attempting, againſt my "will, to force a paſſage through the *Roman* province, and your rava- "ging[k] the territories of the *Ædui*, *Ambarri*, and *Allobroges*? Your boaſt- "ing ſo inſolently of the victory over *Caſſius*, is an additional provocation "of my reſentment. However, if you will make ſatisfaction to the "*Ædui* and their allies, for the devaſtations committed in their countries, "as alſo to the *Allobroges*, and will give hoſtages for the performance "of your promiſes, I am ready to conclude a peace with you." *Divico*

[k] Of this injury the ſufferers had ſent complaints to *Cæſar*.

replied:

replied: " *The* Helvetii *are accuſtomed to receive hoſtages, not to give them*; " *and no people are better apprized of this than the* Romans." He ſaid, and retired.

The next day the *Helvetii* decamped: *Cæſar* did the ſame; and, to obſerve their motions, ſent forward all his horſe, which, to the number of four thouſand, he had drawn together from the province, and the countries of the *Ædui* and their allies. The cavalry preſſing too cloſe upon the rear of the enemy, the latter ſeized a moment, when they had the advantage of the ground, turned ſuddenly upon their purſuers, and put them to the rout, with ſome ſlaughter of the moſt advanced. Elated by this ſucceſs, as having, with no more than five hundred horſe, repulſed ſo great a multitude, they began to aſſume a bolder appearance, and frequently to face the *Romans*. *Cæſar* kept back his men from fighting, thinking it ſufficient for the preſent to ſtraiten the enemy's foragers. In this manner the armies marched for fifteen days together: Between the *Roman* van and the rear of the *Helvetii* the diſtance did not exceed five or ſix miles.

In the mean time *Cæſar* daily preſſed the *Ædui* for the corn which they had promiſed in the name of the public: For, by reaſon of the coldneſs of the climate, he was ſo far from finding the corn ripe in the fields, that there was not even ſufficient forage for the horſes. Neither could he receive thoſe ſupplies which were coming to him by the *Arar*; becauſe the *Helvetii* had turned off from that river, and he was determined not to quit the purſuit of them. The *Ædui*, to conceal from him the motive of their conduct, ſometimes pretended that the corn was bought up, and ready to be ſent; ſometimes that it was actually on the way: But, when he ſaw no end of theſe delays, and that the day approached for delivering corn to the troops, he called together the *Æduan* chiefs, of whom he had a great number in his army, and among the reſt *Divitiacus*, and their ſupreme Magiſtrate[1] *Liſcus*. *Cæſar* reproached them ſeverely for not having taken care to ſupply him in ſo preſſing a conjuncture, and while the enemy was ſo near: Adding, that, as he had engaged in that war chiefly at their requeſt, he had the greater reaſon to complain of their neglect.

Hereupon *Liſcus* thought proper to declare what he had hitherto concealed, " That there were ſome among them, who, though but private men, " had yet more authority with the people than the Magiſtrates themſelves: " That thoſe men had, by artful and ſeditious ſpeeches, alarmed the mul- " titude, and perſuaded them to keep back their corn; inſinuating, *that*, " *if their own ſtate could not obtain the ſovereignty of* Gaul, *it would be* " *better for them to obey the* Helvetii, Gauls *like themſelves, than the* " Romans; *there not being the leaſt reaſon to queſtion but the* Romans, " *after having ſubdued the* Helvetii, *would deprive the* Ædui *too, with*

[1] This ſupreme Magiſtrate, ſtiled *Vergobret* in the language of the country, was created annually, and had a power of life and death.

" *all the reſt of the* Gauls, *of their liberty:* That the very ſame men gave " intelligence to the enemy of whatever the *Romans* deſigned or tranſacted " in their camp; his authority not being ſufficient to reſtrain them: That " he was not ignorant of the danger to which he expoſed himſelf by the " diſcovery he now made, compelled to it by neceſſity; his ſilence being " no longer conſiſtent with the ſafety of the ſtate."

Cæſar perceived that *Dumnorix*, the brother of *Divitiacus*, was pointed at by this ſpeech: But not thinking it adviſeable that theſe matters ſhould be debated in the preſence of ſo many witneſſes, he ſpeedily diſmiſſed the council, retaining only *Liſcus*; whom he then queſtioned on what he had juſt ſaid; and was anſwered with great courage and freedom. He put the ſame queſtions to others; who all confirmed the truth of what *Liſcus* had told him, that *Dumnorix* was a man of an enterprizing ſpirit, fond of revolutions, and in great favour with the people, becauſe of his liberality: That he had for many years farmed the cuſtoms, and other public revenues of the *Edui*, at a very low price; no one daring to bid againſt him: That by this means he had conſiderably increaſed his eſtate, and was enabled to extend his bounty to all about him: That he conſtantly kept a great number of horſemen in pay, who attended him wherever he went: That his influence was not confined merely to his own country, but extended likewiſe to the neighbouring ſtates: That, the better to ſupport his intereſt, he had married his mother to a man of principal rank and authority among the *Bituriges* *, matched his ſiſter, and the reſt of his kindred, into other the moſt powerful ſtates; and had himſelf taken a wife from among the *Helvetii*: That he favoured and wiſhed well to the *Helvetii* on the ſcore of that alliance, and perſonally hated *Cæſar*, and hated the *Romans*, becauſe by their arrival his power had been diminiſhed, and his brother *Divitiacus* reſtored to his former credit and authority: That, ſhould the *Romans* be overthrown, he was in great hopes of obtaining the ſovereignty by means of the *Helvetii*. On the contrary, ſhould they prevail, he muſt not only give up theſe hopes, but even all expectation of retaining the influence he had already acquired.

* People of Bourges.

Cæſar learnt alſo, that, in the late engagement, *Dumnorix*, who commanded the *Æduan* cavalry, was the firſt who fled, and by his flight ſtruck a terror into the reſt of the troops; that it was he who had procured for the *Helvetii* a paſſage through the territories of the *Sequani*; and had effected an exchange of hoſtages between the two nations: And that he had done theſe things not only without permiſſion from his own ſtate, but even without their knowledge: All this, together with his being accuſed by the chief Magiſtrate of the *Ædui*, ſeemed to *Cæſar* a ſufficient ground for taking cognizance of the matter himſelf, or ordering the ſtate to proceed againſt him. One thing, however, reſtrained him a while from coming to any reſolution, his regard for *Divitiacus*, the delinquent's brother, a man of ſingular probity, a faithfull ally of the *Roman*

People, and a friend of *Cæſar*'s. That he might not wound a man or whom he had ſo great a value, *Cæſar* ſent for him, and, having removed the uſual interpreters, ſpoke to him by *C. Valerius Procillus*, a Prince of the *Roman* province, his intimate friend. He reminded *Divitiacus* of what, in his own preſence, had been ſaid of his brother *Dumnorix*, in the council of the *Gauls*, adding the later informations which he had received againſt him in private; and *Cæſar* earneſtly requeſted of *Divitiacus* to conſent, that either he himſelf or the ſtate might take the matter into conſideration. *Divitiacus*, embracing *Cæſar*, begged of him, with many tears, not to come to any ſevere reſolution againſt his brother. "What you have heard "is all true, and I myſelf have more reaſon than any man to be diſſatiſ- "fied with him. At a time when my authority was great, both at home "and in the other provinces of *Gaul*, and my brother, becauſe of his "youth, but little conſidered, I employed my intereſt to bring him into "credit: And though *Dumnorix* has made uſe of the power he acquired "by my means to diminiſh my favour with the people, yet I ſtill find my- "ſelf ſwayed by my affection for him, and by my regard for the public "eſteem: For, ſhould my brother meet with any rigorous treatment from "you, while I myſelf poſſeſs ſo large a ſhare of your favour, all men will "believe it done with my conſent, and the minds of the *Gauls* be for ever "alienated from me."

Cæſar, obſerving his concern, took him by the hand, bid him ſay no more, comforted him, and aſſured him that, for his ſake, he would overlook not only the injuries done to himſelf, but to the Republic. He then ſent for *Dumnorix*, and, in his brother's preſence, declared the ſubjects of complaint he had againſt him, and admoniſhed him to avoid for the future giving any ground for ſuſpicion; adding, that he would pardon what was paſt for the ſake of his brother: *Cæſar* appointed, however, ſome perſons to have an eye over his behaviour, and to obſerve what company he frequented.

The ſame day having learnt by his ſcouts, that the enemy had poſted themſelves under a hill, eight miles from his camp, he ſent out a party to view the ground, and examine the aſcent of the hill. Theſe reporting it to be extremely eaſy, he detached, about midnight, his Lieutenant *Labienus*, (to whom he imparted the deſign he had formed) with two legions, and with the ſame men for guides, who the day before had examined the ground to take poſſeſſion of the ſummit of the hill. At three o'clock in the morning, having firſt ſent forward his cavalry, he himſelf followed with the foot. He had directed *Conſidius*, an officer of reputation, who had ſerved in the army of *Sylla*, and afterwards in that of *Marcus Craſſus*, to go with the ſcouts to reconnoitre.

At day break, when *Labienus* had executed his commiſſion, and *Cæſar* was within a mile and a half of the enemi's camp, they knowing nothing yet either of his or *Labienus*'s approach, *Conſidius* came gallop-

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ing back, and aſſured *Cæſar*, that the ſummit of the hill was poſſeſſed by the enemy, and that he had ſeen the *Gallic* enſigns there.

Cæſar retired to a riſing ground, and drew up his men in order of battle. *Labienus*, whoſe inſtructions were not to engage the enemy till he ſaw the reſt of the army approaching, that the attack might be made on all ſides at the ſame time, having gained the top of the hill, waited the arrival of the *Roman* main body, without ſtirring from his poſt. The day was far ſpent before *Cæſar* learnt from his ſcouts that *Conſidius*, blinded by his fear, had made a falſe report, and that the enemy had decamped. The reſt of that day *Cæſar* followed the enemy, and pitched his camp within three miles of them.

The next day, as the time drew near for delivering out corn to the army, and as he was not above eighteen miles from *Bibracte* *, the capital of the *Ædui*, where he hoped to find ſufficient ſupplies for the ſubſiſtence of his troops, he quitted the purſuit of the *Helvetii*, and directed his march thither. The enemy informed of this motion by ſome deſerters, and either aſcribing it to fear, becauſe *Labienus*, though poſſeſſed of the higher ground, had not attacked them the day before; or flattering themſelves with the hopes of intercepting *Cæſar*'s proviſions, all on a ſudden changed their reſolution, and, inſtead of continuing their march, began to purſue and harraſs the rear guard of the *Romans*. *Cæſar* retired to a hill, and ſent his cavalry to ſuſtain the charge, while he drew up his forces in battalia. His four veteran legions he ranged in three lines towards the middle of the aſcent; and above them he poſted his two legions newly raiſed in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and all the auxiliaries; in ſuch wiſe, that the whole hill was covered with his troops: The baggage was committed to the care of thoſe on the upper ground. The *Helvetii* repulſed the *Roman* cavalry, formed themſelves into a phalanx, and advanced in cloſe order to attack the *Roman* van.

* Autun.

Cæſar, having ſent away firſt his own horſe, and then the horſes of all his officers, that, by making the danger equal, no hope might remain but in victory, encouraged his men, and began the charge. The *Romans*, who fought from the higher ground, pouring their darts upon the enemy, eaſily broke their phalanx, and then fell upon them ſword in hand. The battle was bloody, and continued for a long time doubtful; but the enemy being at length obliged to give way, one part withdrew towards a hill, and the reſt ſheltered themſelves behind their carriages, which they had drawn together into one place before they began the battle. During this whole action, though it laſted from one o'clock in the afternoon till evening, no man ſaw the back of an enemy. The fight was renewed with great obſtinacy at the carriages, and continued till the night was far ſpent. After a long diſpute, the *Romans* got poſſeſſion of the baggage and camp of the enemy. A ſon and daughter of *Orgetorix* were found among the priſoners. Only one hundred and twenty thouſand of the *Helvetii* ſurvived this defeat; who, retreating all that night, and continuing their march without inter-

* The people of Langres.

miſſion, arrived on the 4th day in the territories of the *Lingones* *. The *Romans*, detained by the care of looking after their wounded, and of burying their dead, continued upon the ſpot three days: But *Cæſar* ſent meſſengers and letters to ſignify to the *Lingones*, that, if they would avoid drawing upon themſelves the ſame calamities which the *Helvetian* fugitives were under, they muſt not furniſh them with corn or other neceſſaries: And, after three days repoſe, he ſet forward to purſue the enemy.

The *Helvetii*, compelled by an extreme want of all things, ſent Ambaſſadors to him to treat about a ſurrendry. Theſe meeting him on the way, and throwing themſelves at his feet, in ſuppliant terms, and with many tears, begged for peace. *Cæſar* gave them no expreſs anſwer at that time; he only ordered that the *Helvetii* ſhould wait for him in the place where they then were; which they accordingly did. Upon his arrival, he demanded hoſtages, their arms, and the ſlaves who had deſerted to their camp. Upon their complying with theſe terms, they were admitted to a ſurrendry. The *Helvetii*, *Tulingi*, and *Latobrigi*, he ordered to return to their own countries, and rebuild the towns and villages they had burnt: And becauſe, having loſt all the corn, they were utterly deſtitute of ſubſiſtence, he gave it in charge to the *Allobroges* to ſupply them. *Cæſar*'s deſign, in ſending the *Helvetii* home, was, that their lands might not be left unoccupied, and the *Germans*, dwelling on the other ſide the *Rhine*, be thereby tempted to paſs over and take poſſeſſion of them; by which they would become neighbours to the *Allobroges*, and the *Roman* province in *Gaul*. The *Boii*, at the requeſt of the *Ædui* themſelves, who eſteemed them highly on account of their courage, were permitted to ſettle in the *Æduan* territories, where lands were aſſigned them, and they were, by degrees, admitted to all the rights and privileges of natives.

The war with the *Helvetii* being ended, Ambaſſadors from all parts of *Gaul*, men of principal conſideration in their ſeveral ſtates, waited upon *Cæſar* to congratulate his ſucceſs, which they ſaid, had been highly advantageous to *Gaul* in general, the *Helvetii* having left their own country with a view to make all the other ſtates tributary to them; and theſe Ambaſſadors requeſted, on the part of their conſtituents, "that they "might have his permiſſion to hold, on a day prefixed, a general aſſembly "of all the provinces of *Gaul*; there being ſome things, which they "wanted to propoſe to him, which concerned the whole nation in com-"mon." Their requeſt was granted; they fixed a day for the aſſembly; and they bound themſelves by an oath not to diſcloſe what ſhould be tranſacted there, but to ſuch perſons as ſhould be named for that purpoſe by general conſent.

Upon the riſing of the council, the ſame chiefs of the ſtate, who had come before to *Cæſar*, came again to him, and begged to be admitted

to

to confer with him in private, concerning matters that regarded their own and the common ſafety. *Cæſar* complying, they all threw themſelves at his feet, and with tears repreſented to him, that it was of no leſs importance to them to have their preſent deliberations kept ſecret, than to ſucceed in the petition they were going to make; becauſe, ſhould any diſcovery happen, they were in danger of being expoſed to the extremeſt cruelties. *Divitiacus*, the *Æduan*, in the name of the reſt, ſpoke thus:

" Two factions divide all *Gaul:* At the head of one are the *Ædui*; " of the other the *Arverni*. After a contention of many years between " theſe for the ſuperiority, the *Arverni*, in concert with the *Sequani*, came " at laſt to a reſolution of calling in the *Germans*: Of theſe fifteen thou- " ſand only came over the *Rhine* at firſt; but, finding *Gaul* an agreeable " and plentiful country, others ſoon followed, inſomuch that, at preſent, " there are no leſs than 120,000 of them here. The *Ædui* and their " dependants have frequently tried their ſtrength againſt them in battle, " but, by ſucceſſive defeats, have loſt all their nobles, ſenate, and cavalry. " Broken by theſe calamities, they, who formerly held the chief ſway in " *Gaul*, both by their own bravery and the favour and friendſhip of the " *Roman* People, are now reduced to the neceſſity of ſending ſome of the " principal men of their ſtate to the *Sequani*, to remain with them as " hoſtages; and of obliging themſelves by an oath, neither to demand " their hoſtages back, nor to implore the aſſiſtance of the *Roman* People, " nor to refuſe a perpetual ſubmiſſion to the dominion and authority of the " *Sequani*. I alone, of all the *Ædui*, refuſed to take the oath, or give my " children for hoſtages; and on that account I fled my country, and went " to *Rome* to implore the aſſiſtance of the Senate, as being the only man " in the ſtate who had not laid himſelf under the reſtraints of hoſtages and " an oath. After all, it has fared worſe with the Victorious *Sequani* than " with the vanquiſhed *Ædui*; becauſe *Arioviſtus* has ſeated himſelf in " their territory, ſeized *a third part* of their lands, the moſt fertile in *Gaul*, " and has lately ordered them to yield up another *third* to the *Harudes*, " who, to the number of 24,000, came over the *Rhine* a few months ago, " wanting habitations and a ſettlement. In a few years all the native *Gauls* " will be driven from their territories, and the *Germans* be tranſplanted " hither from the other ſide of the *Rhine*; our climate far excelling that of " their country, and our different ways of living not admitting a compari- " ſon.—*Arioviſtus* is a man of a ſavage, paſſionate, and tyrannical diſpoſi- " tion, whoſe government is no longer to be borne; and unleſs we find ſome " reſource in you and the People of *Rome*, the *Gauls* muſt, like the *Helve-* " *tians*, abandon their country, and ſeek ſome other ſettlement remote from " the *Germans*, wherever fortune ſhall point it out. Were theſe complaints " and repreſentations to come to the knowledge of *Arioviſtus*, I doubt " not but he would exerciſe the greateſt cruelties upon all the hoſtages in " his hands: But it will be eaſy for you, by your own authority, the dread

" of

" of the army you command, the fame of your late victory, and the terror " of the *Roman* name, to hinder any more *Germans* from coming over the " *Rhine*, and to defend *Gaul* from the inſults of *Arioviſtus*."

When *Divitiacus* had made an end of ſpeaking, all who were preſent began, with many tears, to implore *Cæſar*'s aid. He obſerved, that the *Sequani* alone did nothing of all this; but penſive, and with downcaſt looks, kept their eyes fixed on the ground. Wondering what might be the cauſe, he queſtioned them upon it. Still they made him no anſwer, but continued ſilent, as before, with the ſame air of dejection. When he had interrogated them ſeveral times, without being able to obtain one word in return, *Divitiacus*, the *Æduan*, reſumed the diſcourſe, and obſerved, " that the " condition of the *Sequani* was by much more deplorable and wretched " than that of the reſt of the *Gauls*; as they alone durſt not, even in ſe- " cret, complain of their wrongs, or apply any where for redreſs, and no " leſs dreaded the cruelty of *Arioviſtus* when abſent, than if actually pre- " ſent before their eyes: That the other ſtates had it ſtill in their power " to eſcape by flight; but the *Sequani*, who had received him into their " territories, and put him in poſſeſſion of all their towns, were expoſed to " ſuffer every kind of torment."

Cæſar encouraged the *Gauls*, and promiſed to have regard to their complaints; he told them he was in great hopes that, out of regard to him, and to the authority of the *Roman* People, *Arioviſtus* would put an end to his oppreſſions. Having returned this anſwer, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

Many urgent reaſons occurred upon this occaſion to *Cæſar*, why he ſhould conſider ſeriouſly of the grievances which the *Gauls* had complained of, and undertake their redreſs. He ſaw the *Ædui*, friends and allies of the People of *Rome*, held in ſubjection and ſervitude by the *Germans*, and compelled to give hoſtages to *Arioviſtus* and the *Sequani*; which, in the preſent flouriſhing ſtate of the *Roman* affairs, ſeemed highly diſhonourable both to himſelf and the Commonwealth. He ſaw it likewiſe of dangerous conſequence to ſuffer the *Germans* to accuſtom themſelves to come over the *Rhine* in great multitudes and ſettle in *Gaul*: For this fierce and ſavage people, having once poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole country, were but too likely, after the example of the *Cimbri* and *Teutoni*, to break into the *Roman* province, and thence advance even into *Italy*.

Theſe conſiderations induced *Cæſar* to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Arioviſtus* with the propoſal of an interview, and to deſire that he would appoint a place for it, in order to their conferring upon certain public affairs of the higheſt importance to them both. *Arioviſtus* anſwered, " That, if he had " wanted any thing of *Cæſar*, he would have gone to him in perſon; and " that *Cæſar*, if he had any buſineſs with him, muſt come to him: That " he could neither venture, without any army, into thoſe provinces of " *Gaul* where *Cæſar* commanded, nor bring an army into the field without

" great

" great trouble and expence. That he wondered extremely what buſineſs " either *Cæſar* or the People of *Rome* could have in that part of *Gaul* " which he had conquered."

On the report of this anſwer, *Cæſar* ſent another embaſſy, with commiſſion to ſpeak thus to the King: " Since you have ſo little ſenſe of the " great obligations you lie under to the *Roman* People and to *Cæſar*, in " whoſe Conſulſhip you were ſtiled King and friend by the Senate, as to " refuſe a conference with him, and decline treating of affairs that regard " the common intereſt, he ſends you the particulars of what he requires of " you: *Firſt, not to bring any more* Germans *over the* Rhine *into* Gaul. *In* " *the next place, to reſtore the hoſtages you have received form the* Ædui, " *and permit the* Sequani *likewiſe to reſtore the hoſtages given to them.* " *Laſtly, to forbear all injuries towards the* Ædui, *and neither make war* " *upon them nor upon their allies.* If you comply with theſe conditions, it " will eſtabliſh a perpetual amity between you and the *Roman* People: " But, if you do not comply, *Cæſar* will think himſelf bound to have re- " gard to the juſt complaints of the *Ædui*, and the other allies of *Rome* " in this country; the Senate having decreed, in the Conſulſhip of *M.* " *Meſſala* and *M. Piſo* [Y. of R. 692.] *that whoever ſhould have in charge* " *the province of* Gaul, *ſhould, ſo far as was conſiſtent with the intereſt of* " *the Republic, protect and defend them.*"

To this *Arioviſtus* ſent the following reply: " That, by the laws of war, " the conqueror had a right to impoſe what terms he pleaſed upon the " conquered: That the People of *Rome* did not govern the vanquiſhed by " the preſcriptions of other nations, but according to their own pleaſure: " That he did not intermeddle with their conqueſts, nor interrupt them in " the free enjoyment of their rights; nor ought they to concern themſelves " with what regarded him: That the *Ædui*, having tried the fortune of war, had been overcome and rendered tributary to him, and that " *Cæſar* would be highly unjuſt if he attempted to deprive him of his revenues, or to diminiſh them. That he was reſolved not to part with the " hoſtages which the *Ædui* had put into his hands; but would, nevertheleſs, engage, not to make war either upon him, or upon their allies, " provided they obſerved the treaty he had made with them, and readily " paid the tribute agreed upon: If otherwiſe, they would find the title of " *friends and allies of the People of Rome* of little advantage to them: That " as to *Cæſar's* menace of *not neglecting the complaints of the Ædui*, he " would have him to know, that none had ever entered into a war with " *Arioviſtus* but to their own deſtruction."

At the ſame time that *Cæſar* received this reply, Ambaſſadors arrived from the *Ædui* and *Treviri*; from the *Ædui*, to complain that the *Harudes*, who had lately come [from *Germany*] into *Gaul*, were plundering their territories, ſo that even by their ſubmiſſions and hoſtages they could not obtain peace of *Arioviſtus*; from the *Treviri*, to inform him

that

that a hundred cantons of the *Suevi*, headed by two brothers, were arrived upon the banks of the *Rhine*, with deſign to come over that river. *Cæſar*, deeply affected with this intelligence, determined to begin the war without delay: And fearing leſt this new band of *Suevi* ſhould ſtrengthen the forces of *Arioviſtus*, he advanced expeditiouſly towards the King, and the third day was informed, that he approached with all his forces to ſeize *Veſontio* *, the capital of the *Sequani*. *Cæſar* judged it by all means neceſſary to prevent him in this deſign, as the town was well fortified by nature, and ſtored with all ſorts of ammunition. Marching, therefore, day and night, without intermiſſion, he poſſeſſed himſelf of the place, and put a garriſon into it.

* Beſançon.

While he continued here a few days, to ſettle the affair of his convoys and ſupplies, a ſudden terror ſeized his whole army. It was occaſioned by the curioſity of his men, and the reports of the *Gauls*, who talked much of the prodigious ſtature of the *Germans*, their invincible courage, and wonderful ſkill in arms. The terror firſt began among certain young officers of the *Roman* army, who had voluntarily and gaily followed *Cæſar* into *Gaul*, and were but little acquained with military affairs. Some of theſe, under various pretences, deſired leave to return home; and others, though, out of ſhame, they ſeemed willing to continue in the camp, were not able to put on a chearful countenance, or to refrain from lamenting, with their companions, the dangers to which they fancied themſelves expoſed. Wills were made all over the camp, and the conſternation began to ſeize even the veteran ſoldiers, the Centurions, and the officers of the cavalry: Only, to avoid the reproach of cowardice, they ſaid, "it was not "the enemy they feared, but the narrow paſſes and foreſts that lay be- "tween them and *Arioviſtus*, and the difficulty they ſhould find in getting "proviſions." Some even intimated to *Cæſar*, that when he gave orders for marching, he would not be obeyed.

Cæſar hereupon called a council of war, and, having ſummoned thither all the Centurions of the army, ſpoke to them to the following effect: —— "*Arioviſtus*, during my Conſulſhip, earneſtly ſought the alliance of "the *Roman* People, why then ſhould any one imagine he will ſo raſhly "and haſtily depart from his engagements? On the contrary, ſo ſoon "as he comes to know my demands, and the reaſonable conditions I am "about to propoſe to him, he will, I am firmly perſuaded, be very far "from rejecting either my friendſhip or that of the *Roman* People. But "if, urged on by madneſs and rage, he ſhould reſolve upon war, what, "after all, have you to be afraid of? Why ſhould you diſtruſt either your "own courage or my conduct? You are to deal with enemies of whom, "in the memory of our fathers, trial has been already made. By our "victory over the *Teutoni* and *Cimbri*, the army itſelf acquired no leſs glory "than *Caius Marius*, the General who commanded it.—They are "the very ſame *Germans* with whom the *Helvetii*, though not a match

" for our army, have so often fought, and whom they have so often " vanquished. The defeat which the *Gauls* suffered, was rather by the " conduct and craft of the *Germans*, than by their superior bravery. But " though the King, by a stratagem, might baffle a rude and undisciplined " soldiery, he cannot hope to prevail by such means against a *Roman* army. " As to those who shelter their cowardice under the pretence of narrow " passes, and the difficulty of procuring provisions, it argues, I think, no " small presumption to betray such a distrust of their General's conduct, " or to prescribe to him what he ought to do. These things fall properly " under my care: The *Sequani*, *Luci* *, and *Lingones*, are to furnish me " with provisions: The corn is now ripe in the fields: As to the ways, " you yourselves will soon be judges of them.

* People of Lorraine, about Toul.

" I am not in the least disturbed by what is whispered about, *that the* " *army will not obey me*; for no General was ever so slighted by his soldiers, " when neither ill success, nor rapacious covetousness, nor other crimes, " had drawn that misfortune upon him: In all these respects I imagine " myself secure, as the whole course of my life bears witness to my inte- " grity; and my good fortune has shewn itself in the war against the " *Helvetii*. I am therefore resolved to execute, without delay, what I had " intended to put off a little longer. I shall give orders for decamping this " very night, three hours before day, that I may know as soon as possible, " whether honour and a sense of duty, or an ignominious cowardice, have " the ascendant in my army: Nay, should all the rest of the troops abandon " me, I will nevertheless march with *the Tenth Legion* alone, of whose fidelity " and courage I had not the least doubt, and who shall serve me for my " Prætorian guard." [*Cæsar* had always favoured and chiefly confided in this legion, remarkable for its intrepid bravery.]

This discourse made a wonderful change in the minds of all, and produced an uncommon alacrity, and eagerness for the war. *The tenth legion*, in particular, returned him thanks, by their Tribunes, for the favourable opinion he had expressed of them; and assured him of their readiness to follow him. Nor were the other legions less industrious, by their Tribunes and principal Centurions, to reconcile themselves to their General, protesting that they had never entertained either doubt or fear, nor had ever imagined that it belonged to them, but to him alone, to direct in matters of war. *Cæsar*, having accepted of their submission, and being informed by *Divitiacus* (in whom of all the *Gauls* he most confided) that, by taking a circuit of about forty miles, he might avoid the narrow passes, and lead his army through an open country, he set forward three hours after midnight, as he had said; and, after a march of seven days, understood by his scouts, that he was within four and twenty thousand paces of *Ariovistus*'s camp.

The King, informed of *Cæsar*'s arrival, sent Ambassadors to acquaint him, that, as they were come nearer to each other, he was willing to have

an interview with him, which he believed might now be without danger. *Cæſar* did not decline the propoſal, imagining that the *German*, now offering of his own accord what he had before refuſed, when requeſted, might perhaps be diſpoſed to hearken to reaſon. The fifth day after was appointed for the interview; and, in the interval, frequent deputations paſſed and repaſſed from one ſide to the other, to regulate the circumſtances and conditions of it. *Arioviſtus*, under pretence that he feared an ambuſh, demanded that *Cæſar* ſhould bring no infantry with him: Both he and the King were to be attended by their cavalry only. To this *Cæſar* conſented; yet, nor caring to truſt his ſafety to the *Gauls*, he diſmounted all the *Gallic* cavalry, and gave their horſes to the men of *the tenth legion*, that, in caſe of danger, he might have a guard on which he could rely.

In the midſt of a large plain, there was a riſing ground equally diſtant from both camps: At this place, by appointment, the conference was to be held. *Cæſar* ſtationed the legionary ſoldiers, whom he had converted into troopers, two hundred paces from the mount. *Arioviſtus* did the ſame with the *German* cavalry. The two Commanders advanced to meet one another, each accompanied by ten friends, or principal officers; for ſo *Arioviſtus* had deſired it might be. The conference was on horſeback. *Cæſar* began by reminding the King of his obligations to the Republic. "You have been ſtiled *friend* and *ally* by the Senate, and very "conſiderable preſents have been ſent you: Theſe honours, conferred by "the *Romans* on very few, and only for ſignal ſervices to the State, have "been beſtowed on you, not on account of any juſt claim you had to "them, but merely by my favour and the bounty of the Senate." He mentioned likewiſe the ancient alliance which had ſubſiſted between the *Romans* and *Ædui*, in whoſe favour the Senate had made many honourable decrees. He added: "The *Ædui* always held the firſt rank and autho-"rity in *Gaul*, even before their alliance with *Rome*; and it is the inva-"riable maxim of the *Roman* People, not only to defend their friends and "allies in the poſſeſſion of their juſt rights, but likewiſe to ſtudy the in-"creaſe of their honour, intereſt, and dignity: Therefore it can never be "ſuppoſed that they will ſubmit to ſee their friends ſtript of thoſe privi-"leges, which had belonged to them before the commencement of that "friendſhip." And he concluded with repeating the ſame demands which he had before made by his Ambaſſadors; *That the King ſhould not make war upon the* Ædui *or their allies; that he ſhould reſtore to them their hoſtages; and that, if he could not oblige the* Germans *to repaſs the* Rhine, *at leaſt he ſhould ſuffer no more of them to come into* Gaul.

Arioviſtus anſwered: "I croſſed the *Rhine*, not of my own motion, "but by invitation and intreaty from the *Gauls*. The great hopes and "expectations they gave me were my only inducement to quit my coun-"try: The ſettlements I have in *Gaul* were aſſigned to me by the *Gauls* "themſelves;

" themſelves; the hoſtages were voluntarily ſent; and the tribute I receive " is in conſequence of the rights of war: I did not make war upon the " *Gauls*, they made war upon me: Their ſeveral ſtates brought their " united forces againſt me; but I found means to vanquiſh and diſperſe " them: One battle ſufficed: If they are again reſolved to try the fortune " of war, I am prepared to receive them; but, if they chuſe peace, it " will be unjuſt in them to refuſe a tribute which they have hitherto vo- " luntarily paid. The friendſhip of the *Roman* People ought not to be a " detriment to me, but an honour and a ſecurity; I courted it in no other " view: But if, on account of my alliance with them, I muſt ſubmit to " loſe my tributes, and my rights over the people I have ſubdued, I am " no leſs willing to give up that alliance than I was ambitious to obtain it. " I have indeed brought over a multitude of *Germans* into *Gaul*, yet not " with any deſign of diſturbing the country, as appears by my not coming " but at the requeſt of the natives. My arrival in *Gaul* was prior to that " of the *Romans*, whoſe armies have never till now paſſed the boundaries " of their own provinces. What can they mean by coming into a coun- " try that belongs to me? why do they concern themſelves with a part " of *Gaul* that is no leſs my property than the province itſelf is theirs? " As to the pretence of alliance between the *Romans* and *Ædui*, I am not " ſo much a barbarian, or ſo wholly a ſtranger to the affairs of the world, " as not to know, that the *Ædui* neither aſſiſted the *Romans* in their late " war againſt the *Allobroges*, nor received any aſſiſtance from them in their " many conflicts with me and the *Sequani*. I have reaſon to be jealous of " your pretended regard for the *Ædui*, and have but too much reaſon to " ſuſpect, that the continuance of the *Roman* army in *Gaul* can be with " no other deſign than that of oppreſſing me. If you do not therefore " withdraw your troops out of theſe parts, I ſhall no longer look upon " you as a friend, but as an enemy. And I am well aſſured, that, ſhould " I happen to kill you in battle, I ſhould do a pleaſure to many of the " nobles and great men at *Rome*, who have explained themſelves to me " by couriers, and whoſe favour and friendſhip I might procure by your " death: But if you will retire, and leave me in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion " of *Gaul*, I will not only amply reward you, but will engage, at my own " coſt and hazard, to put a happy concluſion to any war you ſhall think " fit to undertake."

In anſwer to this diſcourſe, *Cæſar* offered many reaſons why he could not depart from his firſt demands: " That neither his own honour, " nor that of the *Roman* People, would ſuffer him to abandon allies, who " had deſerved ſo well of the Republic. That it no way appeared to him, " that *Arioviſtus* had a juſter claim to *Gaul* than the *Romans:* That " the *Arverni* and *Ruteni* † had been ſubdued by *Q. Fabius Maximus*; " who yet, contented with their ſubmiſſion, had neither reduced their " country into a province, nor ſubjected it to a tribute: That if antiquity

† La Rou- ergue.

" of title was to decide the queſtion, the *Romans* had an undoubted right " to the ſovereignty of *Gaul:* Or, if the decree of the Senate was to take " place, *Gaul* muſt remain free, and ſubject only to its own laws.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed at the interview, *Cæſar* was informed that *Arioviſtus*'s cavalry were drawing nearer the eminence, and had even caſt ſome darts at his horſemen. Hereupon he immediately broke off the conference, retreated to his own men, and ſtrictly charged them to forbear all acts of hoſtility. He did not fear the ſucceſs of an engagement between his choſen legion and the *German* cavalry; but he was deſirous to maintain a conduct perfectly clear, and not give the enemy the leaſt ground to aſſert, that they had been treacherouſly drawn into an ambuſh by a pretended conference. When it was known in the camp that *Arioviſtus*, at the interview, had haughtily ordered the *Romans* to depart out of *Gaul*; that his cavalry had inſulted *Cæſar*'s guard; and that this had put an end to the conference; it ſpread throughout the whole army an ardent deſire of coming to a battle.

Two day after, *Arioviſtus* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, to propoſe a renewal of the negociation; and that he would either appoint a day for their meeting again, or depute ſome one to bring the treaty to a concluſion. *Cæſar* ſaw no reaſon for granting a ſecond interview, eſpecially when he conſidered that the *Germans*, as experience had taught him, could not be reſtrained from falling upon his men. Neither was he inclined to ſend any of his principal officers; it ſeemed too great a venture, to expoſe them to the perfidy of theſe barbarians. He therefore caſt his eyes upon *C. Valerius Procilius*[a], a young man of eminent virtue and gentle manners, and whoſe knowledge of the *Gallic* language, which *Arioviſtus*, by long reſidence in the country had learnt to ſpeak readily, fitted him in a particular manner for this embaſſy: And as the *Germans* could have no motive to inſult him, *Cæſar* thought him ſafe from that danger. With him was joined, in the ſame commiſſion, *M. Mettius*, a perſon who had a connexion with *Arioviſtus* by the ties of hoſpitality. Their inſtructions were, to hear the King's propoſals, and bring a report of them to *Cæſar*. But no ſooner were they arrived in *Arioviſtus*'s camp, than, in preſence of the whole army, calling out to know their buſineſs, and whether they were come as ſpies, he commanded them to be put in irons, without ſuffering them to make any reply.

The ſame day he came forward with all his forces, and lodged himſelf under a hill, ſix miles from the *Roman* camp. The day after, he went two miles beyond it, to cut off their communication with the *Ædui* and *Sequani*, from whom they received all their proviſions. *Cæſar*, for five days ſucceſſively, drew up his men in order of battle before the camp, that, if *Arioviſtus* had a mind, he might not be without an opportunity

[a] He was the ſon of *C. Valerius Caburus*, who, being made free of the City by *C. Valerius Flaccus*, had, according to cuſtom, taken the name of his Patron.

of

of coming to an engagement. The *Germans* kept all that time within their lines; only between the cavalry of the two armies there were daily ſkirmiſhes. The *German* manner of fighting was this: They had about ſix thouſand horſe, who choſe a like number out of the foot, each his man, and all remarkable for ſtrength and agility. Theſe continually accompanied them in battle, and ſerved as a rear-guard, to which, when hard preſſed, they might retire: If the action became dangerous, theſe advanced to their relief: If any horſeman was wounded, and fell from his horſe, theſe gathered round to defend him: If ſpeed was required, either for a haſty purſuit or ſudden retreat, ſo nimble and active were they by continual exercife, that, laying hold of the manes of the horſes, they could keep pace with them in running.

Cæſar, finding that *Arioviſtus* declined a battle, turned his thoughts chiefly to provide for the freedom of his convoys. With this view he marked out a place for a camp, ſix hundred paces beyond that of the enemy; and thither he marched with his whole army, drawn up in three lines. The firſt and ſecond line had orders to continue under arms, while the third was to employ themſelves in fortifying this new camp. *Arioviſtus* detached ſixteen thouſand light-armed foot, and all his horſe, to hinder the work, but without effect: The intrenchments were finiſhed, and *Cæſar*, leaving two legions there, with part of the auxiliaries, led back the remaining four to his other camp. The next day, drawing out all his troops from both camps, he again offered the enemy battle, which *Arioviſtus* ſtill declined: *Cæſar* retired about noon. *Arioviſtus* then detached part of his forces to attack the leſſer camp. A ſharp conflict enſued, which laſted till ſun-ſet: when *Arioviſtus* ſounded a retreat. *Cæſar* enquiring of the priſoners, why *Arioviſtus* declined an engagement, learnt, that it was the cuſtom among the *Germans* for the women to decide by lots and divination, when it would be proper to hazard a battle: And that theſe had declared, that the army could not be victorious if they fought before the new moon.

Cæſar hereupon reſolved to force the enemy, without delay, to a battle: At the head of all his forces, in three lines, he advanced quite up to the head of their camp. The *Germans* now appeared before their intrenchment: They were diſtributed by nations, and diſpoſed at equal diſtances one from another, and the whole army encompaſſed with a line of carriages, to take away all hope of ſafety by flight. The women, mounted upon theſe carriages, weeping and tearing their hair, conjured the ſoldiers, as they moved forwards, not to ſuffer them to become ſlaves to the *Romans*. *Cæſar* began the battle in perſon at the head of his right wing, having obſerved the enemy to be weakeſt on that ſide. Their left wing was ſoon routed and put to flight, but their right had the advantage, and were like to overpower the *Roman* left wing by numbers. Young *Craſſus*, who commanded the cavalry, obſerving this, made the

third line advance to ſupport them. The battle was renewed, and the enemy every where put to the rout: Nor did they ceaſe their flight till they had reached the banks of the *Rhine*, about fifty miles diſtant from the place of combat. There only a few eſcaped: ſome by ſwimming, others by boats. Of the latter was *Arioviſtus*, who, embarking in a ſmall veſſel which he found by the edge of the river, got ſafe to the other ſide. All the reſt were cut to pieces by the *Roman* cavalry. *Arioviſtus* had two wives; one a *Sueve*, whom he had brought with him from *Germany*, the other a *Norican*, King *Vocion*'s ſiſter, whom he had married in *Gaul*. Both periſhed in this flight. Of his two daughters, one was killed, and the other taken priſoner. *Procillus*, whom, bound with a triple chain, his keepers had dragged after them in their flight, fell in with *Cæſar* in perſon as he was purſuing the *German* cavalry. *Cæſar*'s joy for his victory was exceedingly heightened by his good fortune in recovering, out of the hands of the enemy, his intimate and familiar friend, univerſally eſteemed for his probity. *Procillus* told him, that lots had been thrice drawn in his own preſence, to decide whether he ſhould be burnt alive upon the ſpot, or the execution be deferred to another time; and that the lot, three times favourable, had preſerved his life. *Mettius* was likewiſe recovered and brought to *Cæſar*.

This battle being reported beyond the *Rhine*, the *Suevi*, who were advanced as far as the banks of that river, thought it adviſeable to return to their own country; but, retreating in diſorder and confuſion, were attacked by the *Ubii*, a people bordering upon the *Rhine*, who put many of them to the ſword.

Cæſar, having thus, in one campaign, given a happy concluſion to two very conſiderable wars, went into winter-quarters ſomewhat ſooner than the ſeaſon of the year required. He diſtributed his army among the *Sequani*, and, leaving *Labienus* to command in his abſence, ſet out for *Ciſalpine-Gaul*, to preſide in the aſſembly of the ſtates.

In the winter, whilſt *Cæſar* was in that country, he was alarmed by frequent reports, confirmed by letters from *Labienus*, that all the *Belgæ* * had joined in a league againſt the *Roman* Republic, and ratified it by an exchange of hoſtages.

J. C. Comm. lib. II.

* The people of the Netherlands.

The cauſes of this confederacy were: Firſt, their fear, leſt the *Romans*, having ſubdued all the reſt of *Gaul*, ſhould afterwards turn their arms againſt *them*: In the next place, the perſuaſions and importunity of ſome among the *Celtæ*; many of whom, as they had greatly diſliked the neighbourhood of the *Germans* in *Gaul*, ſo were they no leſs diſpleaſed to ſee a *Roman* army take up its winter-quarters, and grow habitual, in the country; Others from a levity and inconſtancy of temper, fond of every project that tended to a revolution. Laſtly, ſome were influenced by ambitious views; it being uſual in *Gaul* for thoſe who were the moſt powerful in their ſeveral ſtates, and had men and money at command, to exerciſe

over their fellow-ſubjects a kind of ſovereignty, which they foreſaw would be greatly checked by the authority and credit of the *Romans* in *Gaul*.

[Year of *Rome* 696 *.]

Cæſar, upon receiving theſe meſſages and reports, levied two new legions in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and early in the ſpring ſent *Q. Pedius*, his Lieutenant, to conduct them over the *Alps*; and he himſelf, as ſoon as there began to be forage in the fields, went to the army. He commiſſioned the *Senones* † and other *Gauls*, who bordered on *Belgic Gaul*, to inform themſelves of the motions and deſigns of the confederates, and ſend him from time to time an exact account. They all agreed in reporting, that the *Belgæ* were levying troops, and drawing their forces to a general rendezvous. Whereupon *Cæſar*, thinking he ought no longer to delay marching againſt them, decamped, and in fifteen days arrived on the confines of the *Belgæ*.

† The people of Sens.

As his approach was ſudden, and much earlier than had been expected, the *Rhemi* ‡, who of all the *Belgæ* lay the neareſt to *Celtic Gaul*, diſpatched the two principal men of their ſtate to repreſent to *Cæſar*: "That they "put themſelves and fortunes under the power and protection of the "*Romans*, as having neither approved of the deſigns of the reſt of the "*Belgæ*, nor had any ſhare in their confederacy againſt the People of "*Rome*: That, on the contrary, they were ready to give hoſtages, execute "his commands, receive him into their towns, and furniſh him with "corn, and other proviſions for his army: That indeed the reſt of the "*Belgæ* were all in arms, and that the *Germans*, on this ſide the *Rhine*, "had aſſociated with them: Nay, that ſo univerſal was the infatuation, "that the *Rhemi* had not been able to diſſuade from entering into the "confederacy the *Sueſſones*, a people united to them by the neareſt ties "of blood and friendſhip, both being ſubject to the ſame laws, living "under the ſame form of government, and acknowledging one common "Magiſtrate."

‡ The people of Rheims.

Cæſar learnt from the *Rhemi*, that the *Belgæ* were for the moſt part *Germans* originally, who, inticed by the fertility of the country, had croſſed the *Rhine*, driven out the ancient inhabitants of that part of *Gaul*, and ſettled themſelves there.—That, as to their numbers, the *Bellovaci*, the moſt conſiderable of the ſeveral ſtates, were able to muſter 100,000 fighting men, and out of that number had promiſed to ſelect 60,000 for the war: That next to them in dignity were the *Sueſſones*, over whom, of late years, *Divitiacus*, the moſt powerful prince of *Gaul*, had been King; but that their preſent ſovereign was *Galba*, whoſe ſingular prudence and juſtice had procured him, by the conſent of all the confederates, the ſupreme command of the war: That theſe had within their territories twelve fortified towns, and had promiſed to bring into the field 50,000

The people of Beauvais.

The people of Soiſſons.

men:

* *Cn. Corn. Lentulus Spinther*, and *Q. Metellus Nepos*, Conſuls.

men: That the like number had been ſtipulated by the *Nervii*[b], eſteemed the moſt fierce and warlike of all the *Belgic* nations; and that the leſſer ſtates were to furniſh troops proportionably.

Cæſar, exhorting the *Rhemi* to continue firm in their alliance, and promiſing amply to reward their fidelity, ordered the whole body of their Senate to repair to his camp, and the ſons of the principal nobility to be brought him as hoſtages; all which was accordingly performed by the day appointed. He then addreſſed himſelf to *Divitiacus*, the *Æduan*, repreſenting, in the warmeſt manner, of what conſequence it was to the common cauſe to divide the forces of the enemy, that the *Romans* might not be under the neceſſity of encountering ſo great a mulitude at once. This diviſion, he told him, might eaſily be effected, if the *Ædui* would march their forces into the country of the *Bellovaci*, and begin to plunder it and lay it waſte. With theſe inſtructions he diſmiſſed him.

Being ſoon after informed by his ſcouts and by the *Rhemi*, that the united forces of the *Belgæ* were marching towards him in a body, and that they were even advanced within a few miles, he, with all the expedition he could paſſed his army over the *Axona*, which divides the *Rhemi* from the reſt of the *Belgæ*, and encamped on the farther ſide of it; putting himſelf in ſuch a ſituation as to ſecure all behind him, cover one ſide of his camp with a river, and render the communication with the *Rhemi*, and thoſe other ſtates whence he expected to be ſupplied with proviſions, ſafe and eaſy.

The Aiſne.

Bievre, between Pont a Vere and Laon.

The *Belgæ*, having been diſappointed in an attempt upon *Bibrax*, a town belonging to the *Rhemi*, and likewiſe in an attempt to paſs the *Axona*; and finding that proviſions began to be ſcarce, and that the *Romans* could not be drawn to fight at a diſadvantage, called a council of war. It was there judged moſt expedient to ſeparate, and return every man to his own country, with a reſolution, however, to aſſemble from all parts in defence of that ſtate whoſe territories ſhould be firſt invaded by the *Romans*: For they concluded it much ſafer to carry on the war at home, where they might have proviſions, and every thing at command, than venture a battle within the confines of a foreign ſtate. Theſe reaſons were at the ſame time backed by a ſtill more powerful conſideration: For the *Bellovaci*, upon advice that their territories would quickly be invaded by *Divitiacus* and the *Ædui*, could not be reſtrained from marching directly homewards.

[b] The *Nervii* poſſeſſed the country between the *Scheld* and the *Sambre*. Their chief cities are thought to have been *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, and *Tournay*. The *Atrebates* (people of *Artois*) were to furniſh 15,000: The *Ambiani* (people of *Amiens*) 10,000: The *Morini* (people of *Terouane* and *Boulogne*) 25,000: The *Menapii* (people of *Ghent*, *Antwerp*, and the ſea-coaſt of *Brabant*) 9000: The *Caletes* (people of *Caux*) 10,000: The *Velocaſſes* and *Veromandui* (people of *Vexin* and *St. Quentin*) the like number: The *Aduatici* (people of *Namur*) 29,000: And the *Condruſi*, *Eburones*, *Cæræſi*, and *Pæmani*, all comprehended under the common name of *Germans*, 40,000.

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In purſuance of the reſolution above-mentioned, the *Belgæ* broke up their camp about the ſecond watch of the night. All was noiſe and tumult: Not regarding either order in their march or the command of their officers, each man preſſed to be in the foremoſt rank, that he might get the ſooner home; inſomuch that their retreat had all the appearance of a precipitate flight. *Cæſar*, who had immediate notice of this from his ſcouts, apprehending ſome ſtratagem, becauſe he knew not yet the reaſon of their departure, would not ſtir out of his trenches in the night: But early in the morning, upon more certain intelligence of their retreat, detached his Lieutenants, *Pedius* and *Cotta*, with all the cavalry, after them. *Labienus* had orders to follow with three legions. The enemy ſuffered a great ſlaughter in their flight, the *Romans* little or no loſs. The latter, about ſun-ſet, gave over the purſuit, and returned to the camp, in obedience to the orders they had received.

The next day, before the enemy had time to rally, or recover out of their conſternation, *Cæſar* led his army into the territories of the *Sueſſones*, which joined to thoſe of the *Rhemi*, and, after a long march, reached *Noviodunum*. He was in hopes of carrying the town by aſſault, as being deſtitute of a ſufficient garriſon: But, as the ditch was broad, and the wall very high, the defendants, though few in number, withſtood all his efforts. Wherefore, having fortified his camp, he began to provide engines, and get every thing in readineſs for a ſiege. Mean time, ſuch of the *Sueſſones* as had eſcaped the late ſlaughter, threw themſelves, during the night, into the town. But *Cæſar* advancing his preparations with great expedition, and approaching, under cover of his mantlets, to the very walls, where he caſt up a mount, and planted his battering towers, the *Gauls*, aſtoniſhed at the greatneſs of the works, as having never ſeen nor heard of any ſuch before, and at the diſpatch wherewith they were carried on, ſent deputies to treat about a ſurrendry; and the *Rhemi* interceded for them. Noyon.

Cæſar, having received the principal men of the *Sueſſones* as hoſtages (amongſt whom were two ſons of *Galba* the King) and obliged them to deliver up all their arms, admitted them to a ſurrendry, and led his army againſt the *Bellovaci*. Theſe, retiring with their effects into *Bratuſpantium* *, their capital city, and, underſtanding that *Cæſar* was advanced within five miles of it, ſent a deputation of their old men, who came forth in venerable proceſſion to meet him, ſignifying by outſtretched hands, and the moſt ſubmiſſive terms, that they put themſelves under his power and protection, and did not pretend to appear in arms againſt the People of *Rome*: And when he approached nearer the city, and encamped within view of the walls, the women and children from the ramparts, with extended arms, according to the cuſtom of their country, beſought the *Romans* for peace. Hereupon *Divitiacus*, who, after the retreat of the *Belgæ*, had diſmiſſed the *Ædui*, and returned to *Cæſar*'s camp, interpoſed

* Beauvais.

poſed in behalf of the *Bellovaci*, pleading: "That they had always lived "in ſtrict friendſhip with the *Ædui*, and, by the artful inſinuations of "their chiefs, had been ſeduced to forſake their ancient allies, and take "up arms againſt the *Romans*, whom they had repreſented as holding the "*Ædui* under an ignominious tyranny and oppreſſion: That the authors "of that advice ſeeing its pernicious effects, were retired into *Britain*." *Cæſar*, out of regard to *Divitiacus* and the *Ædui*, promiſed pardon and protection to the *Bellovaci*; but as theſe were poſſeſſed of very extenſive territories, and ſurpaſſed in power, and number of forces, all the other *Belgic* ſtates, he demanded ſix hundred hoſtages.

Theſe being accordingly delivered, together with all their arms, *Cæſar* left their city and advanced into the country of the *Ambiani* *, who, upon his approach, immediately ſubmitted. Adjoining to theſe were the *Nervii* †; of whoſe manners and genius *Cæſar*, enquiring, learnt: "That they "ſuffered no reſort of merchants into their city, nor the importation of "wine, or of any thing tending to luxury, which, they thought, enfeebled "the mind, and extinguiſhed its martial fire: That they were men of a "warlike ſpirit, and were continually reproaching the reſt of the *Belgæ* "for ignominiouſly ſubmitting to the *Roman* yoke; and had openly decla-"red their reſolution of neither ſending Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, nor accept-"ing any terms of peace."

* People of Amiens.

† People of Cambreſis.

Cæſar, after a march of three days through their territories, underſtood from ſome priſoners: "That he was now advanced within ten miles of the "*Sambre*, on the other ſide of which the enemy had poſted themſelves, "and there waited the coming of the *Romans*: That they had been joined "by the *Atrebates* ‡ and *Veromandui* ‖, neighbouring nations, whom they "had perſuaded to take part in the fortune of the war: That they ex-"pected alſo to be reinforced by the *Aduatici*, who were already on their "march: And that all their women, and ſuch as, on account of age, were "unfit to bear arms, had been conveyed to a place of ſafety, inacceſſible "by reaſon of the marſhes that ſurrounded it." The two armies poſted themſelves on two hills, oppoſite to each other, the *Sambre* running between, which was not, in that part, above three feet in depth.

‡ People of Artois.

‖ People of Vermandois, a part of Picardy.

The battle which enſued was bravely and reſolutely fought on both ſides, and with great variety of fortune: Each army poſſeſſed itſelf of the enemy's camp: The *Roman* cavalry were once broken and put to flight: The twelfth and the ſeventh legions reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs: Nor was there any body of reſerve from which they could expect ſuccour. In this extremity, *Cæſar*, ſnatching a buckler from one of the ſoldiers, and, preſſing to the front of the battle, called upon the Centurions by name, and encouraged the reſt. His arrival inſpired the legionaries with new hope; and, every one being ambitious of diſtinguiſhing himſelf in the preſence of his General, they redoubled their efforts, and checked the progreſs of the enemy. In the mean time, two new-raiſed legions, that had been

been placed in the rear of the *Roman* army, and been appointed to follow and guard the baggage, hearing of the battle, advanced with all poſſible ſpeed: And *Labienus*, who had made himſelf maſter of the enemy's camp, obſerving from the hill on which that ſtood, how matters went with *Cæſar*, detached the *tenth legion* to his aſſiſtance.

The arrival of this detachment produced ſo great a change in favour of the *Romans*, that many of the ſoldiers, who, before lay oppreſſed with wounds, now reſuming courage, renewed the fight: Nay, the very ſervants of the camp, unarmed as they were, obſerving the conſternation of the enemy, ruſhed among their armed battalions. The cavalry too, ſtriving by extraordinary efforts, to wipe off the ignominy of their late flight, charged the enemy in all places where the void ſpaces between the legions ſuffered them to advance. Mean time, the *Nervii*, now very hard preſſed, exerted themſelves with ſuch determined courage, that, their front ranks being cut off, thoſe who ſtood behind mounted the bodies of the ſlain, and thence continued the fight: And when theſe too, by their fall, had raiſed a mount of carcaſes, thoſe who remained, aſcending the pile, poured their javelins upon the *Romans* as from a rampart, and even returned the darts thrown at them by their enemies. Fame therefore (ſays *Cæſar*) did not deceive in proclaiming ſo loudly the bravery of this people.

In a battle, maintained with ſuch obſtinacy, the loſs of the vanquiſhed muſt neceſſarily be prodigious: The very name and nation of the *Nervii* were in a manner quite extinguiſhed: The old men, who, with the women and children (as above related) had been conveyed into a place ſurrounded with bogs and moraſſes, upon the report of this terrible overthrow, reſolved, with the conſent of all that ſurvived the late deſtruction, to ſend a deputation to *Cæſar*, and ſurrender themſelves. Theſe deputies, in reciting the calamities of their country, repreſented, that of ſix hundred Senators there remained only three; and that from ſixty thouſand fighting men their ſoldiers were reduced to five hundred. *Cæſar* readily took them under his protection, allowing them free and full poſſeſſion of their towns and territories, and ſtrictly commanding all the neighbouring nations to abſtain from doing them any injury.

The *Aduatici*[c], of whom mention has been made above, being upon their march with all their forces to join the *Nervii*, and hearing of their total defeat, immediately returned home; and then abandoning all their other towns and caſtles, conveyed themſelves and their riches into a place which nature had ſtrongly fortified: For it was on every ſide ſurrounded with high rocks and precipices, having only one avenue of about two

[c] This people were deſcended from the *Teutoni* and *Cimbri*, who, in their march towards the *Alps* and *Italy*, left their heavy baggage on this ſide the *Rhine*, with a detachment of ſix thouſand men to guard it. Theſe, after the final overthrow of their countrymen, being for many years in wars with the neighbouring ſtates; ſometimes acting on the offenſive, ſometimes on the defenſive; at length, with the conſent of all the bordering nations, obtained peace, and ſettled themſelves in this place.

hundred feet broad, that led to the town by a gentle riſing. Here they raiſed a double wall of prodigious height, whereon, as a farther ſecurity, they laid great numbers of huge ſtones and ſtrong-pointed beams.

On the firſt arrival of the *Roman* army before the town, the inhabitants made frequent ſallies from it, and engaged the beſiegers in ſlight ſkirmiſhes. But *Cæſar* having drawn a line of contravallation twelve feet high, fifteen miles in circumference, and every where well fortified with redoubts, they kept themſelves within their walls. When the *Romans* had finiſhed their approaches, and caſt up a mount, and were preparing a tower of aſſault behind their works, the beſieged from their battlements at firſt derided them, and in contemptuous language aſked the meaning of that prodigious engine raiſed at ſuch a diſtance! With what hands or ſtrength, men of the ſize and make of the *Romans* (whoſe ſmall ſtature the *Gauls*, who were for the moſt part very tall, deſpiſed) could hope to bring forward ſo unwieldy a machine againſt their walls? But when they ſaw it removed, and approaching near the town, aſtoniſhed at the new and ſtrange appearance, they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* to ſue for peace. Theſe, being introduced, told him, "That they doubted not but the *Romans* were aſſiſted in their "wars by the Gods themſelves; it ſeeming a more than human taſk to "tranſport, with ſuch facility, an engine of that amazing height, by which "they were brought upon a level with their enemies, and enabled to en-"gage them in cloſe fight. That they therefore put themſelves and their "fortunes into his hands, requeſting only, that if his clemency, of which "they had heard much, ſhould determine him to ſpare them, he would "not deprive them of their arms: That the neighbouring nations were "almoſt all their enemies, againſt whom they could not defend themſelves "if their arms were taken away; and that they would chuſe to undergo "any fortune from the hands of the *Romans*, rather than expoſe themſelves "to be cruelly ſlaughtered by thoſe, over whom they had been wont to "exerciſe dominion."

To this *Cæſar* anſwered, "That, to conform himſelf to his uſual conduct "on ſuch occaſions, and not for any merit of theirs, he was willing to grant "them peace, provided they ſubmitted before the battering-ram touched "the walls; but that no ſurrendry would be accepted, unleſs they deli-"vered up their arms: That he would take the ſame care of them as he "had before done of the *Nervii*, and lay his expreſs commands upon the "neighbouring nations to abſtain from all injuries towards a people who "had put themſelves under the protection of the *Romans*." The Ambaſſadors returning with this anſwer, their countrymen accepted, in appearance, the conditions offered them; and threw ſo vaſt a quantity of arms into the ditch before the town, that the heap almoſt reached to the top of the wall. Nevertheleſs, as was afterwads known, they retained about a third part, and concealed them within the town. The gates being thrown open, there was peace for the remaning part of that day.

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In the evening, *Cæſar* ordered the gates to be ſhut, and his ſoldiers to quit the town, that no injury might be offered to the inhabitants during the night. The *Aduatici*, imagining that the *Romans*, after the ſurrendry of the place, would either ſet no guard at all, or, at moſt, keep watch with little care, armed themſelves partly with thoſe weapons they had ſecretly retained, and partly with targets, made of bark or wicker, and covered over haſtily with hides, and made a furious ſally about midnight with all their forces, on that ſide where the *Roman* works ſeemed to be of eaſieſt acceſs. The alarm being immediately given by lighting fires, as *Cæſar* had directed, the ſoldiers ran from the neighbouring forts to the place of action. A very ſharp conflict enſued. For the enemy now driven to deſpair, and having no hope but in their valour, fought with all poſſible reſolution; though the *Romans* had the advantage of the ground, and poured their javelins upon them both from the towers and the top of the rampart. About four thouſand were ſlain upon the ſpot; the reſt retired into the town. Next day the gates were forced, no one offering to make the leaſt reſiſtance, and the army having taken poſſeſſion of the place, the inhabitants, to the number of fifty-three thouſand, were ſold for ſlaves.

About the ſame time *Publius Craſſus*, whom *Cæſar* had ſent with a legion againſt the *Veneti* *, and ſix other neighbouring ſtates [4], inhabiting the ſea-coaſt, diſpatched meſſengers to acquaint him, that all thoſe ſtates had ſubmitted to the dominion of the *Romans*. * The people of Vannes.

The campaign being ended, and all the provinces of *Gaul* ſubdued, ſuch was the opinion conceived of this war among the Barbarians round about, that even the nations beyond the *Rhine* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, offering to give hoſtages, and ſubmit to his commands: But he, being then in haſte to return to *Italy* and *Illyricum*, ordered them to attend him next ſpring. Having put his army into winter-quarters, in the territories of the *Andes*, *Turones*, and *Carnutes*, which ſtates lay neareſt to the provinces that had been the ſeat of the war, he himſelf ſet out for *Italy*. The people of Anjou, Touraine, and Chartrain.

The Senate, informed by letter from *Cæſar* of his ſucceſſes, decreed a thankſgiving of *fifteen days*, a number never granted before to any General [5].

Cæſar, upon his departure for *Italy*, ſent *Sergius Galba*, with the twelfth legion, againſt the *Nantuates* [6], *Veragri*, and *Seduni*, whoſe territories extended from the confines of the *Allobroges*, the lake *Lemanus*, and the river *Rhone*, to the top of the *Alps*. His deſign, in this expedition, was to open a free paſſage over thoſe mountains for the *Roman* merchants, J. C. Comm. lib. iv.

[4] The *Unelli*, *Oſiſmii*, *Curioſolytæ*, *Seſuvii*, *Aulerci*, and *Rhedones*. The exact ſituation of theſe is unknown.

[5] *Pompey* was the firſt General to whoſe honour ſo many as ten days had been decreed. *Vid. ſupra*, p. 271.

[6] The *Nantuates* are ſaid to have been the ancient inhabitants of that part of *Savoye* now called *Lechablais*. The chief town of the *Veragri*, was *Aquanum*, now *St. Maurice*. The capital of the *Seduni* was *Sion* in *Switzerland*.

who had hitherto travelled them with great danger, and ſubject to many grievous exactions. *Galba* executed his commiſſion, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral forts, received Ambaſſadors from the nations all around, and, having ſettled the terms of peace with them, received hoſtages for their fidelity. Having quartered two cohorts among the *Nantuates*, he himſelf, with the reſt of the troops, took up his winter-quarters in a town of the *Veragri*, called *Octodurus*. It was ſituated in the midſt of a valley, upon a plain of no great extent, and bounded on all ſides with very high mountains.

As the city was divided into two parts by a river, he left one to the *Gauls*, and aſſigned the other to his ſoldiers, commanding them to fortify it with a ditch and rampart. After many days ſpent here, he was ſuddenly informed, that the *Gauls* had abandoned, in the night, that part of the city which had been allotted to them; and that the impending mountains were covered with the *Viragri* and *Seduni*. Upon this intelligence, *Galba*, who had neither completed the fortifications of his camp, nor laid in a ſufficient ſtore of corn and other proviſions, as little apprehending an inſurrection of this kind among the people who had ſubmitted and given hoſtages, ſpeedily aſſembled a council of war: The danger was imminent and unexpected; there was no room to hope for ſuccours, or for ſupplies of proviſion, the enemy being in poſſeſſion of all the avenues to the camp. Some of the council, thinking the caſe deſperate, declared for abandoning the baggage, and attempting by a ſally to recover their old quarters: But the greater number were for reſerving this expedient to the laſt extremity, and in the mean time defending the camp in the beſt manner they could. It was not long before the enemy came ruſhing down upon them from all parts, and began the aſſault with a ſhower of ſtones and darts. When the battle had laſted upwards of ſix hours without intermiſſion, the *Romans* not only found their ſtrength greatly exhauſted, but even began to be in want of weapons wherewith to annoy the enemy. The *Gauls*, on the other hand, urged the combat with greater fury than ever; and, meeting with but a faint reſiſtance, fell to demoliſhing the rampart, and filling up the ditch. All was giving way before them, when *P. Sextius Baculus*, a Centurion of the firſt rank, and higheſt reputation for courage, who had received many wounds in the battle againſt the *Nervii*; as likewiſe *Voluſenus*, a man equally diſtinguiſhed for his conduct and his bravery, came to *Galba*, and repreſented to him that the only expedient now left was to make a ſudden ſally, and put all upon the iſſue of one bold attack. Accordingly *Galba*, calling the Centurions together, directed them immediately to ſignify to the ſoldiers, that they ſhould for ſome time keep only upon the defenſive, and when they had a little recovered their ſtrength, and furniſhed themſelves with the weapons thrown at them by the enemy, upon a ſignal given, to ſally out of the camp, and place all their hopes of ſafety in their valour. The orders were punctually obeyed: The *Romans*, ruſhing

ruſhing furiouſly upon the enemy, gave them no time either to comprehend the meaning of ſo unexpected an attack, or to recover out of the confuſion into which it threw them: And thus fortune changed ſides. Of thirty thouſand fighting men, who had been engaged in the aſſault, more than 10,000 periſhed upon the ſpot: The reſt fled in terror and confuſion. *Galba*, ſeeing the enemy entirely diſperſed, quitted the purſuit and retired within his intrenchments. The next day, unwilling to expoſe himſelf a ſecond time to the inconſtancy of fortune, and being in great want of corn and forage, ſet fire to the town, and began his march back into the province. As there was no enemy in the field to moleſt or oppoſe him in his rerreat, he brought the legion ſafe into the country of the *Nantuates*, and thence into the territories of the *Allobroges*, where he put them into winter-quarters.

The inſurrection being thus entirely quelled, *Cæſar*, who believed that tranquillity was now re-eſtabliſhed in *Gaul* (the *Belgæ* being ſubdued, the *Germans* expelled, and the inhabitants of the *Alps* compelled to ſubmit) made a journey, in the beginning of the winter, into *Illyricum*; when all on a ſudden a new war broke out in *Celtic Gaul*. The occaſion of it was this: The ſeventh legion, commanded by young *Craſſus*, had been quartered among the *Andes*, a people bordering upon the ocean. As there was a great ſcarcity of corn in thoſe parts, *Craſſus* ſent ſome officers of the cavalry to ſolicit a ſupply from the neighbouring ſtates. Of theſe ſtates the *Veneti* were by far the moſt powerful, not only on account of their abundant ſhipping, wherewith they drove a mighty traffic to *Britain*, but becauſe moſt of the nations that trade on thoſe ſeas were tributaries to them. They began to revolt by detaining the officers ſent to them by *Craſſus*, hoping, by this means, to recover the hoſtages put into his hands. The neighburing ſtates, moved by their example and authority, (as the *Gauls* are in general very ſudden and forward in their reſolves) detained, for the ſame reaſon, the officers ſent to them, and ſpeedily diſpatching embaſſies from one to another, entered into a ſtrict confederacy for ſupporting the common cauſe; earneſtly ſoliciting, at the ſame time, the inland provinces to riſe in defence of that liberty they had received from their anceſtors, and not tamely ſubmit to the ignominious yoke of the *Romans*. All the ſtates upon the ſea-coaſt coming readily into his alliance, they jointly ſent Ambaſſadors to *Craſſus* to acquaint him, that he muſt firſt reſtore to them their hoſtages, if he expected to have his officers reſtored to him.

Cæſar, receiving intelligence of theſe things from *Craſſus*, and being then at a great diſtance from *Gaul*, ſent orders for building a great number of gallies upon their *Loire*, and for drawing together, from the province, mariners, rowers, and pilots. Theſe orders were executed with good diſpatch; and he himſelf, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year permitted, went to the army.

[Year of *Rome* 697 [g].]

The *Veneti* and their allies, not ignorant of the greatneſs of their crime, in detaining and loading with irons, Ambaſſadors, a name ever looked upon, among all nations, as ſacred and inviolable, made preparations in proportion to the danger that threatened them. The natural ſituation of their country gave them confident hopes of being able to defend themſelves: For the paſſes by land were every where cut aſunder by many friths and arms of the ſea; and the approach by ſea was not leſs difficult on account of the ſmall number of harbours, the little knowledge the *Romans*, accuſtomed only to the navigation of the *Mediterranean*, had of the art of governing ſhips on the ocean, and their total ignorance of the coaſt. Neither did the *Veneti* believe it practicable for the *Roman* army to continue long in that country, by reaſon of the great ſcarcity of corn; and they had a mighty confidence in the ſtrength and number of their ſhipping.

Cæſar, to reſtrain thoſe of the *Gauls* who had not yet declared themſelves, and to hinder the confederates [h] from uniting their forces into one army, divided his troops, and diſperſed them into different parts of *Gaul*. He ſent *Labienus* towards *Treves* with a body of cavalry. *P. Craſſus*, at the head of twelve legionary cohorts, paſſed the *Garonne*, and entered into *Aquitain*, to prevent the enemies receiving any ſupplies from that quarter. Another of his Lieutenants, *Titurius Sabinus*, with three legions, found employment for the people who inhabited the coaſts of *Baſſebretagne*, and of *Normandy*, as far as *Liſieux*. To *D. Brutus* was given the command of the fleet, and *Cæſar* himſelf conducted the land forces.

Moſt of the enemies towns were built upon promontories, and points of land, whoſe feet were waſhed by the ſea at high water, and left dry at ebb: So that neither his land forces nor his ſhips could ſtay long before them.

Cæſar, duly conſidering this, perceived plainly, that he ſhould never be able to reduce the *Veneti* but by a naval battle. He reſolved therefore to wait for his fleet. His fleet arrived; and the enemy did not delay to come out of their ports to fight. Full of confidence in their naval ſtrength and ſkill, they, with 220 tall veſſels, fell furiouſly upon the *Romans*. The conſtruction of their ſhips, which were much higher than the *Romans* galleys, gave the *Gauls* a conſiderable advantage in throwing their darts; and the *Romans* ſuffered much at firſt from this circumſtance. But *Cæſar* had fortunately provided a great number of ſharp crooked ſcythes, like thoſe that were uſed in ſieges. With theſe, fixed to the end

[g] *Cn. Corn. Lentulus Marcellinus*, and *L. Marcius Philippus*, Conſuls.

[h] *Cæſar* tells us, that the *Veneti* brought into their alliance the *Oſiſmii*, *Lexovii*, *Nannetes*, *Ambiani*, *Morini*, *Diabliutes*, and *Menapii*; and diſpatched Ambaſſadors into *Britain*, which lies over-againſt their coaſt, to ſolicit aſſiſtance from thence.

of

of long poles, the *Romans*, laying hold of the tackle of the enemy's veſſels, towed them away by force of rowing; then, cutting the cables, the main-yards fell down, whereby the enemy, who relied on their ſails and rigging, were at once deprived of the uſe of them: And now, the diſpute depending wholly on courage and manhood, the *Roman* ſoldiers, who fought under the eye of their General, and of a vaſt number of witneſſes (for all the hills that looked upon the ſea were covered with ſpectators) eaſily obtained the victory.

The *Veneti*, obſerving that the *Romans* had already boarded and made themſelves maſters of a great part of their fleet, began to think of providing for the ſafety of the reſt by flight. Accordingly they tacked about to run before the wind: But all on a ſudden there enſued ſo dead a calm, that not a veſſel could ſtir out of its place; and then the *Romans* took them with great eaſe. After a conflict that had laſted from nine in the morning, a very few eſcaped under favour of the night.

This victory put an end to the war with the *Veneti*; for they had loſt the whole body of their youth, as well as the moſt eminent men among them for rank or authority, and all their naval ſtrength. Thoſe who ſurvived this defeat, having no reſource left, ſurrendered themſelves to *Cæſar*'s mercy; who thought it neceſſary to proceed againſt them with ſeverity, that he might impreſs upon the minds of the *Gauls* for the future a proper regard to the ſacred character of Ambaſſadors. He condemned therefore all their Senators to death, and ſold the people for ſlaves.

The arms of *Cæſar* proſpered on every ſide. At the ſame time that he vanquiſhed the *Veneti*, *Titurius Sabinus* obtained a great victory over the united forces of the *Unelli*, *Eburovices*, and *Lexovii* †. The two laſt mentioned nations were ſo furiouſly bent upon the war, that the maſſacred their Senate for oppoſing it. After this cruel execution, they joined their troops to thoſe of the *Unelli*, whoſe conductor *Viridovix* was recognized for Generaliſſimo of the army of the three nations. Under his command they advanced againſt the *Romans*, and, approaching near their camp, defied them to battle. *Sabinus* pretended fear, kept cloſe within his intrenchments, and, by means of a pretended deſerter, deceived the enemy into a belief that he was the next night to ſteal privately out of his camp, in order to go to the ſuccour of his General, much diſtreſſed by the *Veneti*. By this ſtratagem he drew the *Gauls* to attack him in his camp, which was upon an eminence. Mounting it with precipitation, they arrived quite out of breath. *Sabinus* inſtantly cauſed all his troops to ſally out upon them by two gates at once. The aſſailants, not able to ſupport the very firſt ſhock, took to flight; the *Roman* cavalry purſued them, and almoſt finiſhed the deſtruction of that numerous army.

† Inhabitants of Coutance, Evreux, and Liſieux.

Much about the ſame time, *P. Craſſus* arrived in *Aquitain*. Having made due proviſion of corn, raiſed ſome cavalry, aſſembled his auxiliary troops, and ſtrengthened his army with a ſelect body of volunteers from

Toloufe, *Carcaſſon*, and *Narbonne*, ſtates in that part of the *Roman* province that lies neareſt to *Aquitain*, he advanced with all his forces to the territories of the *Sotiates* *. *Craſſus*, with great ſlaughter, put them to the rout, and preſently after inveſted their capital. They made a brave reſiſtance for ſome time; but finding that the *Romans* would ſurmount all the difficulties that could be thrown in their way, they ſent to *Craſſus*, requeſting that they might be admitted to a ſurrendry.

* Inhabiting the country about Ante.

The defeat of the *Sotiates*, and the reduction of their city, routed the other ſtates of *Aquitain* to unite themſelves againſt the conqueror: And they procured aſſiſtance from the *Spaniards* their neighbours. *Craſſus* attacked them in their camp, and of fifty thouſand men, of which their ſtrength conſiſted, ſcarce a fourth part eſcaped being cut in pieces. The fruit of this victory was the ſubmiſſion of all *Aquitain*.

[This was the laſt ſervice performed by *P. Craſſus* in the war of *Gaul*; for, with *Cæſar*'s permiſſion, he went ſoon after to *Rome*, and the next year into *Aſia*, taking with him a thouſand *Gallic* horſe, to aſſiſt his father in his expedition againſt the *Parthians*.]

When *Cæſar* had finiſhed the war againſt the *Veneti*, the ſeaſon was far advanced: Nevertheleſs, as the *Morini* [i] and *Menapii*, who were ſituated in the northern part of *Gaul*, and who, though they had entered into the league which was juſt diſſolved, had taken no ſtep yet to ſhew their ſubmiſſion to the *Romans*, Cæſar, *who thought nothing done, while there remained any thing to do* [k], marched againſt them in order to finiſh his conqueſt. At his approach they retired, with all their effects, into the woods and moraſſes, with which their country abounded, hoping to find there a ſafe ſhelter. But *Cæſar* reſolved to lay low thoſe immenſe foreſts; and with the trees which he cut down he made a kind of rampart to cover the flanks of his army againſt any ſudden incurſions of the Barbarians. He had made a conſiderable progreſs in this work, when, the bad weather coming on, and the continual rains requiring that he ſhould find ſome ſhelter for his army, neceſſity compelled him to leave his conqueſt incomplete. Having ravaged the country and burnt the villages, he retired, and diſtributed his troops into winter-quarters in the territories of the *Aulerci-Eburovices*, *Lexovii*, and the other newly ſubdued ſtates [l].

[Year of Rome 698.]

J. C. Com. lib. IV.

THE next year [when *Pompey* and *Craſſus* were Conſuls] a great body of the *Uſipetes* and *Tenchtheri*, *German* nations, paſſed the *Rhine*, not far from its mouth. The hoſtilities of their neighbours the *Suevi*, who had for many years harraſſed them with continual wars, and hindered

[i] The *Morini* probably inhabited the ſea-coaſt from the *Somme* to the *Scheld*: The *Menapii*, both banks of ſome part of the lower *Rhine*.

Nil actum credens, dum quid ſupereſſet agendum. *Lucan.* ii. 657.

[l] For what paſſed at *Rome* this year, 697, in relation to *Cæſar*, ſee above, p. 484, 485, and 487.

them

them from cultivating their lands, were the cauſe of their making this emigration.

The *Suevi*, by far the moſt warlike and conſiderable of all the *Germans*, were divided into a hundred cantons, each of which uſed to ſend yearly into the field a thouſand armed men. The reſt, who continued in their ſeveral diſtricts, employed themſelves in cultivating the lands. Theſe huſbandmen became the next year ſoldiers, and were ſucceeded in the care of the lands by the troops that had ſerved the year before. Thus they lived in the continual exerciſe of agriculture and war alternately. In the diſtribution of the lands, no ſuch thing was allowed among them as property or private poſſeſſion, their reſidence in any place being confined to one year. They had little trade, having nothing to ſell but ſpoils taken in war. They ſuffered no wine to be imported into their territories, as thinking that it both enervated the mind, and unfitted the body for exerciſe and labour.

Having tried the ſtrength of their neighbours, the *Ubii*, in many wars, they found them too numerous and potent to be diſpoſſeſſed of their territories; yet they prevailed ſo far as to impoſe a tribute upon them, and very much reduce their power.

But the *Uſipetes* and *Tenchtheri*, before mentioned, after many years reſiſtance, were at length totally driven out of their poſſeſſions by the *Suevi*. Having wandered over many regions of *Germany* during the ſpace of three years, they arrived at laſt upon the banks of the *Rhine*, where the *Menapii* had houſes, lands, and villages, on both ſides the river. Theſe, alarmed at the approach of ſo prodigious a multitude (for they were not an army, but two nations, who marched in a body, men, women, and children, to the number of above 430,000) they abandoned all their habitations on the right bank of the *Rhine*, and, retiring to the left ſide, diſpoſed their troops in a proper manner, to hinder the paſſage of their invaders. The *Germans* tried every expedient; and finding they could neither force a paſſage, becauſe of their want of ſhipping, nor ſteal over privately, by reaſon of the ſtrict watch kept by the *Menapii*, had recourſe to ſtratagem. They gave out, that they would, without delay, go back to their own country; and, to gain credit to this report, they, in fact, thitherward made a three-days march. The *Menapii* were deceived. Such of them as had dwelt on the farther bank of the *Rhine* returned to their habitations, ſecure and fearleſs of danger. Surprized by the *German* cavalry, who in one night recovered the whole ground of the three days march, they were all put to the ſword: And the *Germans*, having ſeized the ſhipping before the *Menapii* on this ſide had intelligence of their approach, paſſed the river, took poſſeſſion of towns and villages, and ſupported themſelves the reſt of the winter with the proviſions there found.

Cæſar, informed of theſe things, and dreading the levity of the *Gauls*, who were very changeable in their councils, and fond of novelties, made

all the haſte he could to join his army. Upon his arrival he found that things were fallen out exactly as he had apprehended: Some of the ſtates of *Gaul* had ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Germans*, inviting them to leave the banks of the *Rhine*, and aſſuring them that all their demands ſhould be readily complied with. The *Germans*, allured by theſe hopes, had already penetrated into the territories of the *Eburones* and *Condruſi*, both which nations were under the protection of the *Treviri* †. *Cæſar* aſſembled the chiefs of the *Gauls*, diſſembled his knowledge of their ſecret deſigns, and by ſoft words endeavoured to confirm them in their alliance with the people of *Rome:* He then demanded of them a certain number of horſe, and prepared to march againſt the *Germans*.

The people about Liege and Namur.
† People of Treves.

When he came within a few days march of their camp, Ambaſſadors arrived from them, who addreſſed him in words to the following effect: "The *Germans* have no deſign of beginning a war with the People of "*Rome*; they are come into theſe parts againſt their own nation, having "been forcibly driven from their former dwellings. If the *Romans* are "diſpoſed to accept of their friendſhip, they will reſt ſatisfied with the "quiet poſſeſſion of thoſe lands they have already conquered, or with "ſuch as the *Romans* ſhall think proper to aſſign them: In bravery they "yield to the *Suevi* alone, for whom the immortal Gods themſelves are "not an equal match."

Cæſar made ſuch reply as beſt ſuited his preſent views: But the concluſion of his ſpeech was of the following purport: "That he could enter "into no treaty of friendſhip with them, ſo long as they continued in *Gaul:* "That men unable to defend their own territories were not likely to make "conqueſts in other countries: That there were no uncultivated lands in "*Gaul*, ſufficient for ſo great a multitude, without invading the properties "of others: But that, if they pleaſed, they might incorporate themſelves "with the *Ubii*, whoſe Ambaſſadors were then in his camp to complain "of the injuries done them by the *Suevi*, and requeſt his aid againſt their "encroachments: And this he promiſed to obtain for them from the *Ubii*." The Ambaſſadors replied, "That they would report to their countrymen "what he had ſaid, and in three days return with an anſwer; requeſting "that in the mean time he would not advance with his army."

But this *Cæſar* refuſed, as knowing that, a few days before, they had ſent a great body of cavalry over the *Meuſe*, to forage and plunder in the territories of the *Ambivariti* ‡. He thence concluded, that they aſked for delay, becauſe they waited the return of that party. *Cæſar* therefore ſtill advanced. When within twelve miles of the enemy, he was met by the Ambaſſadors on the day appointed: They were very earneſt in their requeſt that he would advance no farther; but not being able to prevail, intreated him that he would reſtrain the cavalry of his advanced guard from doing any act of hoſtility: And in the mean time permit them to ſend Ambaſſadors to the *Ubii*; from whoſe Senate and Magiſtrates if they could

‡ Probably the people of Liege and Bouillon.

obtain

obtain, under the ſanction of a ſolemn oath, the conditions propoſed by *Cæſar*, they declared themſelves ready to accept them: Only they deſired, that he would allow them the ſpace of three days to bring matters to a final iſſue. *Cæſar* believed that they had no other view in what they ſaid, than to gain time till their cavalry ſhould arrive: He told them, nevertheleſs, that, for the ſake of water, he would that day advance four miles, and no farther, but deſired that their chiefs would attend him the day after to acquaint him with their demands. In the mean time he ſent orders to the officers of his cavalry not to attack the enemy: and, in caſe they ſhould be attacked themſelves, only to maintain their ground till he ſhould come up with the reſt of the army.

But the *Germans*, though their cavalry did not exceed eight hundred, by reaſon of the abſence of thoſe who had been ſent to forage, yet, ſeeing the *Roman* horſe advance without caution, fell ſuddenly upon them. Theſe amounted to five thouſand, but having no apprehenſion of an attack, becauſe they knew that the *German* Ambaſſadors had been with *Cæſar* a little before, and had obtained a day's truce, were eaſily thrown into diſorder and put to flight. The *Romans* loſt ſeventy-four men[m]. And now

Tom. III. p. 506.

[m] "This battle," ſays M. *Crevier*, "is of "very great importance, on account of the "circumſtance of its being fought at a time "when there was a negotiation actually on "foot between *Cæſar* and the *Germans*. By "whom the hoſtility was begun, and conſe- "quently upon whom the reproach of perfidy "ought to fall, is a problem, that labours "under ſome difficulty." *Cæſar* threw the "fault upon the Barbarians: But ſeveral per- "ſons at *Rome* were perſuaded, that it was he "who had violated the faith of the negotia- "tion: And when the Senate were decreeing "him honours for his exploits in this cam- "paign, *Cato* gave it as his opinion, that "*Cæſar ſhould be delivered up to the Germans*; "to the end that he alone might ſuffer the "puniſhment of his breach of faith, and the "Commonwealth not be anſwerable for it to "Gods or men.

"It is difficult to decide upon a point *ſo* "*obſcure*, and concerning which *the intereſt* of "*Cæſar*, on one hand, leſſens the weight of "his evidence; and *hatred* and *partiallity*, on "the other, may have carried *Cato* beyond "due bounds. It is known that *Cæſar* was "not ſcrupulous in morals" [for he was too much addicted to gallantry] "but his pro- "ceedings were frank and generous, at leaſt "outwardly ſo; and how little care ſoever "he took to have truth and juſtice really on "his ſide, he always affected to have the ap- "pearances of them. *It muſt, nevertheleſs*, "*be allowed, that appearances are not for him* "*here. It is not probable, that eight hundred* "*horſemen ſhould think of attacking five thou-* "*ſand.*" Surely it is leſs probable, that eight hundred horſe ſhould *beat* five thouſand, unleſs the latter were "ſurprized and unpre- "pared (as *Cæſar* ſays they were) becauſe "truſting to the truce granted at the enemy's "requeſt." M. *Crevier* proceeds: "And "what ſeems to prove the good faith of the "*Germans* is, that, the day after the battle, "they ſent their deputies again to *Cæſar*, to "make apologies, and to continue the nego- "tiation." If they were perfidious in attack- ing the *Roman* cavalry, it is no wonder that *Cæſar* ſhewed no regard to their apology, but conſidered them as no leſs perfidious in their newdeputation. But, with relation to the notable advice ſaid to have been given by *Cato* to the Senate, what evidence is there of the fact, *that* Cato *did deliver that opinion?* It is ſufficiently warranted? Who is the hiſtorian that records it? *Plutarch*, the only writer we have who mentions the matter, gives us *Tanuſius Geminus for his authority*. And who was this *Tanuſius* or *Tamuſius?* (He is cited by *Suetonius* for ſeveral tales of the ſlanderous kind, that carry

thither, and of whom he enquired, could neither tell him what was the extent of the iſland, nor what was the ſtrength of the nations that inhabited it, nor their ſkill in war, nor what harbours they had, fit to receive large ſhips. For which reaſon, before he embarked, he thought proper to ſend *C. Voluſenus* with a galley, to get ſome knowledge of theſe things; commanding him to return with all expedition, when he had informed himſelf as fully as opportunity would allow. *Cæſar* himſelf marched with his whole army into the territories of the *Morini*; becauſe thence was the neareſt paſſage into *Britain*. Here he ordered a great many ſhips from the neighbouring ports to attend him, and the fleet which he had made uſe of the year before in his war with the *Veneti*.

Mean while the *Britons*, having notice of his deſign by the merchants that reſorted to their iſland, Ambaſſadors from many of their ſtates came to him, with an offer of hoſtages, and ſummiſſion to the authority of the People of *Rome*. To theſe Ambaſſadors he gave a favourable audience, and, exhorting them to continue in the ſame mind, ſent them back into their own country. With them he diſpatched *Comius*, whom he had conſtituted King of the *Atrebates*, a man, in whoſe virtue, wiſdom, and fidelity, he greatly confided, and whoſe authority in the iſland was very conſiderable. To him he gave it in charge to viſit as many ſtates as he could, and perſuade them to enter into an alliance with the *Romans*; letting them know, at the ſame time, that *Cæſar* deſigned, as ſoon as poſſible, to come over in perſon into their iſland.

Voluſenus, having taken a view of the country, ſo far as it was poſſible for a man who was reſolved not to quit his ſhip, or truſt himſelf in the hands of the Barbarians, returned on the fifth day, and acquainted *Cæſar* with his diſcoveries.

While *Cæſar* continued in the country of the *Morini*, for the ſake of getting ready his fleet, deputies arrived from almoſt all their cantons, to excuſe their late war with the People of *Rome*, and to promiſe an entire ſummiſſion for the future. This fell out very opportunely; becauſe a war with theſe people would have obliged him to poſtpone his expedition into *Britain*. He therefore ordered them to ſend him a great number of hoſtages; and, on their compliance, received them into his friendſhip. Having got together about eighty tranſports, he thought theſe would be ſufficient for carrying over two legions. His galleys he diſtributed to his Quæſtor, Lieutenants, and chief officers of the navy. Eighteen veſſels, which he had appointed to tranſport his cavalry, were detained by contrary winds at a port about eight miles off. The reſt of the army, under the command of *Titurius Sabinus* and *L. Aurunculeius Cotta*, were ſent againſt the *Menapii*, and thoſe cantons of the *Morini*, which had not ſubmitted. *P. Sulpicius Rufus* had the charge of the harbour where he embarked, with a ſtrong garriſon to maintain it.

Things

Things being in this manner ſettled, and the wind ſpringing up fair, *Cæſar* weighed anchor about midnight, ordering the cavalry to embark at the other port, and follow him. About nine in the morning he himſelf, with a part of the fleet, reached the coaſt of *Britain*, where he ſaw all the cliffs covered with the enemies forces. From thoſe cliffs it was eaſy for them to pour down their javelins upon the *Romans*. Not thinking this, therefore, a convenient landing-place, he caſt anchor at three in the afternoon, purpoſing to wait the arrival of the reſt of his fleet. Mean while, having called the Lieutenants and military Tribunes together, he informed them of what he had learnt from *Voluſenus*; inſtructed them in the part they were to act; and particularly exhorted them to do every thing with readineſs and upon a ſignal given, agreeably to the rules of military diſcipline; expedition and diſpatch being more eſpecially requiſite in ſea-affairs, becauſe of all the moſt liable to ſudden changes. Having diſmiſſed them, and finding both the wind and weather favourable, he made the ſignal for weighing anchor, and, after ſailing about eight miles farther, he arrived at a ſmooth open ſhore. Cliffs of Dover. D. of

But the Barbarians, perceiving his deſign, had ſent before them their cavalry, and their chariots, ſuch as they commonly made uſe of in battle; and, following with the reſt of their forces, endeavoured to oppoſe his landing. And indeed the difficulty of effecting it was great on many accounts: For the *Roman* ſhips drew ſo much water, that they could not come very near the ſhore; and it was a painful ſervice for the ſoldiers, loaded with a weight of armour, and unacquainted with the place, to leap from the ſhips, and, wading breaſt-high through the waves, encounter an enemy; who, ſtanding upon dry ground, or advancing only a little way into the water, had the free uſe of their arms; and, knowing perfectly the ground, could alſo boldly ſpur on their horſes againſt the invaders. All theſe circumſtances ſpread a terror among the *Romans*, wholly ſtrangers to this way of fighting, they ſhewed not their wonted alacrity, and chearful readineſs to advance againſt the enemy. *Cæſar*, obſerving this, ordered ſome of his galleys, which drew leſs water than his tranſports, to draw nearer the ſhore, and endeavour, by ſhowers of darts from the engines * which they carried, to drive the enemy to ſome diſtance. This proved of conſiderable ſervice to them: For the ſurprize occaſioned by the make of the galleys, the motion of the oars, and the playing of the engines, made the Barbarians halt, and preſently after begin to give back. But the *Roman* ſoldiers ſtill demurring to leap into the ſea, chiefly becauſe of the depth of the water in thoſe parts, the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion, having firſt invoked the Gods for ſucceſs, cried out aloud: "Follow me, fellow-ſoldiers, "unleſs you will betray the *Roman* eagle into the hands of the enemy: "For my part, I am reſolved to diſcharge my duty to *Cæſar* and the "Commonwealth." Inſtantly he jumped into the ſea, advanced with the eagle, and was followed by all that were in the ſhip: Which being

* Balistæ.

perceived by thoſe in the other veſſels, they alſo did the like, and boldly approached the enemy.

The *Britons* defended themſelves with reſolution; nor were the *Romans* able to get firm footing till *Cæſar* ordered ſome ſmall boats to be manned with recruits, and go to the aſſiſtance of the foremoſt ranks; by which means they were ſoon enabled to put the enemy to the rout. But, as the cavalry were not yet arrived, *Cæſar* could not purſue the runaways, nor advance far into the iſland.

The vanquiſhed, ſoon after their defeat, diſpatched Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* to ſue for peace, offering hoſtages and an intire ſubmiſſion to his commands. With theſe Ambaſſadors came *Comius*, whom *Cæſar* (as above related) had ſent before him into *Britain*. The natives had ſeized him as ſoon as he landed, and, though charged with a commiſſion from *Cæſar*, thrown him into irons. Upon the late defeat, they thought proper to releaſe him and ſend him back; caſting the blame upon the multitude. *Cæſar*, after ſome reproaches for having begun the war againſt him after they had ſent Ambaſſadors to him into *Gaul* to ſue for peace, at length told them he would forgive their fault; and commanded them to ſend a certain number of hoſtages. Part were delivered immediately, and the reſt, as living at ſome diſtance, they promiſed to ſend in a few days. In the mean time they diſbanded their troops; and the ſeveral chiefs came to *Cæſar*'s camp, to negotiate their own concerns and thoſe of the ſtates to which they belonged: A peace being thus concluded four days after *Cæſar*'s arrival in *Britain*.

The eighteen tranſports appointed to carry the calvary, of whom we
* P. 624. have ſpoken above *, put to ſea with a gentle gale: But, when they had ſo near approached the coaſt as to be within view of the camp, ſo violent a ſtorm all on a ſudden aroſe, that, being unable to hold on their courſe, ſome were obliged to return to the port whence they ſet out, and others driven to the farther end of the iſland weſtward, not without great danger. There they caſt anchor: But the waves riſing very high, ſo as to fill the ſhips with water, they were again, in the night, obliged to ſtand out to ſea, and make for the continent of *Gaul*. That very night it happened to be full moon, when the tides upon the ſea-coaſt always riſe higheſt, a thing, in thoſe days, wholly unknown to the *Romans*. Thus, at one and the ſame time, the galleys, which *Cæſar* had cauſed to be drawn up on the ſtrand, and the tranſports that were at anchor in the road, were raiſed up, toſſed about, and beat to pieces by the tempeſtuous waves. Nor was it poſſible to attempt any thing for their preſervation. This diſaſter ſpread a general conſternation through the camp: For there were no other ſhips to carry back the troops, nor any materials to repair thoſe that had been diſabled by the tempeſt. And, as it had been all along *Cæſar*'s deſign to winter in *Gaul*, he was wholly without corn to ſubſiſt the troops.

All

All this being known among the *Britiſh* chiefs, who, after the battle had repaired (as was juſt now ſaid) to *Cæſar*'s camp, they began to hold conferences among themſelves. They plainly ſaw that the *Romans* were deſtitute of cavalry, ſhipping, and corn; and judged, from the ſmallneſs of their camp, that the number of their troops was but inconſiderable; in which notion they were the more confirmed, becauſe *Cæſar*, having brought over the legions without baggage, had occaſion to incloſe but a ſmall ſpot of ground. They thought therefore they had now a fair opportunity to rid themſelves of the invaders, and effectually put a ſtop to all future attempts upon *Britain*. Having therefore entered into a confederacy, they gradually left the camp, and began to draw the plunderers together. But *Cæſar*, though he was not yet appriſed of their deſign, yet conjecturing their intention, from the diſaſter which had befallen his fleet, and the delays formed in relation to the hoſtages, made preparations accordingly. He ſent reapers every day into the field and ſtored his camp with corn. The timber of the ſhips that had been moſt damaged he ordered to be made uſe of in repairing the reſt, ſending to *Gaul* for what other materials he wanted. As the ſoldiers were indefatigable in this ſervice, his fleet was ſoon in a condition to ſail, being diminiſhed only by twelve ſhips. During theſe tranſactions, a cloud of duſt appeared ſuddenly on the ſide where the ſeventh legion was ſuppoſed to be foraging. As but one field remained unreaped, the enemy ſuſpected that the *Romans* would go thither to forage; and had therefore hid themſelves, during the night, in the woods, there waiting till the reapers had quitted their arms, and diſperſed themſelves for the work in hand: Then ſallying out on a ſudden they began to ſurround them with horſes and chariots. *Cæſar*, conjecturing how matters went, marched away with the cohorts that were upon guard, and ordered thoſe that were in the camp to follow him as ſoon as poſſible. He had gone but a little way, when he ſaw his men with great difficulty ſuſtaining the fight, being driven into a ſmall compaſs, and expoſed on all ſides to the darts of the aſſailants. Upon his approach the enemy made a ſtand, and the *Romans* recovered from their fear. However, *Cæſar*, not thinking it a proper time for a general engagement, ſtood a while facing the enemy, and then led back his legions to the camp. The continual rains that followed for ſome days, both kept the *Romans* within their intrenchment, and with-held the enemy from attacking them. Mean time the *Britons* diſpatched meſſengers into all parts to make known to their countrymen how favourable an opportunity they had of enriching themſelves with ſpoil, and of ſecuring themſelves for ever from all future invaſions, by forcing the camp of the *Romans*, whoſe number was very ſmall. By this means having drawn together a great body of horſe and foot, they boldly advanced towards the *Roman* intrenchments. *Cæſar* drew up his legions in order of battle before the camp, and gave the *Britons* ſo warm a reception, that they

preſently turned their backs and fled. He purſued them, with great ſlaughter, till his men were out of breath; and then returned to his camp. The *Britons*, diſheartened by the loſs they had ſuſtained, diſpatched Ambaſſadors the ſame day to ſue for peace; which *Cæſar* readily granted, upon their promiſing to ſend him over into *Gaul* double the number of hoſtages he had required before. His want of horſe, and the fear of expoſing his fleet to another ſtorm, if he ſtaid till the equinox, made him haſten his departure. The ſame night therefore, the wind proving favourable, he weighed anchor, and arrived ſafe in *Gaul*; whence he immediately wrote to the Senate, acquainting them with his exploits in *Britain*; for which a ſupplication, or general thankſgiving, was decreed *for twenty days*.[n].

The *Britons*, it would ſeem, were not much awed by *Cæſar*'s arms; for of all the ſtates who had promiſed to ſend him hoſtages, two only performed their engagements. He reſolved therefore to make a new deſcent the following ſpring with a more powerful fleet and army. With this view, before he returned to *Italy*, where he uſually paſſed a part of the winter, he ordered his Lieutenants to refit the old ſhips, and build as many new ones as they could.

When he had finiſhed what he had to do in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, he ſet out for *Illyricum*, upon advice that the *Piruſtæ*, a people of that country, were making devaſtations in the province [that is, in thoſe parts of *Illyricum* which recognized the *Roman* government.] When he arrived there, he ordered the ſeveral ſtates to furniſh their contingents, and appointed a place of general rendezvous. *Cæſar* was put to no other trouble than that of appearing in the country to compel the injurious Barbarians to give hoſtages, and make ſatisfaction for the damage they had done.

[Year of *Rome* 699 *.]

J. Cæſ. Comm. l. v. The order which *Cæſar* had left with his Lieutenants had been executed with ſuch diligence during his abſence, that, at his return into *Gaul*, he found ſix hundred tranſport ſhips, and twenty-eight galleys, ready to be launched in a few days. He ordered the whole fleet to rendezvous at port *Itius*, the iſland being there not above thirty miles diſtant from the continent: But becauſe the *Treviri* ſeemed diſpoſed to rebellion, having neither appeared at the general diets of *Gaul*, nor ſubmitted to the orders of the Republic, and were reported to have even ſolicited aſſiſtance from *Germany*, he marched into their territories with four legions and eight hundred horſe; being deſirous totally to quiet *Gaul* before he engaged in his enterprize againſt *Britain*. Two of the principal men of the *Treviri*, *Indutiomarus* and *Cingetorix*, were at this time competitors for the ſupreme authority. The latter, ſo ſoon as he heard of the arrival of

[n] See above, p. 494, and 500, for thoſe tranſactions at *Rome* of the year 698, wherein *Cæſar* was intereſted.

* *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and *App. Claudius Pulcher*, Conſuls.

Cæſar,

Cæſar, came to him and aſſured him, that he and all his party would continue firm to their duty. The other ſoon after ſubmitted, finding himſelf deſerted by ſome principal men of his own party. *Cæſar* exacted of him two hundred hoſtages, among whom were to be his ſon, and all his neareſt relations, ſpecified by name. *Indutiomarus* complied: Nevertheleſs, *Cæſar*, aſſembling all the principal men of *Treves*, reconciled them one after another to *Cingetorix*, thinking it of importance to eſtabliſh thoroughly the the authority of a man, of whoſe inviolable attachment he had received convincing proofs.

This affair being ſettled, *Cæſar* haſtened with his legions to port *Itius* [o], where he found four thouſand *Gallic* horſe, and all the prime nobility of the ſeveral ſtates aſſembled. *Cæſar*'s deſign was to leave behind him a few only of theſe nobles, on whoſe fidelity he could rely, and to take the reſt into *Britain* as hoſtages, in order to prevent any commotions in *Gaul* during his abſence.

Among thoſe whom he reſolved to carry away with him, was *Dumnorix* the *Æduan*; becauſe he knew him to be a lover of novelties, ambitious, enterprizing, and of great intereſt and authority among the *Gauls*. *Dumnorix* at firſt earneſtly requeſted to be left behind; ſometimes pre-

[o] *Calais* or *Boulogne*.

Midd. p. 494. "*Cæſar* was now upon his ſecond expedition into *Britain*, which raiſed much talk and expectation at *Rome*, and gave *Cicero no ſmall concern* for the ſafety of his brother, who, as one *of* Cæſar's *Lieutenants*, was to bear a conſiderable part in it. But the accounts which he received from the place ſoon eaſed him of his apprehenſions, by informing him, *that there was nothing either to fear or to hope for from the attempt; no danger from the people, no ſpoils from the country*. In a letter to *Atticus*: *We are in ſuſpence*, ſays he, *about the* Britiſh *war: It is certain that the acceſs of the iſland is ſtrongly fortified; and it is known alſo already, that there is not a grain of ſilver in it, nor any thing elſe but ſlaves; of whom you will ſcarce expect any, I dare ſay, ſkilled in muſic or letters.* In another to *Trebatius*: *I hear that there is not any gold or ſilver in the iſland: If ſo, you have nothing to do but to take one of their chariots and fly back to us.*

Quint. and Att. iv. 16.

Ep. Fam. vii. 7.

"From their railleries of this kind (ſays Dr. *Middleton*) one cannot help reflecting on the ſurprizing fate and revolutions of kingdoms: How *Rome*, once the miſtreſs of the world, the ſeat of arts, empire, and glory, *now* lies ſunk in ſloth, ignorance, and poverty; *enſlaved to the moſt cruel as well as to the moſt contemptible of tyrants, ſuperſtition and religious impoſture*: While this remote country, antiently the jeſt and contempt of the polite *Romans*, is become the happy ſeat of liberty, plenty, and letters, flouriſhing in all the arts and refinements of civil life; yet running, perhaps, the ſame courſe which *Rome* itſelf had run before it; from virtuous induſtry to wealth, from wealth to luxury, from luxury to an impatience of diſcipline and corruption of morals; till, by a total degeneracy and loſs of virtue, being grown ripe for deſtruction, it falls a prey at laſt to ſome hardy oppreſſor, and, with the loſs of liberty, loſing every thing elſe that is valuable, ſinks gradually again into its original barbariſm."

This reflection is undoubtedly very judicious, as far as it regards the danger to which our country, with reſpect to its liberties, is expoſed by the corruption of its morals: But who would not imagine that, in the opinion of the Author, *Ancient Rome was free from ſuperſtition and religious impoſture?* Who would imagine that the author had written a book with this title: *The religion of the preſent Romans derived from that of their Heathen Anceſtors?*

tending that he was unuſed to the ſea, and afraid of it; ſometimes, that religious engagements required him to ſtay at home: But, finding his reaſons had no weight with *Cæſar*, he began to cabal among the *Gallic* nobles, adviſing them not to leave the continent, and telling them that *Cæſar*'s intention was undoubtedly to deſtroy them all; but that, not daring to do it in their own country, he was carrying them into *Britain*, where he hoped to find a favourable opportunity of executing his cruel purpoſe.

Cæſar, though fully informed of theſe practices, yet, in conſideration of the *Ædui*, a nation for which he had a ſingular regard, ſatisfied himſelf with endeavouring to traverſe the deſigns of the malecontent; being determined, nevertheleſs, to continue inflexible, and to prefer the intereſt of the Commonwealth to every other conſideration. While detained at the port about five and twenty days, during which the North-weſt wind, very common on that coaſt, hindred him from ſailing, he ſtudied to keep *Dumnorix* in his duty by ways of gentleneſs and perſuaſion, not neglecting, however, to watch all his motions. At length, the wind ſpringing up fair, he ordered both horſe and foot to embark, as the execution of this order univerſally engaged the attention of the camp, *Dumnorix* ſeized the opportunity to draw off the *Æduan* cavalry; and he began his march homeward. *Cæſar* had early notice of it, inſtantly put a ſtop to the embarkation, and, poſtponing every other buſineſs, ſent out a ſtrong party of horſe to purſue the *Æduan*, and bring him back. Their orders were to kill him in caſe of diſobedience or reſiſtance. They overtook him; he refuſed to return, defended himſelf ſword in hand, and implored the aſſiſtance of his followers, often crying out to them, *that he was free, and the ſubject of a free ſtate.* The *Romans*, purſuant to the orders they had received, ſurrounded and ſlew him; upon which all the *Æduan* cavalry returned to *Cæſar*.

Cæſar's ſecond invaſion of Britain.

And now *Cæſar*, leaving *Labienus*, with three legions and two thouſand horſe to ſecure the port, provide corn, and have an eye upon the tranſactions of the continent, embarked on board his veſſels the ſame number of horſe, together with five legions; and, weighing anchor about ſun-ſet, arrived with his whole fleet, the next day by noon, on the *Britiſh* coaſt, where he landed without oppoſition, in the ſame place which he had found ſo convenient the year before. The *Britons* had aſſembled in vaſt multitudes to oppoſe his landing, as he afterwards underſtood by the priſoners; but, being terrified at the ſight of ſo numerous a fleet, which, with the veſſels that private perſons had provided for their own uſe, amounted to eight hundred and upward, had quitted the ſhore, and retired to the hills. *Cæſar* left ten cohorts and three hundred horſe to ſecure the fleet; and with the reſt marched in queſt of the enemy, whom, agreeably to the intelligence he had received, he found poſted on the farther ſide of a river *, about twelve miles from the place where he had landed. They made

* Suppoſed to be the Stour.

ſome efforts to hinder his paſſage, but were quickly driven from their poſt, and put to flight. However, the day being far ſpent, *Cæſar*, who was wholly unacquainted with the country, would not purſue them, but choſe to employ the reſt of the day in fortifying his camp.

Early the next morning he ſent out, in purſuit of the enemy, his troops both horſe and foot, divided into three bodies: Theſe were but juſt come within ſight of the *Britiſh* army, when they received orders from *Cæſar* to proceed no farther, but return to the camp. Some horſemen, diſpatched by Q. *Atrius*, had brought him word that, by a dreadful ſtorm in the night before, his fleet was in a manner deſtroyed. This made him haſten back to the ſea-ſide. Forty of his ſhips, he ſaw, were entirely loſt, and the reſt ſo damaged as to ſeem almoſt irreparable. Nevertheleſs he ſet all the carpenters of both the fleet and the army to work, and ſent over to *Gaul* for others, ordering, at the ſame time, *Labienus* to build as many ſhips as he could, by the labour of the legions that were with him. And, to prevent the like misfortune thereafter, he drew all his ſhips on ſhore, and encloſed them within the fortifications of his camp. This ſtupendous work was completed in ten days, the ſoldiers labouring the whole time without intermiſſion. The ſhips being thus ſecured, and the camp ſtrongly fortified, he left the ſame troops to guard it as before, and returned to the place where he had ceaſed the purſuit of the enemy.

Upon his arrival he found their numbers greatly increaſed, The chief command and adminiſtration of the war had, by common conſent, been conferred upon *Caſſibelanus*, King of the *Trinobantes* *, whoſe territories (ſays *Cæſar*) were divided from the maritime ſtates by the river *Thames*, at eighty miles diſtance from the ſea. This prince had hitherto been engaged in almoſt continual wars with his neighbours: But the terror, cauſed by the arrival of the *Romans*, making the *Britons* unite among themſelves, they intruſted him with the whole conduct of the war.

* The people of Middleſex and Eſſex.

The *Britons*, in the beginning, gained ſome ſlight advantage over the *Romans*, ſurprized and aſtoniſhed at their manner of employing their chariots in battle; but in an attempt which they afterwards made to cut off the *Roman* foragers, they ſuffered ſo terrible a ſlaughter from the *Roman* cavalry whom *Cæſar* ſent to the aſſiſtance of the foragers, that the auxiliary troops of *Caſſibelanus* abandoned him, returning to their reſpective countries: Nor did the *Britons* any more, with their united forces, engage the *Romans*.

Cæſar marched towards the *Thames*, in order to penetrate into the kingdom of *Caſſibelanus*. The river was fordable but in one place, and not there without much difficulty; and the enemy were drawn up in great numbers on the other ſide: They had likewiſe fortified the bank with ſharp ſtakes, and driven a great number of theſe into the bed of the river, ſo as to be covered by the water. Of this *Cæſar* had intelligence from priſoners and deſerters: Nevertheleſs he undertook to force his

paſſage,

paſſage, and he ſucceeded. The legions advanced, with ſo much expedition and alacrity, though up to their necks in water, that the enemy, unable to ſuſtain the charge, betook themſelves to flight.

Caſſibelanus from that time determined to avoid a general action: Diſbanding his other forces, he kept with him only four thouſand chariots, with which he watched opportunities to cut off the *Roman* ſtragglers; or, when he had enticed the *Romans*, by a proſpect of booty, to a diſadvantageous ground, to ſtart from his ambuſh, and fall upon them by ſurprize. Theſe frequent alarms obliged *Cæſar* to order his cavalry to keep always ſo near the foot, as to be ſure of having the ſupport of theſe when neceſſity required.

And now ſeveral of the ſtates round about ſent ambaſſadors to make their ſubmiſſion to *Cæſar*. Of theſe the *Trinobantes* were the firſt. Their King *Imanuentius* had been put to death by *Caſſibelanus*, and *Mandubratius*, the ſon of that unfortunate Prince, was now in *Cæſar*'s army, to whom he had fled, even into *Gaul*, for ſhelter and protection. The *Trinobantes* deſired *Cæſar* to ſend him back to govern them. They obtained their requeſt; and, in compliance with *Cæſar*'s demands, ſent him forty hoſtages, and ſupplied him with corn.

The protection granted to the *Trinobantes* ſecuring them from the inſults of the ſoldiers, ſeveral other petty ſtates ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, and ſubmitted. From them he had intelligence, that he was not far from the capital [p] of *Caſſibelanus*, which was ſituated amidſt woods and marſhes, and whither great numbers of men and cattle were retired. Thither *Cæſar* marched his legions: And though the place appeared to be exceeding ſtrong, both by art and nature, he nevertheleſs attacked it in two ſeveral quarters, and after a ſhort reſiſtance carried it; the *Britons* retiring to another part of the wood.

While theſe things paſſed on the North-ſide of the *Thames*, four petty Kings of *Kent*, by order from *Caſſibelanus*, drew all their forces together, purpoſing to fall by ſurprize on the naval camp of the *Romans*: But theſe, ſallying out againſt them as they approached, put them to the rout with great ſlaughter, took one of the four Kings priſoner, and returned ſafe to the camp. *Caſſibelanus*, diſcouraged by ſo many loſſes, the devaſtation of his territories, and, above all, the revolt of the provinces, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* to ſue for peace, by the mediation of *Comius* of *Arras*.

Cæſar, deſigning to paſs the winter in *Gaul*, becauſe of the frequent commotions in that country, and reflecting that but a ſmall part of the ſummer remained, during which it would be eaſy for the *Britons* to protract the war, demanded hoſtages, and appointed the yearly tribute which

[p] A town among the *Britons* was nothing more than a thick wood, fortified with a ditch and a rampart, to ſerve as a place of retreat againſt the incurſions of their enemies.

Britain ſhould pay to the *Romans*. At the ſame time he took *Mandubratius* and the *Trinobantes* under his protection, ſtrictly charging *Caſſibellaunus* to give them no moleſtation. Having received the hoſtages, he led his forces back to the ſea-ſide, where he found his fleet repaired. The time of the equinox drew near: He ſeized therefore the opportunity of a favourable gentle breeze, weighed anchor about ten at night, and brought his whole fleet ſafe to the continent. He was the firſt of the *Roman*, ſays *Tacitus*, who tranſported an army into *Britain*: He terrified the natives, and became maſter of the coaſt; yet it would ſeem, that he only gave his countrymen a view of *Britain*, not the poſſeſſion of it. *Tac. Agric. n.* 13.

Having laid up his fleet, and held a general aſſembly of the *Gauls* at *Samarobriva* *, his next affair was to put his legions into winter-quarters; and as the crop this year had been very thin, by reaſon of the great droughts, he was obliged to quarter his men in different provinces. One legion he quartered on the *Morini* †, under the command of *C. Fabius*: Another among the *Nervii* ‡, under *Q. Cicero*: A third with the *Ædui* ¶, under *L. Roſcius*: And a fourth in the country of the *Rhemi*, on the borders of the *Treviri*, under *Labienus*. Three were ſent into *Belgium* ||, over whom he appointed three commanders, his Quæſtor *M. Craſſus*, *L. Munatius Plancus*, and *C. Trebonius*. The eighth and laſt, which *Cæſar* had newly raiſed on the other ſide of the *Po*, were ſent, together with five cohorts, among the *Eburones* §, between the *Rhine* and the *Meuſe*, where *Ambiorix* and *Catuvulcus* reigned. At the head of this laſt body were two of *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants, *Q. Titurius Sabinus* and *L. Aurunculeius Cotta*. By this diſtribution of his legions, *Cæſar* thought he had found a remedy againſt the ſcarcity of corn; and yet they lay all within the compaſs of one hundred miles, except the legion under *L. Roſcius*, for which he was in no pain, as being quartered in a very quiet and friendly country. He reſolved, however, not to leave *Gaul* till he had received aſſurances that their quarters were eſtabliſhed, fortified, and ſecured.

* Amiens.

† People of Terouenne in Artois.

‡ People of Cambray.

|| The preſent Picardy, part of Belgic Gaul.

§ People of Liege.

Among the *Carnutes* ‡ lived *Teſgetius*, a man of diſtinguiſhed birth, and whoſe anceſtors had been poſſeſſed of the ſovereignty of that ſtate. *Cæſar* had reſtored him to the dignity of his forefather, in conſideration of the many ſervices he had done him in all his wars. It was now the third year of his reign, when he was openly aſſaſſinated. The affair was laid before *Cæſar*, who, fearing leſt the great number concerned in the plot might draw the ſtate into a revolt, ordered *L. Plancus*, with a legion from *Belgium*, to march ſpeedily into the country of the *Carnutes*, fix his winter-quarters in that province, ſeize all who had been concerned in the murder, and ſend them to him.

‡ People of Chartres.

q In the text of *Cæſar* we read *Eſſui* [an unknown people] but *Voſſius* thinks we ſhould read *Edui*, the *Autunois*.

Scarce fifteen days had elapſed ſince the arrival of the legions in their appointed quarters, when a general conſpiracy of the *Gauls* broke out, diſcovering itſelf firſt in the revolt of the *Eburones*. Their two chiefs or Kings, *Ambiorix* and *Cativulcus*, had been to meet, in a friendly manner, on their frontiers, *Sabinus* and *Cotta*; and had ſupplied them with corn: But now, inſtigated by *Indutiomarus* of *Treves*, they excited their people to take up arms; and, having fallen by ſurprize on ſome *Roman* ſoldiers who were cutting wood, and put them to the ſword, came with a great body of troops to attack the camp where the legion was entrenched. Repulſed with loſs, they had recourſe to cunning and perfidy, demanding a conference, and pretending that they had ſomething to ſay which concerned the common intereſt, and might put an end to the preſent differences.

Accordingly *Arpinius*, a *Roman* Knight, a friend of *Sabinus*; and *Junius* of *Spain*, who had frequently before been ſent to *Ambiorix*; were deputed to treat. *Ambiorix*, addreſſed them in words to this effect: "I "have in no ſort forgot the many obligations I am under to *Cæſar*, who "freed me from the tribute I was wont to pay to the *Aduatici*, and re- "ſtored to me my ſon and nephew, whom that people, after receiving "them as hoſtages, had treated as ſlaves. The hoſtilities I have juſt now "committed were not the effect of my own private animoſity againſt the "*Romans*, but were the act of the whole ſtate; where the government "is of ſuch a nature, that the people have as much power over me as "I have over the people. Even the ſtate itſelf in a manner has been forced "into this war: I can appeal to my own weakneſs for the truth of what "I ſay, being not ſo very unſkilled in affairs, as to imagine that the "*Eburones* are a match for the *Romans*. It is a ſcheme concerted by all "the ſtates of *Gaul*, to aſſault in one day, this very day, all the quarters "of the *Roman* army, ſo that no one may be able to ſuccour another. "It was not eaſy for us to reſiſt the importunity of thoſe of our own nation, "eſpecially when the propoſal was to act in concert, for the recovery "of liberty. But, having performed what the common voice of my "country demanded, I think I may now liſten to that of gratitude: "I find myſelf compelled by my attachment to *Cæſar*, and by my friend- "ſhip for *Sabinus*, to give you notice of the extreme danger to which your "legion is expoſed. A great body of *Germans* has actually paſſed the "*Rhine*, and will be here in two days at fartheſt: *Sabinus* and *Cotta* there- "fore are to conſider, whether it will be adviſable to retire with their "troops, and, before the neighbouring ſtates can be apprized of their "deſign, go and join *Labienus* or *Cicero*, who are neither of them diſtant "above fifty miles. As for myſelf, I promiſe, by all that is ſacred, to "ſecure your retreat through my territories; and I undertake this the more "readily, as I ſhall thereby not only diſcharge my duty to my country, "in delivering it from the inconvenience of wintering the *Romans*, but at

the

" the ſame time I ſhall manifeſt my gratitude to *Cæſar*." Having made this ſpeech, he withdrew.

Arpinius and *Junius* reported what they had heard to the Lieutenants, who thought the information not to be neglected, though it came from an enemy: For it appeared to them altogether incredible, that the *Eburones*, a weak and inconſiderable people, ſhould, unſupported, preſume to riſe up in arms againſt the *Romans*: They laid the matter therefore before a council of war. *Cotta*, with a great number of the military Tribunes, and Centurions of the firſt rank, were againſt undertaking any thing haſtily, or quitting their winter-quarters, before they had received orders from *Cæſar* ſo to do. They alledged that their camp was well fortified, and might be defended againſt all the forces of the *Germans*: That it was well ſtored with proviſions, ſo as to be in no danger of diſtreſs on that account. And laſtly, that nothing could be more diſhonourable or injudicious, than, in affairs of the greateſt moment, to take meaſures upon the information of an enemy.

Sabinus, on the other hand, exclaimed, that it would be too late to think of retiring, when the enemy, ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of the *Germans*, ſhould come againſt them; or when the *Romans* in the neareſt quarters to them ſhould have received ſome conſiderable blow: That *Cæſar* was unqueſtionably gone into *Italy*; and that the enemy knew it, which gave the *Carnutes* the boldneſs to think of aſſaſſinating *Taſgetius*, and the *Eburones* of aſſaulting the *Roman* camp. " Who could imagine " *Ambiorix*, without a certainty of being ſupported, would have em- " barked in ſo dangerous an enterprize?" He added, " My advice is " in all reſpects ſafe; becauſe, if no ſuch confederacy has been formed, " we have nothing to apprehend in marching to the neareſt legion; if, " on the contrary, all *Gaul* and *Germany* are united, expedition alone can " ſave us from deſtruction: Whereas, by following the advice of *Cotta*, " though we may defend ourſelves for a while, we are ſure in the end " of periſhing by famine." The diſpute grew warm, and continued long: *Cotta* and the principal officers ſtrongly oppoſing the march of the troops. At laſt *Sabinus* raiſing his voice, that he might be heard by the ſoldiers without: " Be it ſo then (ſays he) ſince you ſeem ſo reſolved: I am not the " man who is afraid of death. But if any misfortune happen, thoſe who " hear me will know whom to blame. In two days, did not you oppoſe " it, we might eaſily reach the quarters next us; and there, in conjunction " with our fellow-ſoldiers, confront the common danger: Whereas, by " keeping the troops ſeparate, and at a diſtance, you reduce them to the " neceſſity of periſhing by ſword or famine."

The officers, ſurrounding their Generals, conjured them not to put all to hazard by their diſſenſion.——That, whatever reſolution was taken, whether to go or ſtay, the danger was by no means great, provided they acted in concert; but their diſagreement threatened the troops with in-

evitable deſtruction. The debates continued till midnight: When at length *Cotta*, vanquiſhed by importunity, yielded to *Sabinus*. Orders were given for marching by break of day. The remainder of the night was none of it paſſed in ſleep, each man being taken up in chuſing what things to carry with him; ſo that their want of reſt rendered them incapable of a vigorous defence, in caſe of being attacked upon their march. At day-break they left their camp, not like men acting by the advice of an enemy, but as if *Ambiorix* had been their particular friend; marching in a very extended column, and followed by a great train of baggage.

The enemy, judging, from the hurry and buſtle in the camp, that the *Romans* intended to leave it, placed themſelves in ambuſh in a wood, and there waited for them at about two miles diſtance; and, when the greater part of the army had entered a large valley, ſuddenly appeared, and attacked them both in front and rear.

Then *Sabinus*, like one conſcious of having neglected all the neceſſary precautions, and unable to hide his concern, ran up and down among the troops, beginning to diſpoſe them in order of battle; but with an air ſo timid and diſconcerted, that it appeared he had no hopes of ſucceſs, as happens for the moſt part to thoſe who leave all to the laſt moment of execution. But *Cotta*, who had foreſeen that this might happen, and had therefore oppoſed the departure of the troops, omitted nothing in his power for the common ſafety, calling to and encouraging the men like an able General, and at the ſame time fighting with the bravery of a common ſoldier: And, becauſe the great length of the column rendered it difficult for the Lieutenants to remedy all diſorders, and repair expeditiouſly enough to the places where their preſence was neceſſary, orders were given to quit the defence of the baggage, and form into an orb. This diſpoſition, though not improper in theſe circumſtances, was nevertheleſs attended with very unhappy conſequences; for, being conſidered as the effect of terror and deſpair, it diſcouraged the *Romans*, and augmented the confidence of the enemy. Beſides, as unavoidably happens on ſuch occaſions, many of the ſoldiers, quitting their enſigns, hurried away to fetch from the baggage the things they moſt valued, and filled all parts with uproar and lamentation.

The *Gauls* conducted themſelves with great prudence: Their officers proclaimed through the ranks: "Let no man ſtir from his poſt; the bag-"gage of the *Romans* and every thing they have ſhall be yours: but let "your firſt care be to ſecure the victory." The *Romans*, not being fewer in number or leſs brave than the enemy, cheriſhed a hope, though they had neither a General nor fortune on their ſide, that yet by their bravery they ſhould be able to ſurmount all difficulties; and whenever any of the cohorts ſallied out, ſo as to come to cloſe fighting with the enemy, a conderable ſlaughter of the *Gauls* enſued. This being obſerved by *Ambiorix*, he ordered his men to caſt their darts at a diſtance, avoid a cloſe fight, retire before the *Romans* when they advanced, and purſue them when returning

returning to their ſtandards. Theſe orders were exactly followed, much to the advantage of the enemy. The *Romans* however ſtill maintained their ground; and, though the fight had continued from ſun-riſe till two in the afternoon, they had done nothing, in all that time, unworthy of the *Roman* name. At length *Balventius*, who the year before had been made firſt Centurion of a legion, a man of diſtinguiſhed courage, and great authority among the troops, had both his thighs pierced through with a dart. *Lucanius*, an officer of the ſame rank, endeavouring to reſcue his ſon, whom he ſaw ſurrounded by the enemy, was killed after a brave reſiſtance: And *Cotta*, the Lieutenant, encouraging the ſeveral cohorts and companies, received a blow on the mouth from a ſling.

Theſe diſaſters totally diſpirited *Sabinus*; who, perceiving *Ambiorix* at a diſtance animating his troops, ſent his interpreter, *Cn. Pompey*, to beg quarter for his ſoldiers and for himſelf. *Ambiorix* anſwered: "That "if *Sabinus* deſired a conference, he was ready to grant it, and to pledge "his faith, that no hurt ſhould befall his perſon; and that, as to the "*Roman* ſoldiers, he hoped to prevail with the multitude to ſpare them "too." This anſwer *Sabinus* communicated to *Cotta*, propoſing to him that they ſhould go and confer with *Ambiorix*, from whom he hoped to obtain quarter both for themſelves and their men. *Cotta* abſolutely refuſed to go to an armed enemy, and perſiſted in that reſolution. *Sabinus*, attended by ſuch of the officers as were then about him, ſet forward; and when he drew near to *Ambiorix*, being commanded to lay down his arms, obeyed; ordering thoſe that were with him to do the ſame: After which, being gradually ſurrounded, while *Ambiorix* purpoſely ſpun out a long diſcourſe, he was perfidiouſly murdered. Then the *Gauls*, according to their cuſtom, raiſing a ſhout and crying out victory, charged the *Roman* troops with great fury, and put them into diſorder. *Cotta*, fighting manfully, was ſlain, with the greateſt part of the ſoldiers. The reſt retreated to the camp they had quitted in the morning; of theſe, *Petroſidius*, the ſtandard-bearer, finding himſelf ſore preſſed by the enemy, threw the eagle within the intrenchments, and was killed fighting bravely before them. Thoſe that remained, with much difficulty, ſuſtained the attack till night; but, having no hope of preſervation, killed one another to the laſt man. A few, who had eſcaped out of the battle in the field, got by different ways to *Labienus*'s camp, and brought him the news of this ſad event.

Ambiorix, elated with his victory, marched immediately, at the head of his cavalry, into the country of the *Aduatici*, which bordered upon his territories. Having informed them of his ſucceſs, and rouzed them to arms, he the next day arrived among the *Nervii*, and urged them not to loſe the favourable opportunity of freeing themſelves for ever from the yoke of ſlavery, and revenging the injuries they had received from the *Romans*. He added: "Two of their Lieutenants have been ſlain, and

"a great

" a great part of their army cut to pieces: It will be an eaſy matter, by " a ſudden attack, to deſtroy the legion quartered in your country, under " the command of *Cicero*; and I myſelf am ready to aſſiſt you in the en- " terprize." By this ſpeech he drew in the *Nervii*. They diſpatched meſſengers forthwith to the cantons dependent on their ſtate, and, having aſſembled what forces they could, came unexpectedly upon *Cicero*'s quarters, who had heard nothing yet of the fate of *Sabinus*. Here it unavoidably fell out, that, by the ſudden arrival of the cavalry, the *Roman* ſoldiers who had been ſent out to cut wood for firing, and for the fortification of the camp, were intercepted and put to the ſword; after which the *Eburones*, *Aduatici*, and *Nervii*, with their allies and tributaries, amounting to a formidable army, came and attacked the camp. The *Romans* inſtantly flew to arms, mounted the rampart, and ſuſtained that day's aſſault, though with difficulty; for the enemy placed all their hopes in diſpatch, and firmly believed, that, if they came off conquerors upon this occaſion, they could not fail of victory every where elſe.

Cicero's firſt care was to write to *Cæſar*, promiſing the meſſengers great rewards if they carried the letters ſafe: But, as all the ways were beſet with the enemies troops, moſt of his couriers were intercepted. Of the materials which had been brought for fortifying the camp, 120 towers were built with incredible diſpatch during the night, and the works about the rampart completed. Next day the enemy, much ſtronger than before, attacked the camp and filled up the ditch, but were again repulſed by the *Romans*. This continued for ſeveral days together. The night was wholly employed in repairing the breaches made by day; inſomuch that neither the ſick nor the wounded were exempted from labour. *Cicero* himſelf, though much out of order, would take no repoſe even during the night, unleſs when the ſoldiers conſtrained him to it.

In the mean time ſome officers of the *Nervii*, who were well acquainted with *Cicero*, deſired a conference with him: To this he having given conſent, they addreſſed him in the ſame ſtrain that *Ambiorix* had uſed to *Sabinus*: They ſaid that all *Gaul* was in arms: That the *Germans* had paſſed the *Rhine*: That *Cæſar* and the reſt of the *Romans* were beſieged in their winter-quarters. They told him likewiſe of the fate of *Sabinus*, and, to gain credit, produced *Ambiorix*, adding: " It is in vain for you to " expect relief from thoſe who are in the utmoſt diſtreſs: We mean not, " however, any injury to you or to the *Romans*; but only to prevent their " wintering in this country, and bringing that practice into a cuſtom: " You are at liberty therefore to leave your quarters, and may retire, in " ſafety and without moleſtation, whitherſoever you pleaſe." To this *Cicero* made a ſhort anſwer: " It is not uſual with the people of *Rome* to ac- " cept conditions from an army enemy: But, if you will lay down your " arms, I promiſe to be your mediator; and will permit you to ſend Ambaſſa- " dors to *Cæſar*, from whoſe juſtice you may reaſonably expect redreſs."

The *Nervii*, not ſucceeding by this ſtratagem, ſurrounded the camp with a line, the rampart of which was eleven feet high, and the ditch fifteen deep. They had learnt ſomething of this in their former wars with *Cæſar*, and they got further inſtructions from their priſoners: But, being unprovided of the tools neceſſary in this kind of ſervice, they were obliged to cut the turf with their ſwords, dig up the earth with their hands, and carry it in their cloaks. And hence it will be eaſy to form ſome judgment of their number: For in leſs than three hours they completed a line of fifteen miles in circuit. The following days were employed in raiſing towers proportioned to the height of the *Roman* rampart; and in preparing ſcythes and wooden galleries, in which they were again aſſiſted by the priſoners.

On the ſeventh day of the attack, a very high wind ariſing, they began to throw red-hot balls of clay, and burning javelins, upon the barracks of the *Romans*, which, after the manner of the *Gauls*, were thatched with ſtraw. Theſe ſoon took fire; and the flames were in a moment ſpread by the wind into all parts of the camp. The enemy falling on with a mighty ſhout, as if already ſecure of victory, advanced their towers and galleries, and prepared to ſcale the rampart. But ſuch was the conſtancy of the *Roman* ſoldiers, that though the flames ſurrounded them on every ſide, and they were oppreſſed with ſhowers of darts, and ſaw their huts, their baggage, and their whole fortunes in a blaze, yet not only did they continue firm in their poſts, but ſcarce a man offered ſo much as to look behind him; ſo intent were they on fighting and repelling the enemy. This was by much the hardeſt day for the *Roman* troops; but had nevertheleſs this fortunate iſſue, that the greateſt number of the enemy were on that day wounded or ſlain: For, as they had crouded cloſe up to the ramparts, thoſe behind prevented the front ranks from retiring. The flames abating by degrees, and the enemy having brought forward one of their towers even to the foot of the rampart, the Centurions[r] of the third cohort drew

[r] In this legion were two Centurions of diſtinguiſhed valour, *T. Pulfio* and *L. Varenus*, who ſtood fair for being raiſed to the firſt rank of their order. Theſe were perpetually diſputing with one another the pre-eminence in courage, and at every year's promotion contended with great eagerneſs for precedence. In the heat of the attack before the rampart, *Pulfio* ſaid to *Varenus*: "What hinders you "now, or what more glorious opportunity "would you deſire of ſignalizing your brave-"ry? This, this is the day for determining "the controverſy between us."—Inſtantly he ſallied out of the camp, and ruſhed amidſt the thickeſt of the *Gauls*. Nor did *Varenus* decline the challenge; but, thinking his honour at ſtake, followed at ſome diſtance. *Pulfio* darted his javelin at a *Gaul* in the enemy's van, and tranſfixed him: He fell dead; the multitude covered him with their ſhields, and all poured their darts upon *Pulfio*, giving him no time to retire. A javelin pierced his ſhield, and ſtuck faſt in his belt. This accident gave the enemy time to ſurround him, before he could make uſe of his right hand to draw his ſword. *Varenus* flew to his aſſiſtance, and endeavoured to reſcue him. Immediately the whole multitude, quitting *Pulfio*, as fancying the dart had diſpatched him, turned upon *Varenus*. He met them with his ſword drawn, charged them hand to hand; and having laid one dead at his feet, drove back the reſt: But purſuing

drew off their men a little, beckoning to the *Gauls*, and challenging them to enter: But, as not a man of them would run the hazard, the *Romans* attacked them on all ſides with ſtones, drove them from the tower, and ſet it on fire.

As the defence every day became more difficult, chiefly by the great multitude of killed and wounded, which conſiderably leſſened the number of defendants, *Cicero* ſent letter after letter to inform *Cæſar* of his danger. Many of theſe couriers, falling into the enemies hands, were tortured to death within view of the *Roman* ſoldiers. There was at this time in the *Roman* camp a *Nervian* of diſtinction, by name *Vertico*, who in the beginning of the ſiege had fled to *Cicero*, and given ample proofs of his fidelity. This man engaged one of his ſlaves, by the hope of liberty and a promiſe of great rewards, to carry a letter to *Cæſar*. The ſlave paſſed through the camp of the *Gauls* unſuſpected, as being himſelf of their nation, and arrived ſafe at *Cæſar*'s quarters.

Cæſar, receiving the letter about five in the afternoon, immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to *Marcus Craſſus*, who was quartered among the *Bellovaci* twenty-five miles off, ordering him to draw out his legion at midnight, and march with all poſſible expedition to join him. *Craſſus* came away with the courier. *Cæſar* ſent likewiſe to *C. Fabius*, who wintered with the *Morini*, to lead his legion into the country of the *Atrebates*, which was in the way to *Cicero*: And he wrote to *Labienus* to meet him upon the frontiers of the *Nervii*, if it could be done with ſafety. He himſelf, in the mean time, aſſembled about four hundred horſe from the neareſt garriſons, reſolving not to wait for thoſe parts of his army which lay at too great a diſtance.

At nine in the morning he had notice from his ſcouts of the arrival of *Craſſus*. That day he marched twenty miles, leaving *Craſſus* with a legion at *Samarobriva**, where he had depoſited the baggage, hoſtages, public papers, and all the proviſions which had been laid up for the winter. *Fabius*, in conſequence of his inſtructions, having made all the haſte he could, met him with his legion. *Labienus*, who had been informed of the death of *Sabinus*, and the deſtruction of the troops under his command, and who ſaw all the forces of *Treves* advancing againſt him, fearing, leſt, if he ſhould quit his quarters, the enemy might conſtrue it into a flight, and that it would be impoſſible for him to ſuſtain their attack, eſpecially as they were flushed with their late ſucceſs againſt *Sabinus*, wrote to *Cæſar*, informing him of that diſaſter, and the danger that would attend the quitting his camp; and that all the forces of the *Treviri*, both horſe and foot, were encamped within three miles of him.

* Amiens.

purſuing them with too much eagerneſs, ſtept into a hole, and fell down. *Pulfio* haſtened to his relief; and both together, after having ſlain a multitude of the *Gauls*, and acquired infinite applauſe, retired unhurt within the intrenchments. Thus fortune gave ſuch a turn to the diſpute, that each owed his life to his rival; nor was it poſſible to determine which of them had the better title to the prize of valour.

Cæſar

Cæſar approved his reaſons, though he thereby found himſelf reduced from three to two legions; And well knowing that all depended upon expedition, he made forced marches, reached the territories of the *Nervii*, and there learnt from ſome priſoners the ſtate of the ſiege, and the danger the legion was in. Immediately he engaged a *Gallic* horſeman, by the promiſe of great rewards, to carry a letter to *Cicero*: It was written in *Greek* characters, that, if it fell into the enemies hands, it might not be intelligible to them. The meſſenger had orders, in caſe he found it impracticable for him to get into the *Roman* camp, to tie the letter to a javelin, and throw it in. In this letter *Cæſar* ſent word to *Cicero*, that he was already on the march to relieve him, and would be up very ſoon: exhorting him to defend himſelf in the mean time with his wonted bravery. The *Gaul*, fearing to be diſcovered and intercepted, threw the letter in the camp as he had been ordered: But the javelin, accidentally ſticking in a tower, remained there two days unperceived: On the third a ſoldier ſaw it, took it down, and brought it to *Cicero*; who immediately read it in full aſſembly, and thereby diffuſed univerſal joy through the camp. Preſently after, they perceived the ſmoke of the villages fired by *Cæſar* in his march, which put the arrival of ſuccour beyond all doubt.

The *Gauls*, having notice of it alſo by their ſcouts, thought proper to quit the ſiege and march away to meet *Cæſar*. Their army conſiſted of about 60,000 men. *Cicero*, now at liberty, applied himſelf again to *Vertico*, for the ſlave above ſpoken of, whom, having admoniſhed him to uſe the utmoſt diligence and circumſpection, he diſpatched with a letter to *Cæſar*, informing him, that the enemy had raiſed the ſiege, and were advancing againſt him with all their forces. *Cæſar* received the letter about midnight, communicated the contents to his army, and exhorted them to meet the enemy with courage. Next day he decamped early, and, after a march of four miles, diſcovered the *Gauls* on the other ſide of a large valley, with a rivulet in front. As the ſiege of *Cicero*'s camp was now raiſed, *Cæſar* had no longer any reaſon to be in a hurry: He encamped, therefore, in the moſt convenient ſpot he could find, and compleated his intrenchments. His army, conſiſting of no more than ſeven thouſand men, without baggage, required but a very ſmall camp; nevertheleſs, to inſpire the enemy with the greater contempt of him, he contracted it as much as poſſible; and, in the mean time, ſending out ſcouts on all ſides, he endeavoured to find where he might croſs the valley with ſafety.

The reſt of the day paſſed in ſlight ſkirmiſhes near the brook; but the main body of the army on both ſides kept within their lines; the *Gauls*, in expectation of more forces, which were not yet come up; *Cæſar*, that, by pretending fear, he might draw the enemy to his ſide of the valley. Early the next morning, the enemy's cavalry, approaching the camp of the *Romans*, charged their cavalry; which, by *Cæſar*'s orders, purpoſely

gave ground and retired behind the works. At the ſame time he ordered the ramparts to be raiſed higher, and the gates to be barricaded; and that the ſoldiers, in the execution of theſe orders, ſhould run up and down tumultuouſly, and affect an appearance of timidity and concern. The enemy, invited by all theſe appearances, croſſed the valley, and drew up in a very diſadvantageous place. The *Romans* in the mean while retiring from the rampart, the *Nervii* approached ſtill nearer, caſt their darts on all ſides within the trenches, and ſent heralds round the camp to proclaim, that, if any of the *Gauls* or *Romans* had a mind to come over to them, they ſhould be at liberty ſo to do till nine o'clock, after which no quarter would be granted. Nay, ſo far did they carry their contempt, that, thinking they could not break in by the gates (which, to deceive them, were ſtopped up with a ſingle row of turf) ſome began to ſcale the rampart, and others to fill up the ditch. But then *Cæſar*, ſallying forth by all the gates at once, and charging them briſkly with his cavalry, put them to ſo precipitate a flight, that not a man offered to make the leaſt reſiſtance. Great numbers were ſlain, and the reſt obliged to throw down their arms. The ſame day he joined *Cicero* with all his forces, when, beholding the towers, galleries, and other works of the *Gauls*, he could not help being ſtruck with admiration. He then reviewed *Cicero*'s legion, and found that not a tenth man had eſcaped unwounded; which gave him a juſt idea of the greatneſs of the danger to which they had been expoſed, and of the vigorous defence they had made. He beſtowed great commendation on the legion and its commander; and addreſſed himſelf to the Centurions and military Tribunes by name, of whoſe valour *Cicero* made honourable mention.

In the mean time, the report of *Cæſar*'s victory flew with incredible ſpeed, through the country of the *Rhemi*, to *Labienus*. For, though he lay at the diſtance of fifty miles from *Cicero*'s camp, where *Cæſar* did not arrive till paſt three in the afternoon, yet before midnight a ſhout was raiſed by the *Rhemi* at the gates of *Labienus*'s camp, by which they notified *Cæſar*'s victory, and their congratulations on that ſucceſs. This news being carried to the *Treviri*, *Indutiomarus*, who had determined to attack the camp of *Labienus* the next day, made off in the night, and retired with all his forces into his own country. *Cæſar* ſent back *Fabius* with his legion to his former quarters, reſolving to take up his own for the winter near *Samarobriva* with three legions, and to continue in perſon with them, *Gaul* being then univerſally in motion. For the defeat and death of *Sabinus* ſpreading every where, the ſtates of *Gaul* were almoſt every one of them meditating a revolt; with which view they ſent meſſengers and deputies into all parts, to concert meaſures, and agree upon the propereſt place where to begin the war.

Amiens.

But *Cæſar*, having ſummoned the principal noblemen of every ſtate to attend him, and having made them ſenſible that he was no ſtranger to their deſigns, prevailed, partly by menaces, and partly by exhortations,

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to keep the greateſt part of *Gaul* in its duty. The *Senones*, however, a potent ſtate, and of great authority among the *Gauls*, formed the deſign of aſſaſſinating *Cavarinus*, whom *Cæſar* had given them for a King; whoſe brother *Moritagus* had held the ſovereignty at the time of *Cæſar*'s arrival in *Gaul*, and whoſe anceſtors had long been in poſſeſſion of that dignity. *Cavarinus*, having intelligence of the plot, thought proper to fly; whereupon purſuing him to the very frontiers, they drove him from his kingdom, and ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* to juſtify their conduct: But, upon his ordering their whole Senate to repair to him, they refuſed to comply. And of ſuch influence was this example among the Barbarians, that ſome at laſt became hardy enough to declare open war; and ſo great a change did it produce in the inclinations of all, that, except the *Ædui* and *Rhemi*, who had always been particularly diſtinguiſhed and favoured by *Cæſar* (the firſt, on account of their ancient and inviolable fidelity to the People of *Rome*; the laſt, for their late ſervices in the *Gallic* war) ſcarce was there a ſingle ſtate in all *Gaul* that did not give cauſe of ſuſpicion. Nor is it, in truth, to be much wondered at, that a people of high ſpirit, and framed above all other nations for their military virtues, could not with patience ſee themſelves ſo fallen from their former height of glory, as to be forced to bend under the yoke of *Roman* domination. People of Sens.

Indutiomarus and the *Treviri* ceaſed not, during the whole winter, to ſend Ambaſſadors over the *Rhine*, ſoliciting the *German* ſtates, offering them money, and aſſuring them that the greater part of the *Roman* army was already cut off: But no one of thoſe ſtates could be perſuaded to come into their deſigns: Becauſe, having twice before tried their fortunes with the *Romans*, firſt in the war of *Arioviſtus*, and then in the defeat of the *Tenchtheri*, they were reſolved, they told them, to run no more hazards. *Indutiomarus*, diſappointed of this hope, was not leſs active in drawing forces together, ſoliciting recruits from the neighbouring ſtates, providing horſes, and encouraging even out-laws and convicts, by the promiſe of great rewards, to engage in his ſervice. And ſo great credit and authority had he by this means acquired in *Gaul*, that, from all parts, embaſſies and meſſages were ſent to ſolicit his alliance and friendſhip.

Finding himſelf thus voluntarily courted; on one ſide by the *Senones* and *Carnutes*, whom a conſciouſneſs of guilt incited thereto; on another by the *Nervii* and *Aduatici*, who were actually preparing for a war with the *Romans*; ſo that if he once took the field, forces would not be wanting; he called an aſſembly of the ſtates in arms. This, according to the cuſtom of the *Gauls*, implies an actual commencement of war; and, by a ſtanding law, obliges all their youth to appear in arms at the aſſembly; in which they are ſo very ſtrict, that whoſoever has the misfortune to come laſt, is put to death, in ſight of the multitude, with all manner of torments. In this aſſembly, *Cingetorix*, the ſon-in-law of *Indutiomarus*,

and who (as related above) had declared for *Cæſar*, and ſtill continued firm to him, was proclaimed a public enemy, and his eſtate confiſcated. After which *Indutiomarus* acquainted the council, That the *Senones*, *Carnutes*, and ſeveral other ſtates of *Gaul*, had ſolicited his aſſiſtance; that he accordingly intended to join his forces with theirs, taking his route through the territories of the *Rhemi*, and giving up their lands to be plundered; but that, before he began his march, he was deſirous of maſtering the camp of *Labienus*: And, to effect this, he gave the neceſſary directions.

Labienus, whoſe camp, both by the nature of the ground, and the fortifications he had added, was extremely ſtrong, feared nothing; but was wholly intent upon a project to give the enemy ſome conſiderable blow. Informed by *Cingetorix* and his adherents of the ſpeech made by *Indutiomarus* in the general council of *Gaul*, he ſent deputies to the neighbouring ſtates, to ſolicit them for a recruit of horſe, and appointed a day of rendezvous for the cavalry they ſhould ſend: In the mean time, by an affectation of fear, the *Roman* was contriving to beget preſumption and ſecurity in the mind of his enemy. The ſtratagem ſucceeded. The King at the head of his cavalry, came every day quite up to the camp of the *Romans*, inſulting them with opprobrious language, and challenging them to fight. The *Romans* making no anſwer, the *Gauls* retired towards night, and, without obſerving any order, diſperſed themſelves. *Labienus* had, unknown to the enemy, received into his camp by night all the horſe he had ſent for. One evening, therefore, when the enemy had retreated in their careleſs manner, he ordered all his cavalry to make a ſally on a ſudden, ſtrictly cautioning and charging his men, that, as ſoon as they had put the *Gauls* to flight (which happened according to his expectation) they ſhould every one ſingle out *Indutiomarus*, nor attempt to kill or wound any other, till they ſaw him ſlain: For *Labienus* was unwilling that any delay, occaſioned by the ſlaughter of the reſt, ſhould give the General an opportunity to eſcape; and he promiſed great rewards to the man who ſhould kill him. This meaſure ſucceeded: For, as they were intent upon the deſtruction of *Indutiomarus* alone, he was overtaken and ſlain in paſſing a river, and his head brought to the camp. The *Roman* cavalry, in their return, put all to the ſword that came in their way. Upon the news of this defeat, the forces of the *Eburones* and *Nervii* returned home; and *Gaul* was ſomewhat quieter the reſt of the winter.

J. C. Comm. lib. vi

Cæſar, for many reaſons, expecting greater commotions in *Gaul*, ordered his Lieutenants, *M. Silanus*, *C. Antiſtius Reginus*, and *T. Sextius*, to levy recruits. And as *Pompey*, now Proconſul, had, during his ſecond Conſulſhip (688) enliſted, in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, a conſiderable number of ſoldiers, to the amount of a legion, but had not put them into that form, (the public affairs detaining him near the city) *Cæſar* requeſted of him to ſet thoſe forces on foot, form them into a legion, and ſend it to him: For he thought

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it of the utmoſt importance, towards ſecuring a proper reſpect from the *Gauls* for the time to come, to give them ſuch an idea of the power of *Italy*, as might convince them, that it was not only able ſpeedily to repair any loſſes ſuſtained, but even to bring a greater force into the field. "Friendſhip and the good of the Commonwealth, ſays *Cæſar*, equally de- "termined *Pompey* to comply with this requeſt:" And the Lieutenants having with great diligence executed their commiſſions, three new legions, containing double the number of cohorts loſt with *Sabinus*, were brought into *Gaul* before the end of winter.

After the death of *Indutiomarus*, ſlain as related above, the *Treviri* conferred the command on his relations. They perſiſted likewiſe in ſoliciting the *Germans*, and gained them by force of money; and they aſſociated *Ambiorix* in the confederacy.* *Cæſar* found that he was threatened with war on all ſides: The *Nervii*, *Aduatici*, *Menapii*, with all the *Germans* on that ſide the *Rhine*, were actually in arms: The *Senones* refuſed to attend him, purſuant to his orders; and were tampering with the *Carnutes*, and other neighbouring ſtates: and that the *Treviri* were ſoliciting the *Germans* by frequent embaſſies: He judged therefore that it would be neceſſary to open the campaign early. Accordingly, without waiting till the winter was over, he drew together the four neareſt legions, and fell unexpectedly into the territories of the *Nervii*, before they could either aſſemble in a body, or find means to ſave themſelves by flight. Having carried off a great number of men and cattle, enriched the ſoldiers with booty, and laid waſte the country, he compelled the inhabitants to give hoſtages, and then led back his legions into their winter-quarters [1].

[Year of *Rome* 700[1].]

YEARLY in the ſpring, *Cæſar* ſummoned a general aſſembly of *Gaul*. No deputies from the *Senones*, or the *Carnutes*, or the *Treviri*, appearing, he looked upon this as the beginning of a revolt, adjourned the ſeſſion, and transferred it to *Lutetia*; whoſe inhabitants, though they had been Paris. united with the *Senones* for one hundred years paſt, did not appear to be concerned with them in their preſent meaſures. The ſame day in which he declared the adjournment, he ſet out with his legions againſt the *Senones*, and made ſuch haſte, that *Acco* their chief, not having time to collect his forces, ordered the multitude to ſhelter themſelves in their towns: But before this could be done, the *Romans* appeared. Intreaties were now the only reſource left to the *Senones*. *Cæſar*, at the requeſt of his faithful allies the *Ædui*, whoſe clients they were, pardoned them; but demanded of them one hundred hoſtages; and theſe he committed to the cuſtody of the *Ædui*. The *Carnutes* likewiſes ſubmitted, and obtained the ſame con-

* For the events and tranſaction, at *Rome*, in this year 699, ſee above, p. 525, 526.

[1] *N. B. Cn. Domitius Calvinus*, and *M. Valerius Meſſala*, the Conſuls of the year 700, did not enter on their magiſtracy before the middle of *July*.

ditions by the mediation of the *Rhemi*, their patrons. *Cæſar* then went to *Lutetia*, put an end to the ſeſſion of the ſtates, and ordered the *Gauls* to furniſh him with a body of cavalry.

Celtic Gaul being thus reſtored to a ſtate of tranquillity, *Cæſar* turned his thoughts to the war with the *Treviri*, and with *Ambiorix*, King of the *Eburones*, purpoſing to revenge, by his death, the ſlaughter of the *Roman* cohorts.

He knew that *Ambiorix* was in friendſhip with the *Menapii*, a fierce nation, who, living in a country full of woods and moraſſes, had hitherto eluded the efforts of the *Roman* army, and had never made the leaſt ſtep towards a ſubmiſſion to *Cæſar*: He knew likewiſe, that, by means of the *Treviri*, he had entered into an alliance with the *Germans*. *Cæſar* thought it adviſeable, therefore, to deprive him of thoſe two ſupports, before he attacked him in perſon. This reſolution being taken, he ſent the baggage of the whole army to *Labienus* in the country of the *Treviri*, ordered him a reinforcement of two legions, and marched himſelf againſt the *Menapii* with five legions, who carried nothing with them but their arms. The *Menapii* were ſoon conſtrained to ſubmit, and gave hoſtages. *Cæſar* granted them peace, on condition of their engaging not to admit *Ambiorix*, or any one from him, into their territories. Theſe things ſettled, he left *Comius* of *Arras* there, with a body of horſe, to keep them in awe, and ſet out himſelf againſt the *Treviri*.

In the mean time *Labienus*, by pretending fear and flight, had drawn the *Treviri* over a river, that was between him and them; and had then with great eaſe put them to the rout. The *Germans*, who were coming to their aſſiſtance, hearing of their defeat, returned home; and the relations of *Indutiomarus*, who had been the authors of the revolt, choſe likewiſe to retire with them: And within a few days the whole ſtate ſubmitted. *Cingetorix*, who had always continued faithful to the *Romans*, was thereupon inveſted with the ſupreme authority.

Cæſar, after his arrival at *Treves* from the country of the *Menapii*, reſolved, for two reaſons, to paſs the *Rhine* a ſecond time; to puniſh the *Germans* for ſending ſuccours to the *Treviri*, and to deter them from giving or promiſing a retreat to *Ambiorix*. In conſequence of this reſolution, he ſet about making a bridge, which was finiſhed in a few days. Upon his arrival on the *German* ſide of the river, Ambaſſadors came to him from the *Ubii*, to aſſure him that they had neither ſent troops to the aſſiſtance of the *Treviri*, nor in any inſtance departed from their engagements; and they requeſted he would ſpare their territories, and not, out of a general hatred to the *Germans*, involve the innocent in the puniſhment of the guilty. *Cæſar*, upon enquiry, found that the *Ubii* were wholly innocent, and that the aids ſent to the *Treviri* were from the *Suevi*. Theſe, upon certain information of the arrival of the *Roman* army, had retired to the remoteſt part of the country with all their forces, and thoſe

of their allies; and there they waited the coming of the enemy at the entrance of an immenſe foreſt, called *Bacenis* [u], which ſerved as a barrier between the *Cheruſci* and the *Suevi*, to prevent their mutual incurſion [w].

Cæſar,

[u] *Cellarius* takes it to be the foreſt of *Hartz* in *Lower Saxony*, in the principality of *Wolfenbutel*.

[w] On this occaſion, ſays *Cæſar*, it may not be improper to ſay ſomewhat of the manners of the *Gauls* and *Germans*, and the difference of cuſtoms between theſe two nations. A ſpirit of faction prevails throughout *Gaul*, and that not only in their ſeveral ſtates, diſtricts, and villages, but almoſt in every private family. —— When *Cæſar* arrived in the country, the *Ædui* were at the head of one faction, and the *Sequani* of the other. The latter being the weaker, becauſe the *Ædui* had ſeveral conſiderable ſtates in their dependance, they united with *Arioviſtus* and the *Germans*, whom, by great preſents and promiſes, they drew over the *Rhine* to their aſſiſtance. This alliance made them ſo powerful, that having worſted their enemies in ſeveral battles, and killed almoſt all their nobility, they forced the ſtates dependent upon the *Ædui* to have recourſe to them for protection; obliged the *Ædui* themſelves to give the children of their principal nobility as hoſtages, ſwear publicly not to attempt any thing againſt the *Sequani*, and reſign up to their poſſeſſion a part of their territories; and by this means they rendered themſelves in a manner ſovereigns of all *Gaul*. *Diviticus*, in this neceſſity, applied himſelf to the Senate of *Rome* for relief, but without effect. *Cæſar*'s arrival ſoon changed the face of affairs. The *Æduan* hoſtages were ſent back, their former clients reſtored, and new ones procured them by *Cæſar*'s intereſt; it appearing, that ſuch as were under their protection, enjoyed a more equal and milder lot than others: By all which their fortune and authority being conſiderably enlarged, the *Sequani* were obliged to reſign the ſovereignty. The *Rhemi* now held the ſecond place: And, as they were known to be in the ſame degree of favour with *Cæſar*, ſuch of the *Gauls* as could not get over their old animoſity to the *Ædui*, put themſelves under the protection of the *Rhemi*. Theſe were extremely attentive to the intereſts of their clients, and thereby both preſerved their old authority, and that which they had newly acquired. Such therefore was the then ſituation of *Gaul*: The *Ædui* poſſeſſed indiſputably the firſt rank, the *Rhemi* were next in conſideration and dignity.

Over all *Gaul*, there are only two orders of men in any degree of honour and eſteem: For the common people are little better than ſlaves; attempting nothing of themſelves, and having no ſhare in the public deliberations. As they are generally oppreſſed with debt, heavy tributes, or the exactions of their ſuperiors, they make themſelves vaſſals to the great, who exerciſe the ſame juriſdiction over them as maſters do over ſlaves. The two orders of men, with whom, as we have ſaid, all authority and diſtinction are lodged, are the *Druids* and the *Nobles*. The *Druids* preſide in matters of religion, have the care of public and private ſacrifices, and interpret the will of the Gods. They have the direction and education of the youth, by whom they are held in great honour. In almoſt all controverſies, whether public or private, the deciſion is left to them: And if any crime is committed, any murder perpetrated; if any diſpute ariſes touching an inheritance, or the limits of adjoining eſtates; in all ſuch caſes they are the ſupreme judges. They decree rewards and puniſhments: and if any one refuſes to ſubmit to their ſentence, whether Magiſtrate or private man, they interdict him the ſacrifices. This is the greateſt puniſhment that can be inflicted among the *Gauls*; becauſe ſuch as are under this prohibition, are conſidered as impious and wicked: All men ſhun them, and decline their converſation and fellowſhip, leſt they ſhould ſuffer from them by contagion. They can neither have recourſe to the law for juſtice, nor are capable of any public office. The *Druids* are all under one chief, who poſſeſſes the ſupreme authority in that body. Upon his death, if any one remarkably excells the reſt, he ſucceeds: But if there are ſeveral candidates of equal merit, the affair is determined by a plurality of ſuffrages. Sometimes they have even recourſe to arms before the diſpute can be decided. Once a year they aſſemble at a conſecrated place in the territories of the *Carnutes*, whoſe country is ſuppoſed Chartrain. Le pays

Cæſar, fearing the want of proviſions, becauſe *Germany* was but ill cultivated, reſolved not to advance any farther: But, to keep the enemy ſtill

poſed to be in the middle of *Gaul*. Hither ſuch as have any ſuits depending flock from all parts, and ſubmit implicitly to the decrees of the *Druids*. Their inſtitution is ſuppoſed to have come originally from *Britain*; and even at this day, ſuch as are deſirous of being perfect in it, travel thither for inſtruction. The *Druids* never go to war, are exempted from taxes and military ſervice, and enjoy all manner of immunities. Theſe mighty encouragements induce many to put themſelves, of their own accord, under the diſcipline of this order; and many are made to enter into it by their parents and relations. They are taught to repeat a great number of verſes by heart; and often ſpend twenty years upon this inſtitution: For it is deemed unlawful to commit their ſtatutes to writing; though in other matters, whether public or private, they make uſe of *Greek* characters. They ſeem to me (adds *Cæſar*) to follow this method for two reaſons: To hide their myſteries from the knowledge of the vulgar; and to exerciſe the memory of their ſcholars, which would be apt to be neglected, had they letters to truſt to, as we find is often the caſe. It is one of their principal maxims, that the ſoul never dies, but after death paſſes from one body to another; which, they think, contributes greatly to exalt mens courage, by diſarming death of its terrors. They teach likewiſe many things relating to the ſtars and their motions, the magnitude of the world and our earth, the nature of things, and the power and prerogatives of the immortal Gods.

The other order of men are the Nobles [*Cæſar* calls them *Equites*, Cavaliers; doubtleſs becauſe they fought on horſeback, as at this time the *Poliſh* nobility do, and as thoſe among us formerly did, whom our anceſtors called *Men of arms*;] who, when any war breaks out (and before *Cæſar*'s arrival the *Gauls* were almoſt every year engaged in war, either offenſive or defenſive) all take the field, at the head of their clients and dependents; and the greater number of theſe, the more honourable the leader; for the *Gauls* have no other meaſure of dignity and grandeur.

The whole nation is extremely addicted to ſuperſtition: Whence, in threatening diſtempers, and the imminent dangers of war, they make no ſcruple to ſacrifice men, or engage themſelves by vow to ſuch ſacrifices; in which they make uſe of the miniſtry of the *Druids*: For it is a prevalent opinion among them, that the life of one man cannot be ranſomed but by the life of another; inſomuch that they have eſtabliſhed even public ſacrifices of this kind. Some prepare huge *Coloſſuſes* of oſier twigs, into which they put men alive, and ſetting fire to them, thoſe within expire amidſt the flames. They prefer for victims ſuch as have been convicted of theft, robbery, or other crimes; believing them the moſt acceptable to the Gods: But, when criminals are wanting, the innocent are often made to ſuffer. *Mercury* is the chief deity with them: Of him they have many images, account him the inventor of all arts, their guide and conductor in their journeys, and the patron of merchandize and gain. Next to him are *Apollo*, and *Mars*, and *Jupiter*, and *Minerva*. Their notions in regard to them are pretty much the ſame with thoſe of other nations. *Apollo* is their God of phyſic; *Minerva* of works and manufactures; *Jove* holds the empire of heaven; and *Mars* preſides in war. To this laſt, when they reſolve upon a battle, they commonly devote the ſpoil. If they prove victorious, they offer up all the cattle taken, and ſet apart the reſt of the plunder in a place appointed for that purpoſe: And it is common in many provinces to ſee theſe monuments of offerings piled up in conſecrated places. Nay, it rarely happens, that any one ſhews ſo great a diſregard of religion, as either to conceal the plunder, or pillage the public oblations; and the ſevereſt puniſhments are inflicted upon ſuch offenders.

The *Gauls* fancy themſelves to be deſcended from the god *Pluto*; which, it ſeems, is an eſtabliſhed tradition among the *Druids*. For this reaſon they compute their time by nights, not by days; and in the obſervance of birth-days, new moons, and the beginning of the year, always commence the celebration from the preceding night. In one cuſtom they differ from almoſt

ſtill in ſome fear of his return, and to prevent their ſending ſuccours into *Gaul*, after his repaſſing the river, broke down only about two hundred feet

almoſt all other nations; which is, that they never ſuffer their children to come openly into their preſence, until they are of age to bear arms: The appearance of a ſon in public with his father, before he has reached the age of manhood, is accounted diſhonourable.

Whatever fortune the woman brings, the huſband is obliged to equal it out of his own eſtate. This whole ſum, with its annual product, is left untouched, and goes always to the ſurvivor. The men have power of life and death over their wives and children: And when any father of a family of illuſtrious rank dies, his relations aſſemble, and, upon the leaſt ground of ſuſpicion, put even his wives to the torture like ſlaves. If they are found guilty, iron and fire are employed to torment and deſtroy them. Their funerals are magnificent and ſumptuous, according to their quality. Every thing that was dear to the deceaſed, even animals, are thrown into the pile: And formerly, ſuch of their ſlaves and clients as they loved moſt, ſacrificed themſelves at the funeral of their Lord.

In their beſt regulated ſtates they have a law, that whoever hears any thing relating to the public, whether by rumour or otherwiſe, ſhall give immediate notice to the magiſtrate, without imparting it to any one elſe: For the nature of the people is ſuch, that raſh and unexperienced men, alarmed by falſe reports, are often hurried to the greateſt extremities, and take upon them to determine in matters of the higheſt conſequence. The Magiſtrates ſtifle things improper to be known, and only communicate to the multitude what they think needful for the ſervice of the Commonwealth: Nor do the laws permit to ſpeak of ſtate affairs, except in public councils.

THE *Germans* differ widely in their manners from the *Gauls*. For neither have they *Druids* to preſide in religious affairs, nor do they trouble themſelves about ſacrifices. They acknowledge no Gods but thoſe that are objects of ſight, and by whom they are apparently benefited, the *Sun*, the *Moon*, and *Vulcan* [Fire.] Of others they know nothing, not even by report. Their whole life is addicted to hunting and war; and from their infancy they are inured to fatigue and hardſhips. They eſteem thoſe moſt who continue longeſt ſtrangers to women, as imagining nothing contributes ſo much to ſtrength, and vigour of body: But to have any commerce of this kind before the age of twenty, is accounted in the higheſt degree ignominious. Nor is it poſſible to conceal any irregularity this way, becauſe they bathe promiſcuouſly in rivers, and are clothed in ſkins, or ſhort mantles of fur, which leave the greateſt part of their bodies naked.

Agriculture is little regarded amongſt them, as they live moſtly on milk, cheeſe, and the fleſh of animals. Nor has any man lands of his own, or diſtinguiſhed by fixed boundaries. The Magiſtrates, and thoſe in authority, portion out yearly, to every canton and family, ſuch a quantity of land, and in what part of the country they think proper; and the year following remove them to ſome other ſpot. Many reaſons are aſſigned for this practice; *Leſt, ſeduced by habit and continuance, they ſhould learn to prefer tillage to war: Leſt a deſire of enlarging their poſſeſſions ſhould gain ground, and prompt the ſtronger to expel the weaker: Leſt they ſhould become curious in their buildings, in order to guard againſt the extremes of heat and cold: Leſt avarice ſhould get footing amongſt them, whence ſpring factions and diſcords.* Finally, *to preſerve contentment and equanimity among the people, when they find their poſſeſſions nothing inferior to thoſe of the moſt powerful.*

It is accounted honourable for ſtates to have the country all around them lie waſte and depopulated. For they think it a proof of bravery to expel their near neighbours; and a part of prudence thus to provide againſt ſudden incurſions. When a ſtate is engaged in war, either offenſive or defenſive, they make choice of Magiſtrates to preſide in it, whom they arm with power of life and death. In time of peace there are no public Magiſtrates; but the chiefs of the ſeveral provinces and clans adminiſter juſtice, and decide differences within their reſpective limits. Robbing has nothing infamous in it, when committed without the territories of the ſtate to which they belong: They even pretend that it ſerves to exerciſe their youth, and prevent

feet of his bridge on the *German* ſide; and, to ſecure the reſt, built at the extremity a tower of four ſtories, where he left a garriſon of twelve cohorts, and ſtrengthened the place with all manner of works. To *C. Volcatius Tullus* he gave the charge of the fort and garriſon. He himſelf, as ſoon as the corn began to be ripe, marched againſt *Ambiorix* and the *Eburones*, taking his way through the foreſt of *Arden*. *Baſilus*, whom he ſent before him with all the cavalry, puſhed on with ſuch expedition, and ſo well concealed his approach from the enemy, that he ſurprized great numbers of them in the field. Being informed by them of the place whither *Ambiorix* had retired with a few horſe, thither he without delay directed his courſe.

Fortune, ſays *Cæſar*, has a conſiderable ſhare in all human concerns, and particularly in thoſe of war. For, as it was a very extraordinary chance, that *Baſilus* ſhould come upon *Ambiorix* before he had the leaſt notice of his approach, ſo was it equally an effect of fortune, that the *Gaul*, after having loſt his arms, horſes, and chariots, ſhould yet find means to eſcape. This was principally owing to the ſituation of his houſe, which was ſurrounded with a wood; it being cuſtomary among the *Gauls*, in order to avoid the heats, to build in the neighbourhood of woods and

them from falling into ſloth. When any of their princes offers himſelf publicly in council to be the leader of an expedition, ſuch as approve of it riſe up, declare themſelves ready to follow him, and for this are applauded by the whole multitude. They who go back from their engagement, are looked upon as traitors and deſerters, and loſe all eſteem and credit for the time to come. The laws of hoſpitality are held inviolable among them. All that fly to them for refuge, on whatever account, are ſure of protection and defence; their houſes are open to receive them, and they plentifully ſupply their wants.

Formerly the *Gauls* exceeded the *Germans* in bravery, often made war upon them, and, as they abounded in people beyond what the country could maintain, ſent ſeveral colonies over the *Rhine*. Accordingly, the more fertile parts of *Germany*, in the neighbourhood of the *Hercynian* foreſt (which I find mentioned by *Eratoſthenes* and other *Greek* writers under the name of *Orcania*) fell to the ſhare of the *Volcæ Tectoſages* *, who ſettled in thoſe parts, and have ever ſince kept poſſeſſion. They are in the higheſt reputation for juſtice and bravery, and no leſs remarkable than the *Germans* for poverty, abſtinence, and patience of fatigue, conforming themſelves to the *German* cuſtoms both in habit and way of living. But the neighbourhood of the *Roman province*, and an acquaintance with commerce, have introduced luxury and plenty among the *Gauls*: Whence, becoming gradually an unequal match for the *Germans*, and being worſted in many battles, they no longer pretend to compare with them in martial proweſs.

The *Hercynian* foreſt, of which mention was juſt now made, is about nine days journey in breadth: For as the *Germans* are ignorant of the art of meaſuring land, they have no other way of computing. It begin from the borders of the *Helvetii*, *Nemetes*, and *Rauraci*, and, following directly the courſe of the *Danube*, extends to the territorie of the *Anartes* and *Daci*: Thence, turning from the river to the left, it runs through a multitude of different regions: And though there are many in the country who have advanced ſix days journey into the foreſt, yet no one pretends to have reached the extremity of it, or to have diſcovered how far it extends.

* A people of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, of whom whole armies paſſed not only into *Germany*, but into *Aſia*.

rivers.

rivers. His attendants and friends, poſſeſſing themſelves of a narrow paſs, ſuſtained the attack of the *Roman* cavalry for ſome time; during which, one of his ſervants having provided him with a horſe, he got ſafely off.

Ambiorix, ſeeing the ſtorm that was going to break on his country, and knowing that he could not poſſibly aſſemble an army ſtrong enough to make head againſt *Cæſar*, diſpatched meſſengers privately through the country, to ſignify to be *Eburones*, that every one ſhould ſhift for himſelf as well as he could. They followed his advice, and diſperſing themſelves, retired, ſome into woods, others to inacceſſible moraſſes, others to places near the ſea, which at high water became iſlands. Many, abandoning their country altogether, truſted themſelves and their fortunes to the faith of foreigners. *Catuvulcus*, who had ſhared the rule with *Ambiorix*, being very old and infirm, and therefore incapable of ſupporting the fatigues of either war or flight, poiſoned himſelf, after venting bitter imprecations againſt his collegue for drawing him into ſo fatal an enterprize.

Cæſar's intention was utterly to extirpate the *Eburones*: The difficulty was how to find them. With this view he divided his forces, and depoſited the baggage of the whole army in the fort of *Aduatica**, which was ſituated in the heart of their country, the late quarters of the unfortunate *Sabinus* and *Cotta*. As its works were ſtill entire, the labour of the ſoldiers would be the leſs. The fourteenth legion, one of the three lately levied in *Italy*, he left to guard the fort, under the command of *Q. Cicero*. Dividing the reſt of his army, he ſent *Labienus* with three legions towards the ſea-coaſt, and the provinces that bordered upon the *Menapii*: *Trebonius*, with the like number of legions, he commiſſioned to lay waſte the country adjoining to the *Aduatici*; and reſolved to march himſelf with the other three towards the *Scheld*, and to the extremities of the foreſt of *Arden*, whither he was informed that *Ambiorix* had retired with a few horſe. *Cæſar*, at his departure, promiſed to return at the end of ſeven days, the legion which he had left in garriſon being provided with corn only for that time: And he exhorted *Labienus* and *Trebonius*, if they found it conſiſtent with the public advantage, to return with their legions at the ſame time; that conſulting together, and taking their meaſures from the conduct of the enemy, they might reſolve whither next to carry the war. Tongres, in the country of Liege.

The *Eburones*, as was before obſerved, had no formed body of troops, no garriſon, no fortified town to defend by arms, but were a diſperſed multitude. Wherever a cave, or a thicket, or a moraſs, offered them ſhelter, thither they retired. This made it difficult for *Cæſar* and his army to take their revenge on this perfidious race; whom he could not

* The *Aduatici* were a diſtinct people from the *Eburones*; and their capital, according to many geographers, was *Namur*. Crevier.

attack with his united forces, nor, without great danger to his men, ſuffer them in ſmall parties to ſeek out the enemy in their hiding-places. He ſent meſſengers therefore to the neighbouring ſtates, inviting them all, by the hopes of plunder, to join in the extirpation of the *Eburones*. Accordingly, great numbers flocked ſuddenly thither from all parts. The *Eburones* were attacked on all ſides, and the havock continued till the ſeventh day, which *Cæſar* had appointed for returning to his camp. It then evidently appeared, ſays *Cæſar*, what influence fortune has in war. The report being ſpread among the *Germans* beyond the *Rhine*, that the territories of the *Eburones* were given up to be plundered, and that all without diſtinction were invited to ſhare in the ſpoil, the *Sicambri*, who had afforded a retreat to the *Uſipetes* and *Tenchtheri* (ſpoken of above) aſſembled immediately a body of two thouſand horſe, paſſed the river in barks, about thirty miles below *Cæſar*'s bridge and fort, and advanced directly towards the territories of the devoted nation. Many of the ſcattered people fell into their hands, and abundance of cattle, and the invaders, allured by this ſucceſs, puſhed on ſtill farther. Inquiring of the priſoners concerning *Cæſar*, they underſtood that he had left the country with his whole army, and was a great way off. "What makes you loſe your time "(ſays one of the priſoners) in the purſuit of acquiſitions trifling and "inſignificant, when fortune offers you ſo rich a booty? In three hours "you may reach *Aduatica*, where the *Romans* have depoſited all their "wealth. The garriſon is hardly ſufficient to line the rampart, much leſs "to make ſallies." The *Sicambri*, full of hope, marched directly towards *Aduatica*, under the guidance of the captive who had given them the information.

Vid. ſupr. p. 623.

Cicero, who hitherto had kept his ſoldiers ſtrictly within the camp, according to *Cæſar*'s orders, nor had ſuffered ſo much as a ſervant to ſtraggle beyond the lines, ſeeing the ſeventh day arrive, began to deſpair of *Cæſar*'s return; who, he heard, was marched farther into the country. Wearied out therefore with the continual murmurings of the ſoldiers, who complained that he kept them up like men beſieged; and not ſuſpecting that any accident could befall him within the ſmall extent of three miles, eſpecially from an enemy in a manner totally diſperſed, he ſent out five cohorts to forage in a field, ſeparated from the camp by only a ſingle hill. About three hundred men, who had been ſick, and were now pretty well recovered, joined the detachment: Theſe were followed by almoſt all the ſervants of the camp, together with a vaſt number of carts and carriage horſes. In that very inſtant the *German* cavalry arrived, and, without diſcontinuing their courſe, endeavoured to force an immediate entrance by the *Decuman* gate. As their march had been covered by a wood, they were not perceived till they were juſt upon the camp; inſomuch that the ſuttlers, who kept their booths under the rampart, had not time to retire within the intrenchments. The cohort upon guard could ſcarce ſuſtain the

the firſt onſet, ſo ſurprized and ſtruck were the ſoldiers by the ſudden and unexpected attack. The whole camp was in an uproar, every one enquiring of another the cauſe of the confuſion; nor could they determine which way to advance the ſtandards, or where to poſt themſelves. Some reported, that the camp was already taken; others, that the *Germans*, having deſtroyed *Cæſar* and his troops, were come victorious to aſſault it. The greater number, full of imaginary fears, called to mind the fate of *Cotta* and *Sabinus*, who periſhed on that very ſpot.

Among the ſick in the garriſon was *P. Sextius Baculus*, a Centurion of the firſt rank, of whom honourable mention has been already made. This officer, though he had not taſted food for five days, ruſhed unarmed out of his tent. Seeing the enemy at hand, and the danger extreme, he ſnatched up the firſt arms that offered, and poſted himſelf in the gate of the camp. The Centurions of the cohort upon guard followed his example, and for a while ſuſtained the enemies charge. *Sextius* expired under a multitude of wounds, and was with difficulty carried off by the ſoldiers. But the *Romans* now had begun to reſume their courage; ſo far at leaſt as to mount the rampart, and make a ſhew of defending themſelves.

Mean time the foragers, returning, heard the noiſe at the camp. They ſent ſome horſemen before to learn the cauſe of it, who were quickly apprized of the danger. The new levies, unexperienced in matters of war, fixed their eyes upon the officers, waiting their orders. Not a man was found ſo hardy and reſolute as not to be diſturbed and diſconcerted by the unexpected accident. The *Germans*, when they perceived the *Roman* enſigns at a diſtance, gave over the attack of the camp, imagining at firſt that it was *Cæſar* with the legions; but diſcovering in a ſhort time how few they were whom they had to deal with, fell upon them on all ſides.

The ſervants of the camp fled to the neareſt riſing ground; whence being preſently driven, they threw themſelves amongſt the ranks of the cohorts, and thereby increaſed their terror. Some retired to a hill, there to defend themſelves in the beſt manner they could: But the veteran ſoldiers of the detachment, mutually encouraging one another, and being led on by their commander *C. Trebonius*, a *Roman* Knight, broke through the midſt of the enemy, and all to a man arrived ſafe at the camp. The ſervants and cavalry followed them, and aſſiſting their retreat, were likewiſe by their bravery preſerved. But the troops which had retired to the hill, being unexperienced in military affairs, did not perſiſt in the reſolution they had taken of defending themſelves there, but in a ſhort time, quitting the advantage of the ſituation, endeavoured to gain the camp: But they failed in the attempt: A few only eſcaped; the reſt were ſurrounded and cut to pieces by the Barbarians.

The *Germans*, deſpairing now to force the camp, repaſſed the *Rhine* with the booty which they had depoſited in the woods: But, even when

they were gone, the terror the *Romans* were under continued to be ſo great, that *Voluſenus*, arriving in the camp the ſame night with the cavalry, could not perſuade them that *Cæſar* and the army were ſafe: They perſiſted in believing that the infantry was wholly deſtroyed, and that the cavalry alone had eſcaped, it ſeeming to them altogether incredible, that the *Germans* would have dared to attack the camp, had no misfortune befallen the *Roman* army. *Cæſar*'s arrival quickly put an end to their fears.

Being informed of what had happened, he only complained of the ſending out the cohorts to forage: Obſerving, that in war nothing ought to be left to fortune, whoſe power had ſhewed itſelf evidently in the ſudden arrival of the enemy, and much more in their coming up unperceived to the very gates of the camp. But nothing in this whole affair appeared to him more wonderful than that the *Germans*, having croſſed the *Rhine* with the purpoſe of plundering the territories of *Ambiorix*, ſhould do him a moſt acceptable ſervice, by falling upon the *Roman* camp.

Cæſar marched a ſecond time to haraſs and diſtreſs the enemy, and having drawn a great number of troops together from the neighbouring ſtates, ſent them into all parts upon this ſervice. Such devaſtation was made, that it ſeemed likely, if the enemy eſcaped the ſword for the preſent, they would afterwards periſh by famine. Nothing was left untried to attempted to take *Ambiorix* priſoner, the parties that were ſent out in ſearch of him believing they ſhould thereby gain the higheſt favour with *Cæſar*, whoſe good fortune waited only this to render it complete. But all their endeavours were fruitleſs: *Ambiorix* found means to hide himſelf in the woods and moraſſes; whence removing privately in the night, he eſcaped into other countries, accompanied only by four horſemen, in whom alone he durſt confide.

Cæſar in this expedition had loſt only two cohorts; and, having laid waſte the whole country, led back his army into the territories of the *Rhemi*. There he ſummoned a general aſſembly of *Gaul*, to examine into the affair of the *Senones* and the *Carnutes*; and having paſſed ſentence againſt *Acco*, the author of the revolt, ordered him to be executed on the ſpot. Some, fearing a like fate, fled; whom having baniſhed by a decree of the aſſembly, he quartered two legions in *Treves*, two among the *Lingones*, and the remaining ſix in the country of the *Senones*: And, having provided the army with corn, he went, purſuant to his deſign, into *Italy*, to hold the aſſemblies of *Ciſalpine Gaul*.

J. C. Comm. lib. vii. While *Cæſar* was on the *Italian* ſide of the *Alps*, the *Gauls* on the other ſide plotted a general revolt, and made a more vigorous effort, than they had ever done before, to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke. The execution of *Acco*, chief of the *Senones*, had alarmed all the great men, each thinking himſelf expoſed to the ſame treatment. And what more eſpecially encouraged their making an attempt at this time to recover their freedom, were

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the inteſtine commotions and ſeditions at *Rome*, which the death of *Clodius* had occaſioned, and which they thought would detain *Cæſar* a long time in *Italy*. Beſides, as his ten legions were ſtationed in the remote extremity of *Gaul*, on the north and the eaſt, if the country between him and them revolted, it would not be eaſy for him to rejoin them when he ſhould be at leiſure to do it; nor would the legions, without their General, dare to leave their winter quarters. And laſtly, they came to this concluſion, that it was better to die bravely in the field, than not regain their former martial glory, and the liberty derived to them from their anceſtors.

Such were the debates and reſolutions in the private councils of the *Gauls*, held in woods and remote places for the ſake of ſecrecy. The *Carnutes*, declaring themſelves ready to ſubmit to any danger for the common ſafety, offered to be the firſt to take up arms againſt the *Romans*; and becauſe the exchanging of hoſtages might occaſion a too early diſcovery of their deſign, they propoſed, that the other ſtates ſhould bind themſelves by a ſolemn oath, ſworn before the military enſigns collected together (which is the moſt ſacred obligation among the *Gauls*) not to abandon them during the courſe of the war. This offer of the *Carnutes* was received with univerſal applauſe, and the oath taken by all preſent: after which, the time for action being fixed, the aſſembly ſeparated.

When the appointed day came, the *Carnutes*, headed by two men of deſperate reſolution, flew on a ſudden to *Genabum*, maſſacred the *Roman* Citizens who had ſettled there on account of trade, and ſeized their effects. Among the ſlain was *C. Fufius Cotta*, a *Roman* Knight of eminence, to whom *Cæſar* had committed the care of ſupplying the army with proviſions. The fame of this maſſacre ſoon ſpread into all the provinces of *Gaul*: for, when any thing extraordinary and important happened, it was their cuſtom to publiſh it from place to place by outcries, which, being ſucceſſively repeated by men ſtationed on purpoſe, were carried with incredible expedition over the whole country. And thus it was on the preſent occaſion; what had been done at *Genabum* about ſun-riſing, was known before nine at night in the territories of the *Arverni*, a diſtance of one hundred and ſixty miles.

Inſtigated by this example, *Vercingetorix*, the ſon of *Celtillus*, of the nation of the *Arverni*, a young nobleman of great power and intereſt (whoſe father had preſided over all *Celtic Gaul*, and for aiming at the ſovereignty had been put to death by his countrymen) calling his clients and followers together, eaſily perſuaded them to a revolt. His deſign being diſcovered, the people immediately flew to arms; and *Gobannitio* his uncle, with the other principal men of the ſtate, dreading the conſequences of ſo raſh an enterprize, united all their authority againſt him,

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and expelled him the city of *Gergovia*[y]. But *Vercingetorix*, not diſcouraged by this oppoſition, having engaged in his ſervice a conſiderable number of outlaws and fugitives, ſoon made himſelf maſter of *Gergovia*, and drove out of the country all thoſe who had ſo lately forced him to leave that city. He was, upon this, ſaluted King by his followers, and immediately diſpatched Ambaſſadors into all parts to exhort the confederate ſtates to continue firm to their engagements. The *Senones*, *Pariſii*, *Pictones*, *Cadurci*, *Turones*, *Aulerci*, *Lemovices*, *Andes*, and the nations bordering upon the ocean, readily came into the alliance, and with unanimous conſent declared him Generaliſſimo of the league. Inveſted with this authority, he demanded hoſtages of the ſeveral ſtates, ordered them, at a prefixed time, to furniſh him with a certain number of men and arms; and more particularly applied himſelf to the raiſing of a numerous cavalry. To an extreme diligence, he joined an extreme rigour of command: For greater faults, the criminals, after having been tortured, were burnt alive; and for lighter offences, they had their ears cut off, or one of their eyes put out, and were in that condition ſent home to ſerve as an example to the reſt. Thus by the ſeverity of his puniſhments he obliged the irreſolute to declare themſelves in his favour.

Having aſſembled a conſiderable army, he ſent *Luterius* of *Quercy*, a bold and enterprizing man, with part of the forces, againſt the *Rutheni*.* and marched himſelf into the territories of the *Bituriges*. This people, upon his arrival, diſpatched Ambaſſadors to the *Ædui*, under whoſe protection they were, to demand ſuccours againſt the enemy. The *Ædui*, by the advice of the Lieutenants *Cæſar* had left with the army, ordered a body of horſe and foot to the aſſiſtance of the *Bituriges*; but thoſe troops advanced no farther than the banks of the *Loire*, which divides their country from that of the *Bituriges*, and after halting there a few days, returned home, pretending that they had received information, that in caſe they had paſſed the river, they would be treacherouſly attacked on one ſide by the *Bituriges*, whom they went to aſſiſt, and on the other by the *Arverni*. On their departure, the *Bituriges* immediately joined the forces of the revolted ſtates.

* The inhabitants of Rouergue.

[Year of *Rome* 701[z].]

Cæſar, upon the firſt report of this inſurrection, left *Italy*, and ſet out for *Tranſalpine Gaul*. On his arrival there he found it very difficult to reſolve, in what manner to join the army; for ſhould he order the legions to repair to the *Province*, he foreſaw they would be attacked on their march in his abſence; and ſhould he himſelf proceed to the quarters of the legions, he was not without apprehenſion of danger, even from thoſe ſtates, that ſeemingly continued faithful to the *Romans*.

[y] City of *Auvergne*, the ruins of which are viſible two leagues ſouth-eaſt of *Clermont*: the mountain is ſtill called *Gergoie*.

[z] For the events and tranſactions at *Rome* in the year 700, ſee above, p. 527, 540.

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In the mean time *Luterius* of *Query*, who had been sent by *Vercingetorix* into the territories of the *Rutheni*, brought over that state to the alliance of the *Arverni*. Advancing from thence among the *Natiobriges* * and *Gabali* †, he received hostages from both nations; and having got together a numerous body of troops, drew towards *Narbonne*, to attack the *Romans* on that side. *Cæsar*, informed of his design, thought it incumbent on him first to provide for the security of the *Province*. He therefore flew to *Narbonne*, secured that town, placed garrisons in the towns of the *Ruthini*, subject to the *Romans*, also in those of the *Volsci*, *Tolosani*, and other states bordering upon the enemy. *Luterius*, not daring to march forwards among so many *Roman* garrisons, thought proper to retire. Thus *Cæsar* was left at liberty to execute the project he had formed of penetrating into the country of the *Arverni*, through the territories of the *Helvii*, which were separated from each other by the high mountain *Cebenna*. With this view he joined a part of the provincial forces, and the recruits he had brought from *Italy*, whom he had before ordered to rendezvous on the frontiers of the *Helvii*, and proceeding on his march, opened a way over the *Cebenna*, with infinite labour to the soldiers, the mountain being covered with snow to the depth of six feet. The *Arverni*, who looked upon the *Cebenna* as an impenetrable barrier, impassable in that season even to single men, were altogether unprepared for the arrival of the *Romans*; and *Cæsar*, to strike a general terror among them, ordered his cavalry to spread themselves on all sides over the country.

Fame and messengers from the state soon informed *Vercingetorix* of the calamity of his country. The *Arverni* gathered round him, and, with looks full of dismay, conjured him to have regard to their fortunes, and not abandon them to the ravages of the enemy; especially as he now saw that the whole war was pointed against them. *Vercingetorix*, moved by their intreaties, broke up his camp, and marched towards *Auvergne*. This *Cæsar* had foreseen: and his scheme being to amuse the enemy on that side, while he stole off to his legions, he staid only two days in the camp; and leaving young *Brutus* to command in his absence, with orders to disperse the cavalry as wide as he could, he set out on pretence of going for a reinforcement, promising to return, if possible, in three days. But posting by great journies to *Vienne*, he there joined the new levied cavalry, whom he had sent thither some time before. From thence travelling day and night, without taking any rest, through the country of the *Ædui*, to prevent by his expedition any designs they might form against his person, he at length reached the confines of the *Lingones*, where two of his legions wintered; and sending immediately to the rest, he drew them all together, before the *Arverni* could be apprized of his arrival in those parts.

* People of the Vivarais.

† People of Gevaudan.

Vercingetorix, upon notice of this junction, led back his army into the territories of the *Bituriges*, and inveſted *Gergovia*, a town belonging to the *Boii*, where they had been ſettled by *Cæſar* after the defeat of the *Helvetii*, and made ſubject to the *Æduan* ſtate. This motion of the enemy greatly perplexed the *Roman* General. If he continued incamped with his legions during the reſt of the winter, and abandoned the ſubjects of the *Ædui* to the attempts of the enemy, he had reaſon to apprehend that the *Gauls*, ſeeing him afford no protection to his friends, would univerſally revolt. On the other hand, if he took the field too early, he riſqued the want of proviſions and forage, by the great difficulty of procuring convoys. Reſolving, however, not to ſubmit to an affront that muſt for ever alienate the minds of his allies, he in the ſtrongeſt terms enjoined the *Ædui* to be diligent in ſupplying him with the neceſſary proviſions, diſpatched meſſengers to the *Boii* to inform them of his approach, and exhort them to continue firm to their duty: then leaving two legions with the baggage of the whole army at *Agendicum* *, he began his march to the relief of *Gergovia*.

* Sens.

He arrived the next day before *Vellaunodunum* †, a city of the *Senones*, which ſurrendered after a ſiege of two days. In two days more he reached *Genabum*, where the *Roman* citizens had been lately maſſacred by the *Carnutes*. *Cæſar*'s ſudden approach had not left the enemy time to prepare for a defence; they therefore attempted to make their eſcape in the night by a bridge over the *Loire*. To prevent the execution of ſuch a deſign, *Cæſar* had ordered two legions to be in readineſs under arms: and about midnight, being informed by his ſcouts that the enemy were ſtealing off, he ſet fire to the gates of the town; the legions entered, purſued the fugitives over the bridge, and almoſt intirely deſtroyed them. The town was plundered and burnt.

† Beaune in Gatinois.

Here *Cæſar* paſſed the *Loire*, and, marching into the territories of the *Bituriges*, ſat down before *Noviodunum* ‡. The inhabitants ſent deputies to treat of a ſurrendry, but before the articles agreed upon could be put into execution, the cavalry of *Vercingetorix* appeared at a diſtance. This General of the *Gauls*, informed of *Cæſar*'s approach, had raiſed the ſiege of *Gergovia*, and marched to meet the *Romans*. The beſieged, on this proſpect of relief, though they had already given hoſtages, and received into the town ſome centurions and ſoldiers of the *Roman* army, with great clamours flew to arms, ſhut the gates, and manned the walls. The *centurions* in the town judging, from the noiſe among the *Gauls*, that they had ſome new project in view, had cautiouſly poſted themſelves at one of the gates, and getting all their men together, retreated without loſs to the camp. *Cæſar* ſoon diſperſed the enemies horſe, which was not ſupported by the body of the army; and the people of *Noviodunum*, diſappointed and terrified at the defeat of their friends, ſeized immediately on all thoſe who had been inſtrumental in breaking the capitulation, ſent them priſoners

‡ Nouan.

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to *Cæſar*'s camp, and delivered up the town. From thence *Cæſar* marched on to *Avaricum*, the ſtrongeſt and moſt conſiderable city of the *Bituriges*.

Vercingetorix, alarmed at the loſs of ſo many towns in ſo ſhort a time, called a general council of his followers, and repreſented to them: "That "it was neceſſary to reſolve upon a very different plan of war, from that "which they had hitherto purſued; and, inſtead of giving battle to the "*Romans*, they ſhould bend their whole aim to intercept their convoys "and foragers: That this might be eaſily effected, as they themſelves "abounded in cavalry, and in the preſent ſeaſon of the year, there being "no forage in the fields, the enemy muſt unavoidably diſperſe themſelves into the diſtant villages for ſubſiſtence, and thereby give daily "opportunities of deſtroying them. That, where life and liberty were at "ſtake, property and private poſſeſſion ought to be little regarded; that "therefore the beſt reſolution they could take was, at once to burn all "their houſes and villages, from the territories of the *Boii* to wherever "the *Romans* might extend their quarters for the ſake of forage: That "they themſelves had no reaſon to apprehend ſcarcity, as they would be "plentifully ſupplied by thoſe ſtates, whoſe territories they were ready to "defend at ſo great loſs; whereas, the enemy muſt either be reduced "to the neceſſity of ſtarving, or making diſtant and dangerous excurſions "from their camp; that it equally anſwered the purpoſe of the *Gauls*, to "defeat the *Roman* army, or ſeize upon their baggage and convoys; be"cauſe without theſe laſt, it would be impoſſible for them to carry on the "war: That, in his opinion, they would do well to ſet fire even to the "towns themſelves, which were not ſtrong enough to be perfectly ſecure "againſt all danger; as by this means they would neither become places "of retreat to their own men, to ſcreen them from military ſervice; nor "contribute to the ſupport of the *Romans* by the ſupplies and plunder "they might furniſh: He added, that though theſe things were indeed "grievous, yet they ought to reflect that it was ſtill more grievous to ſee "their wives and children dragged into captivity, and be themſelves put "to the ſword, the unavoidable fate of the conquered."

This propoſal being approved by all, more than twenty cities of the *Bituriges* were burnt in one day; the like was done in other ſtates; nothing but conflagrations were ſeen over the whole country; and though the natives bore this deſolation with extreme regret, they comforted themſelves with the hopes, that it was the ſure way to a ſpeedy victory, which would amply recompence their loſſes. The fate of *Avaricum* was ſolemnly debated in council, whether it ſhould be burnt or defended; the *Bituriges* falling proſtrate on the ground, earneſtly begged that they might not be obliged to burn with their own hands one of the moſt beautiful cities of *Gaul*, the ornament and the ſecurity of their ſtate; eſpecially as the town itſelf, almoſt wholly ſurrounded by a river and morals, and affording but

one very narrow approach, was from the nature of its ſituation, capable of an eaſy defence. *Vercingetorix* at firſt oppoſed their requeſt, but at length moved by their prayers, and the generous compaſſion of the army, he yielded, and ſent a ſtrong garriſon to defend the town.

This affair determined, he followed *Cæſar* by eaſy marches, and choſe for his camp a place ſurrounded with woods and marſhes, about fifteen miles diſtant from *Avaricum*. There he had hourly intelligence by his ſcouts, of all that paſſed before the town; and ſent his orders from time to time to the garriſon. He kept a conſtant watch upon the *Roman* convoys, and foragers, whom, notwithſtanding their vigilance, he frequently cut off, when neceſſity obliged them to ſeek for proviſions at too great a diſtance.

Cæſar having incamped on that ſide, where the river and moraſſes left a narrow acceſs to the town, began to raiſe a mount, bring forward his battering engines, and prepare two towers of aſſault; without attempting to make lines of circumvallation, which the nature of the ground rendered impoſſible. He was continually ſoliciting the *Æduans* and *Boii* for corn, but received no great ſupplies from either; partly through the negligence of the *Æduans*, who were not zealous in the affair; partly through the inability of the *Boi*, who poſſeſſing an inconſiderable territory, ſoon conſumed all the corn their land produced. The army were for many days altogether without bread, and had nothing to appeaſe their hunger but the cattle brought from diſtant villages: yet not an expreſſion was heard among the ſoldiers unworthy the majeſty of the *Roman* name, or the glory they had acquired by former victories. And when *Cæſar* viſited the different quarters of the legions in perſon, and offered to raiſe the ſiege, if they found the famine inſupportable; they with one voice requeſted him not to do it, adding, "That, during the many years they had ſerved under him, they "never yet had met with any check, or formed any enterprize in which "they had not ſucceeded; that they could not but look upon it as inglo- "rious to abandon a ſiege they had once begun; and had rather undergo "the greateſt hardſhips, than not revenge the blood of the *Roman* Citi- "zens, perfidiouſly maſſacred by the *Gauls* in *Genabum*."

And now the towers began to approach the walls, when *Cæſar* was informed by ſome priſoners, that *Vercingetorix*, having conſumed all the forage round him, had removed his camp nearer to *Avaricum*, and was gone himſelf at the head of the cavalry, and the light-armed troops accuſtomed to fight in their intervals, to form an ambuſcade for the *Romans*, in a place where it was ſuppoſed they would come the next day to forage. Upon this intelligence, ſetting out about midnight in great ſilence, he arrived the next morning at the enemy's camp. But they having had timely notice by their ſcouts, inſtantly conveyed their baggage and carriages into a thick wood, and drew up in order of battle on an open hill. *Cæſar* immediately ordered all his ſoldiers to prepare for an engagement.

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The hill itſelf where the enemy ſtood, riſing all the way with an eaſy aſcent, was almoſt wholly ſurrounded by a morals difficult and dangerous to paſs, though not above fifty feet over. Here the *Gauls*, confiding in the ſtrength of their poſt, and having broke down all the bridges over the moraſs, appeared with an air of reſolution. They had formed themſelves into different bodies, according to their ſeveral ſtates; and planting ſelect detachments at all the avenues and fords, waited with determined courage, that, if the *Romans* ſhould attempt to force their way through, they might fall upon them from the higher ground, while embarraſſed in the moraſs. The *Romans*, full of indignation, that the enemy ſhould dare to face them, loudly demanded to be led to battle. *Cæſar* checked their ardour, and endeavoured to make them ſenſible, that in attacking an army ſo ſtrongly poſted, the victory would be attended with the loſs of many brave men; adding, that he could not be too tender of the lives of thoſe, whom he found ready to encounter every kind of danger for his glory. Having by this ſpeech comforted the ſoldiers, he led them back the ſame day to *Avaricum* and applied himſelf wholly to the carrying on of the ſiege.

Vercingetorix, upon his return to the camp, was accuſed by the army of treaſon. The removal of his quarters nearer to thoſe of the enemy, his departure at the head of all the cavalry, his leaving ſo many troops without a commander in chief, and the opportune and ſpeedy arrival of the *Romans* during his abſence; all theſe things, they ſaid, could not eaſily happen without deſign, and gave great reaſon to believe, that he had rather owe the ſovereignty of *Gaul* to *Cæſar*'s favour, than to the free choice of his countrymen. To this charge he replied: "That the removal of his "camp was occaſioned by the want of forage, and made at their own ex- "preſs deſire: That he had poſted himſelf nearer to the *Romans*, on ac- "count of the advantage of the ground, which ſecured him againſt all "attacks: That cavalry were by no means wanted in a moraſs, but might "have been extremely ſerviceable in the place to which he had led them: "That he purpoſely forbore naming a commander in chief at his departure, "leſt the impatience of the multitude ſhould have forced him to give bat- "tle; to which he perceived they were all ſtrongly inclined, through a "certain weakneſs and effeminacy of mind, that rendered them incapable "of bearing long fatigue: That whether accident or intelligence brought "the *Romans* to their camp, they ought to thank, in the one caſe fortune, "in the other the informer, for giving them an opportunity of diſcovering, "from the higher ground, the inconſiderable number of the enemy, and "deſpiſing their feeble efforts; for not daring to hazard an engagement, "they had ignominiouſly retreated to their camp: That for his part, he "ſcorned treacherouſly to hold an authority of *Cæſar*, which he hoped "ſoon to merit by a victory, of which both he and the reſt of the *Gauls* had "now a certain proſpect: That he was willing to reſign the command, "if they thought the honour, done him by that diſtinction, exceeded the "advantages

" advantages procured by his conduct." He added: " To convince you of " the truth of what I have ſaid, hear the *Roman* ſoldiers themſelves." Inſtantly he produced ſome ſlaves, whom he had made priſoners a few days before, and whom by ſeverity and hard uſage he had brought to his purpoſe. Theſe, according to the inſtructions they had received, declared, " That they were legionary ſoldiers: That, urged by hunger, they had " privately ſtolen out of the camp, to ſearch for corn and cattle in the fields: " That the whole army was reduced to ſo weak a condition, as no longer " to be capable of ſupporting fatigue: That the General had therefore " reſolved, if the town held out three days longer, to draw off his men " from the ſiege." " Such (ſaid *Vercingetorix*) are the ſervices you re- " ceive from the man, whom you charge with treaſon. To him it is ow- " ing, that, without drawing a ſword, you ſee a powerful and victorious " army almoſt wholly deſtroyed by famine. He has moreover taken effec- " tual care, that, when neceſſity compels them to ſeek refuge in a ſhame- " ful flight, no ſtate ſhall receive them into its territories."

The whole multitude ſet up a ſhout; and, as their manner was, claſhing their arms, to denote their approbation of the ſpeaker, proclaimed *Vercingetorix* a conſummate General, whoſe fidelity ought not to be queſtioned, and whoſe conduct deſerved the higheſt praiſe. They decreed that ten thouſand men, choſen out of all the troops, ſhould be ſent to reinforce the garriſon of *Avaricum*; it ſeeming too hazardous to rely upon the *Bituriges* alone for the defence of a place, whoſe preſervation, they imagined, would neceſſarily give them the ſuperiority in the war.

Though the *Romans* carried on the ſiege with incredible vigour, yet was their progreſs greatly obſtructed by the addreſs and contrivance of the *Gauls*. For they were a people of ſingular ingenuity, quick of apprehenſion, eaſily imitating whatever they ſaw practiſed by others. They turned aſide with ropes, the hooks made uſe of by the *Romans*, and after having ſeized them, drew them into the town with engines. They likewiſe endeavoured to undermine the mount; an art they were perfectly ſkilled in, as their country abounded with iron-mines. At the ſame time they raiſed towers on all parts of the wall, covered them with raw hides, and in frequent ſallies by day and night, either ſet fire to the mount, or fell upon the workmen. In proportion as the *Roman* towers increaſed in height, by the continual addition to the mount, in the ſame proportion did they advance the towers upon their walls [a], raiſing one ſtory above another. And counter-

[a] The fortified towns among the *Gauls*, had their walls moſtly built in the following manner. Long ſtraight beams of wood were placed upon the ground, at the diſtance of two feet one from another, and ſo as to conſtitute by their length the thickneſs of the wall. Theſe being again croſſed by others, which ſerved to bind them together, had their intervals on the inſide filled up with earth, and on the outſide with large ſtones. The firſt rank thus completed and firmly joined, a ſecond was laid over it, with the ſame diſtance between the beams: but theſe did not reſt upon the beams of the order below, but were placed above their intevals,

counter-working the mines with the utmoſt diligence, they either filled them with great ſtones, or poured melted pitch into them, or repulſed the miners with long ſtakes, burnt and ſharpened at the end.

Such were the obſtacles the *Romans* met with in this ſiege. But the ſoldiers, though much incommoded, during the whole time, with cold and perpetual rains, yet, by dint of labour, overcame all difficulties, and at the end of twenty-five days, had raiſed a mount three hundred and thirty feet broad, and eighty feet high. When it was brought almoſt cloſe to the walls, *Cæſar*, according to cuſtom, attended the works, and encouraged the ſoldiers to labour without intermiſſion; a little before midnight it was obſerved to ſmoke, the enemy having undermined and fired it. At the ſame time they raiſed a mighty ſhout, and ſallying from two of their gates, vigorouſly attacked the works. Some threw lighted torches and dry wood from the walls upon the mount, others pitch and all ſorts of combuſtibles; ſo that it was not eaſy to know on which ſide it was proper firſt to ſend relief. But as *Cæſar* kept always two legions upon guard in the trenches, beſides great numbers employed in the works, who relieved one another by turns, his troops were ſoon in a condition, ſome to oppoſe thoſe that ſallied from the town, others to draw off the towers, and make openings in the mount; whilſt the reſt endeavoured to extinguiſh the flames.

The fight continued with great obſtinacy during the remaining part of the night. The enemy ſtill entertained hopes of victory, and perſiſted with the more firmneſs, as they ſaw the mantlets that covered the towers burnt down, the *Romans* being unable to reſcue them for want of ſhelter. Freſh troops were continually advancing from the town to relieve the fatigued, the enemy believing, that the ſafety of *Gaul* depended on that critical moment. Here (ſays *Cæſar*) I cannot forbear mentioning a remarkable inſtance of intrepidity, to which I was myſelf a witneſs upon this occaſion. A certain *Gaul*, poſted before the gate of the city, threw, into the fire, balls of pitch and tallow to feed it. This man being expoſed to the diſcharge of a *Roman* battery, was ſtruck through the ſide with a dart, and expired. Another ſtriding over his body, immediately took his place. He alſo was killed in the ſame manner. A third ſucceeded; to the third a fourth; nor was this dangerous poſt left vacant, till the fire of the mount was extinguiſhed, the enemy repulſed on all ſides, and an end put to the conflict.

The *Gauls* having in vain tried all methods of defence, conſulted the next day about leaving the town, in conſequence of the orders they had received from *Vercingetorix*. This they hoped eaſily to effect in the

tervals, and filled up as before with earth and ſtones. In this manner the work was carried to a proper height, and the building was as uſeful as beautiful. For as the variety and regular intermixture of the materials pleaſed the eye, ſo the ſtone was proof againſt fire, and the beams againſt the battering-ram; for being faſtened on the inſide with continued planks, they could neither be diſjointed, nor thrown down.

night;

night; as that General's camp was not far off, and the moraſs between them and the *Romans* would ſerve to cover their retreat.' Night came, and the beſieged were preparing to put their ſcheme in execution; when ſuddenly the women running out into the ſtreets, and throwing themſelves at their huſbands feet, conjured them, with many tears, not to abandon to the fury of an enraged enemy them and their common children, whom nature and weakneſs rendered incapable of flight. Finding their entreaties ineffectual (for, in extreme danger, fear often excludes compaſſion) they began to ſet up a loud cry, to inform the *Romans* of the intended eſcape. This alarmed the garriſon, who, apprehending the paſſages would be ſeized by the enemy's cavalry, deſiſted from their attempt.

Next day *Cæſar* brought forward the tower, and gave the neceſſary directions concerning the works. A heavy rain chancing juſt then to fall, he thought it a favourable opportunity of effecting his purpoſe, eſpecially as he obſerved that the walls were negligently guarded. Wherefore, ordering the ſoldiers to abate a little of their ardour in the works, and having inſtructed them in what manner to proceed, he exhorted the legions, who advanced under cover of the machines, to ſeize at laſt the fruit of ſo many toils. Then promiſing rewards to thoſe who ſhould firſt ſcale the town, he gave the ſignal of attack. The *Romans* ruſhed ſuddenly upon the enemy from all parts, and in a moment poſſeſſed themſelves of the walls. The *Gauls* terrified at the vigour of the aſſault, and driven from their towers and battlements, drew themſelves up in the form of a triangle in the market-place, expecting that the *Romans* would advance to attack them. But obſerving that they ſtill kept upon the walls, and were endeavouring to get poſſeſſion of their whole circuit, they began to fear leſt they ſhould be ſhut up on every ſide. Therefore, throwing down their arms, they ran tumultuouſly to the fartheſt part of the town, where many of them were ſlain by the legionaries, the narrowneſs of the gates obſtructing their flight. Others were ſlaughtered by the cavalry without the walls. The *Romans*, regardleſs of plunder, but eager to revenge the maſſacre of *Genabum*, and exaſperated by the obſtinate defence of the place, ſpared neither old men, women, nor children; inſomuch that of all that multitude, amounting to about forty thouſand, ſcarce eight hundred, who had quitted the town upon the firſt alarm, eſcaped ſafe to *Vercingetorix*. He received them into his camp in the dead of the night: For, fearing leſt their entrance by day, and in a body, ſhould occaſion a tumult among the troops; he had ſent out his friends, and the principal noblemen of each province, to meet them by the way, and conduct them to the quarters of their ſeveral ſtates.

Vercingetorix having called a council, comforted the ſoldiers, and exhorted them not to be diſcouraged by their late misfortune. He ſaid, "The *Romans* had not overcome by bravery, or in the field, but "by their addreſs and ſkill in ſieges, an art the *Gauls* were little acquainted with; that they deceived themſelves, who in war expected ſucceſs

"to attend every enterprize; that he himſelf, as they all knew, had never "adviſed the defence of *Avaricum*, and could not but impute the preſent "diſaſter to the imprudence of the *Bituriges*, and the too eaſy compliance "of the reſt: That he hoped, however, ſoon to compenſate their loſs by ſu- "perior advantages, as he was uſing his utmoſt endeavours to bring over "the other ſtates, which had hitherto refuſed their concurrence, and to "form one general confederacy of all *Gaul*, againſt whoſe united ſtrength, "not the whole world would be able to prevail: That he had even in a "great meaſure effected his deſign, and in the mean time only required of "them, for the ſake of the common ſafety, immediately to fortify their "camp, the better to ſecure themſelves from the ſudden attacks of the "enemy." This ſpeech was not unpleaſing to the *Gauls*, and the rather, that, notwithſtanding ſo great a blow, *Vercingetorix* neither retired from public view, nor ſeemed to have loſt any thing of his wonted courage. They even entertained a higher opinion of his prudence and foreſight; as from the firſt he had adviſed the burning of *Avaricum*, and at laſt ſent orders to abandon it. Thus ill ſucceſs, which uſually ſinks the reputation of a commander, ſerved only to augment his credit, and give him greater authority among the troops. At the ſame time, from the aſſurances he had given them, they were full of hopes that the other ſtates would accede to the alliance. And now for the firſt time the *Gauls* ſet about fortifying their camp; being ſo humbled by their late misfortunes, that, though naturally impatient of fatigue, they ſubmitted to every taſk impoſed upon them by their General.

Vercingetorix on his ſide was extremely active to bring over to the confederacy the other provinces of *Gaul*, endeavouring, by preſents and promiſes, to gain the leading men in each ſtate. For this purpoſe he made choice of fit agents, who, by their addreſs, or peculiar ties of friendſhip, were moſt likely to influence thoſe to whom they were ſent. He provided arms and cloathing for the troops that had eſcaped from *Avaricum*, and to repair the loſs ſuſtained by the taking of that place, gave orders to the ſeveral ſtates in alliance to furniſh a certain number of men, and ſend them to the camp, by a day prefixed. At the ſame time he required of them, that all the archers, of which there were great numbers in *Gaul*, ſhould be ſought out and ſent to the army. By theſe meaſures he ſoon filled up the places of thoſe he loſt at the ſiege of *Avaricum*. In the mean time *Theutomatus*, the ſon of *Ollovico*, and King of the *Nitobrigi*, whoſe father had been ſtiled friend and ally by the Senate of *Rome*, came and joined *Vercingetorix* with a great body of horſe, which he had raiſed in his own territories, and in the province of *Aquitain*.

Cæſar finding great plenty of corn and other proviſions at *Avaricum*, ſtayed there ſeveral days to refreſh his troops, after their late ſufferings from ſcarcity and fatigue. Spring was now approaching, and as the ſeaſon invited him to take the field, he reſolved to march againſt the

enemy, either to draw them out of the woods and marſhes, or beſiege them in their fortreſſes. While he was preparing for this expedition, deputies arrived from the *Ædui* to beg he would interpoſe his authority to ſettle the differences in their ſtate. "Every thing there, they told him, threatened "an inteſtine war. That as it was their cuſtom to be governed by a "ſingle magiſtrate, who poſſeſſed the ſupreme power for one year, two "Noblemen candidates for that office: each affirming his election was "according to law. The one was *Convictolitanis*, an illuſtrious and "popular young man; the other *Cotus*, of an ancient family, great "authority, and powerful relations, whoſe brother *Videliacus* had held "the ſame magiſtracy the year before: That the whole ſtate was in "arms, the ſenate and people divided; nor had they hopes of eſcaping a "civil war, but in his care and timely endeavours to put an end to the "conteſt."

Although *Cæſar* was ſenſible it would greatly prejudice his affairs, to quit the purſuit of the war, and leave the enemy behind him; yet reflecting on the miſchiefs that aroſe from diviſions, and deſirous if poſſible to prevent ſo powerful a ſtate, in ſtrict amity with the people of *Rome*, and which he had always in a particular manner cheriſhed and befriended, from having recourſe to violence and arms, which might drive the party that leaſt confided in his friendſhip, to ſeek the aſſiſtance of *Vercingetorix*, he reſolved to make it his firſt care, to put a ſtop to the progreſs of thoſe diſorders. And becauſe, by the conſtitutions of the *Ædui*, it was not lawful for the ſupreme magiſtrate to paſs beyond the limits of the ſtate, that he might not ſeem to infringe their privileges, he reſolved to go thither in perſon, and ſummoned the ſenate and the two candidates to meet him at *Decetia*. The aſſembly was very numerous, and it appeared that *Cotus* had been declared chief magiſtrate by his own brother, in preſence of only a few electors privately called together, without regard to time or place, and even contrary to the expreſs laws of the ſtate, which prohibited two of the ſame family to hold the ſupreme dignity, while he who firſt obtained it was alive, or ſo much as ſit together in the ſenate. *Cæſar* therefore obliged *Cotus* to reſign in favour of *Convictolitanis*, who, upon the expiration of the office of the preceding magiſtrate, had been elected in due form by the prieſts.

This ſentence being paſſed, *Cæſar* exhorted the *Ædui* to lay aſide their quarrels, and apply themſelves ſolely to the buſineſs of the preſent war; to expect with confidence the full recompence of their ſervices, as ſoon as the reduction of *Gaul* ſhould be compleated; and to ſend him immediately all their cavalry, and 10,000 foot, to form a chain of poſts for the ſecurity of his convoys. He then divided his army into two parts. Four legions, under the conduct of *Labienus*, he ſent againſt the *Senones* and *Pariſii*, and the other ſix he led in perſon along the banks of the *Allier*, towards the territories of the *Arverni*, with a deſign to inveſt *Gergovia*.

Part

Part of the cavalry followed *Labienus*; part remained with *Cæſar*. *Vercingetorix* having notice of theſe motions, broke down all the bridges upon the *Allier*, and marched along the other ſide of the river.

As both armies were continually in view, encamped almoſt over againſt each other, and the enemies ſcouts ſo ſtationed, that it was impoſſible for the *Romans* to make a bridge for carrying over their forces, *Cæſar* began to be uneaſy, leſt he ſhould be ſtopped in his progreſs the greateſt part of the ſummer by the river, the *Allier* being ſeldom fordable till towards autumn. But he ſoon found means to compaſs his end. He encamped in a place covered by woods, over-againſt one of thoſe bridges which *Vercingetorix* had cauſed to be broke down. The next day remaining there concealed with two legions, he ſent forward with all the baggage the other four, dividing them into ſix corps, that the number of the legions might appear complete, and ordered them to march as far as they could. When, by the time of the day, he judged they were arrived at the place of their encampment, ſpeedily he rebuilt the bridge upon the old piles, the lower part of which the enemy had left ſtanding; marched over the troops he had with him, and, having choſe a proper place for his camp, recalled the reſt of his forces. *Vercingetorix* being informed, that the *Romans* had paſſed the river, marched on before them by long journeys, that he might not be forced to a battle againſt his will.

Cæſar, after five days march, came before *Gergovia*, where he had a ſlight engagement with the enemy's cavalry. Having taken a view of the place, which he found ſituated on a very high hill, all whoſe approaches were extremely difficult, he not only deſpaired of reducing it by ſtorm, but reſolved not to inveſt it, till he had ſecured a ſupply of proviſions for his army. *Vercingetorix* was encamped near the town, where he had diſpoſed the forces of the ſeveral ſtates in different diviſions, ſeparated from one another by moderate intervals. As his army covered the whole ſummits of the hill, it made a very formidable appearance. Every morning, by day-break, the chiefs of each ſtate, who compoſed his council, aſſembled in his tent, to adviſe with him, and receive his orders: and he ſcarcely let a day paſs, without detaching ſome cavalry, intermixed with archers, to ſkirmiſh with the *Romans*, that he might make trial of the ſpirit and courage of his men. There was a riſing ground, that joined to the foot of the hill on which the town ſtood, well fortified by nature, being very ſteep on all ſides. This eminence, though of ſuch importance to the *Gauls*, that if the *Romans* ſhould get poſſeſſion of it, they could in a great meaſure deprive them of water and forage, was yet but indifferently guarded. *Cæſar* therefore leaving his camp about midnight, diſlodged the enemy before any aſſiſtance could arrive from the town, ſeized the hill, and having placed two legions to defend it, drew a double ditch twelve feet deep from the greater to the leſſer camp, that the ſoldiers might paſs and repaſs without danger.

While theſe things were tranſacted at *Gergovia*, *Convictolitanis* the *Æduan*, to whom, as we have before related, *Cæſar* had adjudged the ſupreme magiſtracy, being bribed by the *Arverni*, endeavoured to engage in the confederacy ſome young noblemen, the chief of whom were *Litavicus* and his brothers, of the moſt diſtinguiſhed family in the country. With theſe he ſhared the money he had received, and exhorted them to conſider, "That they were free, and born to command: That the *Ædui* "alone obſtructed the victory of the league, that their authority reſtrained "the other ſtates from joining in the common cauſe, and that their "concurrence in it would not leave the *Romans* a poſſibility of ſupporting "themſelves in *Gaul*. That he himſelf indeed was under ſome obligation to "*Cæſar*, at leaſt ſo far as an equitable deciſion deſerved that name, but "he ſtill owed more to his country; adding, that the *Ædui* had no greater "reaſon to have recourſe to the *Roman* General, in what regarded their "laws and cuſtoms, than the *Romans* had in the like caſe to apply themſelves to the *Ædui*." The repreſentations of the magiſtrate, and the rewards he beſtowed, ſoon prevailed with the young noblemen. They offered to become the chief conductors of the enterprize; and nothing remained but to conſult on the proper means for accompliſhing their deſign; for they well knew, that the ſtate would not be eaſily induced to engage in the war. It was agreed, that *Litavicus* ſhould have the command of the 10,000 foot appointed to join *Cæſar*, and that his brothers ſhould be ſent before. They alſo concerted in what manner the reſt of the project ſhould be executed.

Litavicus having taken the command of the army, and led them within thirty miles of *Gergovia*, ſuddenly called the troops together, and addreſſing them with tears: "Whither ſoldiers, ſaid he, are we going? "All our cavalry, all our nobility are ſlain. *Eporedorix* and *Virdumarus*, "men of the firſt quality in the ſtate, accuſed by the *Romans* of treaſon, are put to death without a trial. But learn theſe things of thoſe "who have eſcaped the ſlaughter; for, as to me, overwhelmed with grief "for the loſs of my brothers and kinſmen, I am unable to utter our calamities." He then produced ſome, whom he had before inſtructed for that purpoſe, who repeated to the multitude, "That the greateſt part of "the *Æduan* cavalry had been put to the ſword, under pretence of their "holding intelligence with the *Arverni*; and that they themſelves had eſcaped with great difficulty by mixing with the *Roman* ſoldiers." Hereupon the whole army called aloud to *Litavicus*, entreating him to provide for their ſafety; "As if, ſaid he, there was room for counſel, or any choice "left, but that of marching directly to *Gergovia*, and joining the *Arverni*. "Can we doubt, after ſo black an inſtance of *Roman* perfidy, but that they "are already on their way to deſtroy us? Let us, therefore, if any ſpirit "or courage remains in us, revenge the death of our countrymen, ſo unworthily ſlain, and put theſe inhuman ſpoilers to the ſword." He then pointed

pointed to ſome *Roman* Citizens, who had taken the opportunity of their march to bring a large ſupply of corn and proviſions to the camp. Inſtantly the convoy was plundered, the *Romans* put to death with cruel torments, and meſſengers diſpatched through all the territories of the *Ædui*, to ſpread the ſame forgery of the maſſacre of the cavalry and princes, and excite them to take the like vengeance on the common enemy.

Eporedorix, the *Æduan*, a young nobleman of diſtinguiſhed birth, and great intereſt in the ſtate; as likewiſe *Virdumarus*, of the ſame age and equal authority, though not ſo well deſcended (whom *Cæſar*, on the recommendation of *Divitiacus*, had raiſed from a low condition to the higheſt dignities) were both at this time in the *Roman* camp. Between theſe two was a competition for greatneſs; and in the late diſpute about the magiſtracy, the one had declared warmly for *Convictolitanus*, the other for *Cotus*. *Eporedorix*, having notice of *Litavicus*'s deſign, came at midnight to *Cæſar*'s tent, diſcovered the whole plot, and entreated him not to ſuffer the ſtate, through the miſchievous counſels of a few young men, to fall off from the alliance of the *Romans*, which he foreſaw muſt happen, if they ſhould join the enemy with ſo many thouſand men, whoſe ſafety would neither be neglected by their relations, nor diſregarded by the ſtate.

This intelligence gave *Cæſar* extreme concern, becauſe he had always had a particular regard for the *Ædui*. He therefore immediately drew out four legions, together with all the cavalry; nor had he time to contract his camp, becauſe the affair ſeemed wholly to depend upon expedition. He left *C. Fabius*, his Lieutenant, to command in his abſence with two legions. *Litavicus*'s brothers, whom he ordered to be ſeized, had ſome time before eſcaped to the enemy. Having exhorted the ſoldiers to bear the fatigue chearfully in ſo preſſing a conjuncture, they marched with great alacrity, and about five and twenty miles from *Gergovia* came within ſight of the *Æduī*. *Cæſar* immediately detached the cavalry to retard and ſtop their march; but with ſtrict charge to abſtain from ſlaughter. He ordered *Eporedorix* and *Virdumarus*, whom the *Ædui* had lamented as dead, to ride up and down among the ſquadrons, and call to their countrymen. They were ſoon known, and *Litavicus*'s forgery being detected, the *Ædui* ſtretched out their hands, offered to ſubmit, and throwing down their arms, begged their lives might be ſpared. *Litavicus*, with his clients (who by the cuſtom of the *Gauls* cannot without infamy abandon their patrons, even in the greateſt extremity of fortune) fled to *Gergovia*.

Cæſar, having diſpatched meſſengers to the *Ædui* to inform them, that from a regard for their ſtate he had ſpared thoſe, whom by the right of war he might have put to the ſword, after allowing the army three hours reſt, marched back to *Gergovia*. About half way he was met by a party of horſe, ſent by *Fabius*, to acquaint him with the danger that threatened

his

his camp. They told him, " That the enemy had attacked it with all their " forces, relieving the fatigued with ſupplies of freſh men, while the " *Romans* were kept to continual labour; for the vaſt extent of ground " they had to defend, obliged them to be perpetually upon the rampart. " That the multitude of arrows and darts diſcharged by the *Gauls* had " wounded many of the ſoldiers, notwithſtanding the protection received " from the engines, which yet had been of good ſervice in repelling the " aſſailants: That *Fabius*, upon the retreat of the enemy, had cloſed up " all the gates of the camp except two, carried a breaſtwork quite round " the rampart, and made preparation for ſuſtaining the aſſault the next " day." *Cæſar*, upon this news, haſtened his march with all diligence, and ſeconded by the ardour of the troops, arrived in the camp before ſunriſing.

While theſe things paſſed at *Gergovia*, the *Ædui*, upon receipt of the firſt diſpatches from *Litavicus*, ſtaid not for the confirmation of the report; but prompted, ſome by avarice, others by revenge, and many hurried on by a levity and raſhneſs, natural to that people, who are always ready to give credit to every flying rumour, ran immediately to arms, plundered the *Roman* Citizens, killed ſome of them, and ſold others for ſlaves. *Convictolitanus* incited to the utmoſt this fury of the multitude, that, by engaging them in deſperate acts of violence, he might render a return to right meaſures the more difficult. At his inſtigation, they obliged *M. Ariſtius*, a military Tribune, who was upon his way to join the army, to quit *Cabillonum*, promiſing not to moleſt him in his journey: They engaged alſo ſeveral *Roman* merchants, who reſided there on account of traffick, to quit their habitations; then attacking them treacherouſly on the road, they ſtripped them of their baggage, and inveſted day and night thoſe who made reſiſtance. But as ſoon as they had intelligence, that all their troops were in *Cæſar*'s power, they ran to *Ariſtius*, aſſured him that nothing had been done by public authority; ordered informations to be brought againſt thoſe, who had been concerned in pillaging the *Romans*; confiſcated the eſtates of *Litavicus* and his brothers, and ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, to excuſe what had happened. This they did with a view to recover their troops, but unwilling to part with the plunder, in which great numbers had ſhared, conſcious of guilt, and dreading the puniſhment they deſerved, they began privately to concert meaſures of war, and by their Ambaſſadors ſolicited other ſtates to join them. Though *Cæſar* was not ignorant of thoſe practices, he ſpoke with the greateſt mildneſs to the *Æduan* deputies, aſſuring them that he would not conſider the imprudence and levity of the multitude as a crime of the whole nation, nor upon that account leſſen his regard for the ſtate. Apprehending however an univerſal revolt of *Gaul*, and that he might be ſurrounded by all the forces of the ſtates at once, he began to think of retiring from *Gergovia*, and drawing his whole army again into a body;

yet in ſuch a manner, that the retreat, occaſioned by the fear of a general inſurrection, ſhould not carry with it the appearance of a flight.

While he was intent on theſe thoughts, fortune ſeemed to preſent him with an opportunity of acting againſt the enemy with ſucceſs. For coming into the leſſer camp, to take a view of the works, he obſerved a hill quite deſtitute of troops, that for ſome days before was ſcarce to be ſeen for the multitude that covered it. Wondering what might be the cauſe, he inquired of the deſerters, who flocked daily in great numbers to his camp. They all agreed with *Cæſar*'s ſcouts, that the back of the hill was almoſt an even ground, but narrow and woody in that part where a paſſage led to the other ſide of the town: That the enemy were extremely afraid of loſing this poſt, becauſe the *Romans*, who had already poſſeſſed themſelves of one hill, if they ſhould ſeize the other, would in a manner quite ſurround them, become maſters of all the outlets, and entirely cut off their forage: That *Vercingetorix* had therefore drawn all his forces on that ſide, in order to fortify the paſſage.

Cæſar, upon this intelligence, diſpatched ſome ſquadrons of cavalry towards that place about midnight, ordering them to ride up and down with as much noiſe as poſſible. At day-break he drew a great number of mules and carriage-horſes out of the camp, without the uſual harneſs, and furniſhing the grooms and waggoners with helmets, to make them appear like cavalry, commanded them to march round the hill. With theſe he joined ſome ſquadrons of horſe, who, for the greater ſhew, were to range a little more freely. The whole detachment had orders to move towards the ſame place, taking a very large circuit. All theſe diſpoſitions were ſeen from the town, which commanded a full view of the *Roman* camp, though the diſtance was too great to diſtinguiſh objects with certainty. At the ſame time *Cæſar*, the more effectually to deceive the enemy, detached a legion towards the eminence; and when it was advanced a little way, ſtationed it at the foot of the hill, affecting to conceal it in the woods. This increaſing the ſuſpicion of the *Gauls* they immediately led all their forces to defend that poſt. *Cæſar* ſeeing their intrenchments abandoned, made his ſoldiers cover the military enſigns and ſtandards, and file off in ſmall parties from the greater to the leſſer camp, that they might not be perceived from the town. He then opened his deſigns to his Lieutenants, whom he had appointed to command the ſeveral Legions, directing them above all things to moderate the ardour of the ſoldiers, that the hope of plunder, or deſire of fighting, might not carry them too far. He repreſented to them the danger they were expoſed to by the diſadvantage of the ground, for which there was no remedy but diſpatch; and that he intended only to make a ſudden attack, not to fight a battle. Theſe precautions taken, he gave the ſignal to engage, and at the ſame time diſpatched the *Ædui* by another aſcent, to charge the enemy on the right.

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The wall of the town was about twelve hundred paces diſtant from the foot of the hill, without reckoning the breaks and hollows. The compaſs the troops were obliged to take, to moderate the ſteepneſs of the aſcent, added ſtill to this ſpace upon the march. About half way up the hill, the *Gauls* had run a wall of large ſtones, ſix feet high, the better to defend themſelves againſt the attacks of the *Romans*. Between this and the plain, the enemy had no troops; but the upper part of the hill, to the very walls of the town, was crouded with the camps of their ſeveral ſtates.

The ſignal being given, the *Romans* immediately mounted the hill, ſcaled the neareſt wall, and poſſeſſed themſelves of three of the enemies camps. Such too was the expedition wherewith they carried them, that coming ſuddenly upon *Theutomatus*, King of the *Nitobrigi*, as he was repoſing himſelf in his tent about noon, he very narrowly eſcaped being taken: he was obliged to fly half naked, and had his horſe wounded under him.

Cæſar, having accompliſhed all he had in view, ordered a retreat to be ſounded; and the tenth legion, which fought near his perſon, obeyed, the other legions did not hear the ſignal, being ſeparated from him by the valley; but the Lieutenants and military Tribunes, according to the inſtructions given by *Cæſar* in the beginning, commanded them to halt. Nevertheleſs, elated with the hopes of a ſpeedy victory, and the remembrance of their former ſucceſſes, they thought nothing impracticable to their valour; nor did they deſiſt from the purſuit, till they had reached the walls and gates of the town. Upon this a great cry ariſing from all parts, thoſe that were fartheſt from the place of aſſault, terrified by the noiſe and tumult, and imagining the enemy already within the gates, quitted the town with precipitation. The women throwing their money and clothes from the walls, with naked breaſts, and extended arms, conjured the *Romans* to ſpare their lives, and not, as at *Avaricum*, ſacrifice all to their reſentment, without diſtinction of age or ſex. Some being let down from the wall, delivered themſelves up to the ſoldiers. *L. Fabius*, a Centurion of the eighth Legion, told his troop, that he had not yet forgot the plunder of *Avaricum*, and was reſolved no man ſhould enter the place before him. Accordingly, having with the aſſiſtance of three of his company got upon the town-wall, he helped them one after onother to do the like.

In the mean time the *Gauls*, who, as we have before related, were gone to defend the poſt on the other ſide of the town, excited by the cries of the combatants, and the repeated accounts that the enemy had entered the place, ſending all the cavalry before to ſtop the progreſs of the *Romans*, advanced in great crouds to the attack, and as they arrived drew up under the walls. They ſoon became formidable by their multitude, and the women, who a little before had implored the compaſſion of the *Romans*, now began to encourage their own troops, ſhewing their diſhevelled hair, and

producing their children according to the cuſtom of the *Gauls*. The conteſt was by no means equal either in reſpect of numbers, or of the ground; and the *Romans* already fatigued with their march, and the length of the combat, were little able to ſuſtain the attack of freſh and vigorous troops.

CÆSAR perceiving the diſadvantages his troops laboured under, began to fear the event: ſending therefore to SEXTIUS his Lieutenant, whom he had left to guard the leſſer camp, he ordered him to draw out the cohorts with all expedition, and poſt them at the foot of the hill upon the enemy's right: that if the legions engaged ſhould give way, the cohorts might deter the *Gauls* from purſuing them. He himſelf advancing a little with the tenth legion, waited the iſſue of the combat.

While the conflict was maintained with the utmoſt vigour on both ſides, the enemy truſting to their poſt and numbers, the *Romans* to their courage; ſuddenly the *Ædui*, whom CÆSAR had detached by another aſcent on the right to make a diverſion, appeared on the open flank of his men. As they were armed after the manner of the *Gauls*, this ſight greatly terrified them, and though the *Ædui* extended their right hands in token of peace, yet ſtill the *Romans* imagined it a ſtratagem to deceive them. At the ſame time L. FABIUS the Centurion, and thoſe who had mounted the wall with him, being ſurrounded and ſlain, were thrown down by the enemy from the battlements. M. PETREIUS, a Centurion of the ſame legion, who had endeavoured to force the gates, finding himſelf overpowered, and deſpairing of ſafety, becauſe he was already covered with wounds, turned to the ſoldiers that followed him, and ſaid: "Since I "find I am unable to ſave both myſelf and you, I will do my utmoſt to "preſerve your lives, which, through too eager a deſire of glory, I "have brought into this danger; ſeize the opportunity, and retire." Then ruſhing on, killed two of the enemy, drove the reſt from the gate, and ſeeing his men approach to his aſſiſtance, he cried: "In vain do you "endeavour to preſerve my life: my blood and ſtrength forſake me. Go "therefore, while you may, and rejoin your legion." Continuing ſtill to fight, he expired ſoon after, generouſly ſacrificing his own life to the ſafety of his followers.

The *Romans*, thus preſſed on all ſides, were at length driven from the place. But the tenth legion, which had been poſted on a more advantageous ground to cover their retreat, checked the impetuous purſuit of the *Gauls*, and was ſuſtained by the cohorts of the thirteenth legion, who had quitted the leſſer camp under SEXTIUS, and poſſeſſed themſelves of an eminence. The legions having reached the plain, immediately halted, and faced about towards the enemy; who advancing no farther than the foot of the hill, returned back to their intrenchments. The *Romans* loſt forty-ſix centurions, and about ſeven hundred men.

CÆSAR having aſſembled the army the next day, ſeverely blamed the temerity and avarice of the ſoldiers, "That they had taken upon them "ſelves,

" ſelves, to judge how far they were to proceed, and what they were to " perform; regarding neither the ſignal to retreat, nor the orders of their " officers. He repreſented to them the danger of fighting on diſadvantage- " ous ground, and reminded them of his own conduct at the ſiege of *Ava-* " *ricum*, when, having ſurprized the enemy without a General, and with- " out cavalry, he had choſen rather to give up a certain victory, than, by " attacking them in a difficult poſt, hazard a conſiderable loſs: That as " much as he admired their courage, which neither the intrenchments of " the camps, nor the height of the hill, nor the walls of the town could " check; ſo much did he blame their licenciouſneſs and arrogance, who " thought they knew more than their General, and could ſee better than " him the way to conqueſt: That he looked upon obedience and mo- " deration, as virtues no leſs eſſential to a good ſoldier, than valour and " magnanimity." In the end he exhorted them " not to be diſcouraged " by their late misfortune, nor aſcribe that to the bravery of the enemy, " which was entirely owing to the diſadvantage of the ground, on which " they fought." He ſtill perſiſted in his deſign of retiring from *Gergo-* *via*, but firſt drew out his legions on the plain, and offered battle to the enemy; which *Vercingetorix* declined, not thinking it adviſeable to quit the advantage of his ſituation; and *Cæſar* returned to his camp after a ſmall but ſucceſsful ſkirmiſh between the cavalry. The following day he again drew out his army, and thinking he had done enough to confirm the courage of his own men, and abate the pride of the *Gauls*, he de- camped and marched towards the territories of the *Ædui*. The enemy made no attempt to purſue him. He arrived the third day on the banks of the *Allier*, and having repaired the bridge, paſſed over with his whole army.

Here *Heporedorix* and *Viridomarus* informed him, that *Litavicus* was gone with all the cavalry to ſolicit the *Ædui* to revolt; and that it im- ported greatly, that they ſhould be there before him, to confirm the ſtate in their attachment to the *Romans*. Though *Cæſar* was by many proofs fully convinced of the perfidy of the *Ædui*, and foreſaw that the departure of theſe men would haſten the revolt, yet not to give ground of offence, or betray any fear, he did not think it adviſable to detain them. After enumerating the many ſervices he had done the *Ædui*; " That " having found them low and depreſſed, ſhut up within their towns, " deprived of their lands, without troops, tributaries to their enemies, " and ignominiouſly obliged to give hoſtages, he had not only reſtored " them to their former condition, but had raiſed them to a degree of " power and authority beyond what they had ever poſſeſſed;" he diſ- miſſed them.

Noviodunum was a town belonging to the *Ædui*, conveniently ſituated on the banks of the *Loire*. Here *Cæſar* had lodged all the hoſtages of *Gaul*, his proviſions, the public money, and great part of his own

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and his army's baggage: here alſo he kept the horſes brought from *Italy* and *Spain* for the ſervice of the war. When *Eporedorix* and *Viridomarus* arrived at this place, and were informed how the *Æduan* ſtate was diſpoſed: "That *Litavicus* had been received into *Bibracte*; that *Convictolitanes*, the chief magiſtrate, and almoſt all the ſenate, had repaired thither to meet him; that Ambaſſadors had been publicly ſent to *Vergingetorix*, to conclude a treaty of alliance;" they thought the preſent favourable opportunity was by no means to be neglected. Having therefore put to the ſword the garriſon of *Noviodunum*, with all the *Romans* found in the place, they divided the money and horſes, ordered the hoſtages to be conducted to *Bibracte*, and ſet fire to the town. Then drawing together the troops cantoned in the neighbourhood, they placed guards along the banks of the *Loire*, and began to ſcour the country with their cavalry; in order to cut off *Cæſar*'s convoys, and oblige him, through want of proviſions, to return into the *Roman Province*. This they thought the more eaſy to effect, as the *Loire* was then conſiderably ſwelled by the melting of the ſnow, and did not appear to be any where fordable.

Cæſar, ſenſible that a retreat into the *Roman Province* over the *Cebenna* would be both inglorious and difficult, and that it was neceſſary to rejoin *Labienus* with the legions under his command, and come to an action with the enemy before they could draw all their forces together, reſolved to croſs the *Loire*, though he ſhould be under a neceſſity of building a bridge over it. Therefore, marching day and night with the utmoſt diligence, he arrived unexpectedly on the banks of the river. His cavalry very opportunely having found a ford, which however was ſo deep that the water reached to the ſhoulders of his men, he placed his horſe higher up in order to break the ſtream, and carried over his army without loſs; the enemy being ſo terrified at his boldneſs, that they did not dare to make any oppoſition. Finding an abundance of corn and cattle in the fields, he plentifully ſupplied his army, and directed his march towards the country of the *Senones*.

While *Cæſar* was thus employed, *Labienus* on his ſide, leaving at *Agendicum*, to guard his baggage, the new levies lately arrived from *Italy*, marched with four legions to *Lutetia*, a town of the *Pariſii*, ſituated in an iſland of the *Seine*. Upon notice of his approach, the enemy drew together a great army from the neighbouring ſtates; which was commanded by *Camulogenus*, an *Aulercian*, who, though very much advanced in age, was raiſed to that honour for his ſingular knowledge in the art of war. This General pitched his camp near the town behind a large moraſs, whoſe waters ran into the *Seine*, and obſtructed all the paſſages on that ſide. *Labienus* attempted, by the means of hurdles covered with mold, to make a paſſage through it; but not ſucceeding, he ſilently made off in the night, and retired as far as *Melodunum*, a city of

the *Senones*, ſituated alſo in an iſland of the *Seine*. There having ſeized about fifty boats, and filled them with ſoldiers, with a view of ſtorming the town; the inhabitants terrified at this new manner of attack, and being too few to defend the place, becauſe the greater part of them had joined CAMULOGENUS, yielded without making any reſiſtance. LABIENUS immediately repaired the bridge, which had been cut down on his approach, croſſed the *Seine*, and following the courſe of the river, marched back to *Lutetia*. The *Gauls* informed of his motions ſet fire to the town, broke down the bridges, and encamped on the other ſide of the river over-againſt the *Romans*.

It was now every where known, that CÆSAR had left *Gergovia*, and that the *Edui*, with many other ſtates of *Gaul*, had joined in the revolt. It was likewiſe reported that CÆSAR had been obliged to return into the *Roman Province*. At the ſame time the *Bellovaci*, who bordered upon the territories of the *Pariſii*, were raiſing troops with all diligence. In this ſituation of affairs, LABIENUS, menaced on one ſide by this war-like people, and preſſed on the other by the army of CAMULOGENUS, ſaw it was no proper time to think of making conqueſts, but rather in what manner to ſecure his retreat to *Agendicum*, where he had left all his baggage, with the reſt of his troops, and from which place he was now ſeparated by a large river. This he effected in the following manner:

He had brought from *Melodunum* the fifty boats found there, the command of which he gave to as many *Roman* Knights, and ordered them to fall down the river ſilently four miles below *Lutetia*, and there wait his arrival. Five cohorts, the leaſt fit for action, were appointed to guard the camp, the other five of the ſame legion were directed to march up the river with all the baggage, making as much ſtir and noiſe as poſſible; while a few barks that attended them increaſed this noiſe with their oars. Soon after their departure, he marched with three legions to the boats that waited for him, and paſſed them over. CAMULOGENUS, informed at day-break of theſe motions, imagined that the legions were ordered to paſs the river in three different places, and dividing his army into three corps, one he left to guard the paſſage over-againſt the *Roman* camp; another had orders to march up the river as far as the *Romans* ſhould proceed that way; and the reſt, being the greateſt part of his troops, he led himſelf againſt LABIENUS. On his approach, the *Roman* General drew up his army, and gave the ſignal for battle. At the firſt charge, the ſeventh legion, which formed the right wing, routed the left of the *Gauls*. But their right wing, where CAMULOGENUS commanded in perſon, and which was engaged with the twelfth legion, maintained its ground with the utmoſt bravery; the conflict was long and doubtful, till the ſeventh legion, leaving the purſuit of the left, faced about and attacked the *Gauls* in the rear. Thus ſurrounded, they ſtill obſtinately maintained the fight, and were with their General cut

to

to pieces. LABIENUS having gained a compleat victory, retired to *Agendicum*, and from thence marched with all his forces and joined CÆSAR.

The revolt of the *Ædui* gave great ſtrength to the confederacy. Intereſt, money, authority, were all employed to procure the concurrence of the ſtates, that ſtill continued quiet. The hoſtages found at *Noviodunum*, were made a means to compel ſome of them. But it was with great reluctancy that the *Ædui* ſubmitted to the command of VERCINGETORIX, an *Arvernian*; they loudly demanded to have the chief conduct of the war, which not being conſented to by VERCINGETORIX and his friends, the affair was referred to the deciſion of a general aſſembly of the revolted ſtates, ſummoned to meet at *Bibracte* for that purpoſe, where the public voice declared VERCINGETORIX General in chief.

Confirmed in his command, he demanded of the ſtates to furniſh him with fifteen thouſand horſe. He told them, "he was ſufficiently provided "with infantry, as he had no intention to refer the deciſion of the war to "fortune, or hazard a pitched battle; but would endeavour to intercept "the convoys of the enemy by the means of his ſuperior cavalry; which "he judged the eaſieſt and ſafeſt way to ruin them: That the confede-"rates muſt reſolve to deſtroy their corn and houſes, and patiently ſubmit "to a preſent loſs; which would be rewarded by perpetual liberty." He ordered the *Ædui* and *Seguſii* to raiſe ten thouſand foot, to whom having joined eight hundred horſe, he gave the command of them to EPOREDORIX's brother, with directions to attack the *Allobroges*. On the other hand, he commiſſioned the *Gabali*, and ſome cantons of *Auvergne*, to make an irruption into the territories of the *Helvii*, and ſent the *Rutheni* and *Cadurci*, into thoſe of the *Volſci-Arecomici*. He neglected not, however, both by public ambaſſadors and private agents, to ſolicit the concurrence of the *Allobroges*; endeavouring to gain the leading men by preſents, and allure the ſtate by an offer of the ſovereignty of the *Roman Province*.

L. CÆSAR, who commanded in thoſe parts, had levied twenty-two cohorts in the *Province*, and with them prepared to make head on all ſides. The *Helvii* venturing to come to an engagement with the enemy, were defeated, and forced to ſhelter themſelves in their walled towns. But the *Allobroges* placing detachments at proper diſtances along the banks of the *Rhone*, guarded all the avenues of their country with great diligence.

CÆSAR, ſeeing that the enemy was much ſuperior in cavalry, and that his communication with *Italy* and the *Province* was cut off, had recourſe to his *German* allies beyond the *Rhine*, of whom he obtained a ſupply of cavalry, with ſome light-armed infantry accuſtomed to fight amongſt them. On their arrival, finding that they were but indifferently mounted, he gave them the horſes of the Tribunes and other officers of his own army, and marched through the frontiers of the *Lingones* into the country of the *Sequani*, in order to be at hand to ſuccour the *Roman Province*.

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The forces of the enemy from *Auvergne*, and the cavalry of all the confederate ſtates, were now met at the general rendezvous, and formed a very numerous army. *Vercingetorix*, elated with the proſperity of his affairs, and ſuffering himſelf to be led into a contempt of *Cæſar*, whom he thought had no other view, but of retiring into the *Roman Province*, raſhly deviated from that prudent plan of war, which he had hitherto ſo ſteadily purſued. He followed the *Romans*, and poſted himſelf at about four miles diſtance from their army in three camps. Having aſſembled the officers of the cavalry, he endeavoured to perſuade them that the time of victory was come. He told them, "That the *Romans* were at laſt obliged to leave *Gaul*, and "retreat into the *Province*: That this retreat ſecured liberty for the preſent, "but did not aſcertain future tranquillity; as the *Romans* would doubtleſs "ſoon return with greater forces, and perſiſt in the deſign of enſlaving "them: That it was therefore highly expedient to attack them now, while "they marched encumbered with their baggage: That in this attack their "cavalry would never dare to fly from the main body of the army; and "if the infantry faced about, in order to aſſiſt them, they would thereby "be unable to continue their march: If, as was more likely, they "abandoned the baggage to provide for their own ſafety, they would "be deprived of every conveniency, and return home covered with "ignominy and reproach: That to ſtrike a greater terror into the "enemy, he would, during the action, keep all his infantry under arms "before the camp." Theſe words were followed by the acclamations of all the cavalry, who propoſed taking an oath never to return home, nor ſee again their parents, wives or children, if they did not twice pierce through the *Roman* army.

This propoſal being approved, and the oath adminiſtered to all, *Vercingetorix* the next day attacked the *Romans* on their march; he had divided his cavalry into three bodies, two of which moved towards the flanks of the enemy's army, while the third began to charge and haraſs them in front. *Cæſar* formed alſo his horſe into three diviſions, and ordered them to advance againſt the *Gauls*, while the infantry halted, and covered the baggage, which was received into the center. Wherever the *Roman* cavalry gave way, or appeared hard preſſed, thither *Cæſar* ſent detachments from the legions, which both checked the progreſs of the *Gauls*, and confirmed the courage of his own men. At laſt the *Germans* on the right, having driven the enemy from an eminence, purſued them with great ſlaughter to the river, where *Vercingetorix* was poſted with the infantry. The reſt of the *Gallic* cavalry perceiving the defeat of their countrymen, and apprehenſive of being ſurrounded, betook themſelves likewiſe to flight. Three *Æduan* noblemen of diſtinguiſhed rank were brought priſoners to *Cæſar*: *Cotus*, General of the cavalry, who the year before had been competitor with *Convictolitanes* for the ſupreme magiſtracy; *Cavarillus*, who after *Litavicus*'s revolt, was appointed

to command the infantry, and *Eporedorix*, who had been Generaliſſimo of the *Æduan* forces in the war againſt the *Sequani* before *Cæſar*'s arrival in *Gaul*.

Vercingetorix ſeeing his cavalry routed, drew off the infantry, and immediately retreated towards *Aleſia*, a town belonging to the *Mandubii*. *Cæſar* purſued him till night, cut three thouſand of his rear to pieces, and arrived the next day before *Aleſia*. After examining the ſituation of the town, he reſolved to take advantage of the conſternation of the enemy, and lay ſiege to it.

Aleſia was ſituated on the top of a very high hill, at the bottom of which ran two rivers that waſhed it on two ſides. Before the town was a plain extending about three miles in length, but on every other ſide the place was ſurrounded, at a moderate diſtance, by a ridge of hills, whoſe ſummits were nearly of an equal height. Under the walls, on the ſide facing the Eaſt, lay encamped all the forces of the *Gauls*, which were defended by a ditch, and a rampart ſix feet high. The line of circumvallation made by the *Romans* took in a circuit of eleven miles. Their camp was conveniently ſituated, and ſtrengthened with three and twenty redoubts, in which centinels were placed by day, and a ſtrong guard by night.

Whilſt the *Romans* were employed in theſe works, *Vercingetorix* ventured another engagement with the cavalry, in the plain between the hills. The battle was ſharply maintained on both ſides, but the *Romans* beginning to give ground, *Cæſar* detached the *Germans* to their aſſiſtance, and drew up the legions in order of battle before the camp, that he might be ready to oppoſe any ſudden irruption of the enemy's infantry. The ſight of the legions encouraged his men; the *Gauls* were put to the rout, and crouding upon one another in their flight, obſtructed their entrance at the gates of their camp, and gave the *Germans*, who purſued them to their intrenchments, an opportunity of deſtroying great numbers, and carrying off a multitude of priſoners.

Vercingetorix now reſolved to diſmiſs his cavalry, before *Cæſar* had compleated his lines. At their departure he enjoined them, "To repair to their reſpective ſtates, and aſſemble all the men capable of bearing "arms. He ſet forth the many ſervices he had done them, and conjured "them not to neglect his ſafety, or abandon to the cruelty of the enemy "one who had deſerved ſo well of the common liberty. He told them, "that, if they were dilatory in the execution of his orders, 80,000 "choſen men muſt periſh with him: That he had ſcarce corn for thirty "days, and that with the utmoſt œconomy it could not be made to "laſt much longer." After giving theſe inſtructions, he ſent them away ſilently about nine at night, on the ſide where the *Roman* line was not yet finiſhed. He then diſtributed among his ſoldiers all the cattle in the place, but ordered the corn to be brought in to him, reſolving to deliver it out ſparingly and by meaſure. He entered the town with all

his

his forces, and having prepared for an obſtinate defence, waited for the expected ſuccours.

Cæſar, informed of theſe diſpoſitions by the priſoners and deſerters, conſtructed his fortifications in the following manner: He firſt drew a perpendicular ditch twenty feet wide. All the other works he made four hundred feet farther from the town than that ditch. This he did to ſecure his workmen from the darts of the enemy by day, and his works from ſudden and nocturnal ſallies. Obſerving therefore the diſtance above-mentioned, he made two other ditches, each fifteen feet broad, and as many deep, and filled the innermoſt, which lay in a low and level ground, with water from the river. Behind theſe he raiſed a rampart twelve feet high, ſtrengthened with a parapet and battlements; and to prevent the enemy from getting over, a fraiſe ran along the foot of the parapet, made of long ſtakes, with branches cut into points, like the horns of a ſtag. On the whole work were placed turrets, eighty feet diſtant one from another.

But as the ſoldiers were employed to fetch proviſions, bring materials, and work at the fortifications, which conſiderably leſſened the number of troops left to defend them, and as the enemy ſometimes ſallied out to attack the lines, *Cæſar* judged it neceſſary to make the following addition to his works, that they might not require ſo many men to guard them. Between the firſt and ſecond ditches that were neareſt the town, he run a trench five feet deep, and fixed in it ſmall trees and ſtrong branches, the tops of which he had cauſed to be ſharpened. He then filled the trench with earth, ſo that nothing appeared above ground but the ſharp points of the branches, which muſt neceſſarily run into thoſe who attempted to paſs them: and as there were five rows of them, interwoven in a manner with each other, they could not be avoided. In the front of theſe he cauſed pits to be dug three feet deep, and ſomething narrower at bottom than at top. In theſe pits he fixed ſtrong ſtakes, about the thickneſs of a man's thigh, burnt and ſharpened at the top, which roſe only four inches above the level of the ground, into which they were planted three feet deeper than the pits, to keep them firm. The pits were covered with buſhes to deceive the enemy. There were eight rows of them at the diſtance of three feet from each other, and diſpoſed in the form of a Quincunx. The whole ſpace between the pits and the advanced ditch was ſowed with crows-feet, or Caltrops, of an extraordinary ſize.

Theſe works compleated, he drew another line fourteen miles in compaſs, conſtructed in the ſame manner as the former, and carried through the moſt even places he could find, to ſerve as a barrier againſt the enemy without; that if the *Gauls* ſhould attack the camp, they might not be able to ſurround it with their troops, or charge with equal vigour in all parts. To prevent the danger his men might be expoſed to, when in queſt of proviſions and forage, he laid in a ſufficient ſtore of both for thirty days.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed before *Aleſia*, a general council being held by the chiefs of the *Gauls*, it was not thought adviſable to aſſemble all that were able to bear arms, as *Vercingetorix* had deſired, but to demand each nation to furniſh a contingent; leſt ſo great a multitude ſhould occaſion a ſcarcity of proviſions, and render the obſervance of military diſcipline impracticable. The *Ædui*, with their vaſſals the *Segni*, *Ambarri*, *Aulerci Brannovices*, and *Brannovii*, were rated at thirty-five thouſand men. A like number was demanded of the *Arverni*, in conjunction with their dependents the *Cadurci*, *Gabali*, and *Velauni*. The *Sequani*, *Senones*, *Bituriges*, *Santones*, *Ruteni*, and *Carnutes*, were ordered each to furniſh twelve thouſand; and *Bellovaci*, ten thouſand; the *Lemovices*, the ſame number; the *Pictones*, *Turoni*, *Pariſii*, *Helvii*, *Sueſſiones*, each eight thouſand; the *Ambiani*, *Mediomatrici*, *Petricorii*, *Nervii*, *Morini*, *Nitiobrigi*, *Aulerci Cenomani*, each five thouſand; the *Atrebates*, four thouſand; the *Bellocaſſi*, *Lexovii*, and *Aulerci Eburovices*, each three thouſand; the *Rauraci*, and *Boii*, thirty thouſand; the maritime and *Armorican* ſtates, of which number were the *Curioſolites*, *Rhedones*, *Cadetes*, *Oſiſmi*, *Lemovices*, *Veneti*, and *Unelli*, each ſix thouſand. The *Bellovaci* alone refuſed to furniſh the troops required, declaring that it was their deſign to wage an independent war with the *Romans*, without being ſubject to the command of any foreign General or ſtate: However, at the requeſt of *Comius*, they ſent a body of two thouſand men.

Comius, as has been before related, had been ſingularly faithful and ſerviceable to *Cæſar* in his *Britannic* expedition: In conſideration of which, his countrymen had been exempted from tribute, reſtored to the full enjoyment of their laws and privileges, and had their territories enlarged by the addition of the country of the *Morini*. But ſuch was the preſent zeal of the *Gauls* to vindicate their liberty, and recover their ancient military glory, that neither friendſhip nor benefits received had any influence on them, but all with one conſent devoted themſelves and their fortunes to the ſupport of this war. They raiſed an army of two hundred and forty thouſand foot, and eighty thouſand horſe, and the country of the *Ædui* was the place of general rendezvous. Four commanders in chief were appointed, *Comius* the *Atrebatian*, *Viridomarus* and *Eporedorix*, *Æduans*, and *Virgaſillaunus* of *Auvergne*, couſin-german to *Vercingetorix*. To theſe were added a ſelect number of men, choſen from among the ſeveral ſtates, to ſerve as Counſellors to the Generals in the conduct of the war. The whole army advanced towards *Aleſia* with great alacrity, confident that the *Romans* would not ſo much as ſuſtain the ſight of ſo vaſt a multitude, eſpecially as they would be attacked by another numerous army from the town.

The troops ſhut up in *Aleſia*, having conſumed all their proviſions, finding the day appointed for the arrival of ſuccours expired, and knowing nothing of what was tranſacted among the *Ædui*, ſummoned a council of

war to debate on what was requiſite to be done in the preſent extremity. Various were the opinions propoſed: ſome adviſed a ſurrendry; others were for ſallying forth, while yet their ſtrength would permit, in order to break through the enemy, or die bravely in the field. Amongſt the reſt, *Critognatus*, a man of the firſt rank and authority in *Auvergne*, addreſſed the aſſembly in a ſpeech, which, ſays *Cæſar*, deſerves to be mentioned for its ſingular and deteſtable inhumanity. He ſaid, "I ſhall take little notice of the opinion of thoſe, who, under the name of a ſurrendry, adviſe you to an ignominious ſervitude. Such ſhould neither be eſteemed *Gauls*, nor ſuffered to come into this aſſembly. Let me rather apply myſelf to them who approve of a general ſally. In this propoſal you ſeem to think there is ſomething worthy of our ancient bravery. It is not courage that aſpires ſuch thoughts, but weakneſs and an effeminacy of mind, which render us unable to bear want for a few days. It is eaſier to find men who will voluntarily ruſh on death, than ſuch as can patiently endure pain. I ſhould not however be againſt this propoſal, which has ſomething generous in it, if only our own lives were at ſtake. But on our preſent determination depends the fate of all *Gaul*, which we have ſtirred up to our aſſiſtance. How would it diſhearten our relations and friends to ſee eighty thouſand of their countrymen ſlaughtered in one place, and be obliged to fight in the midſt of their dead bodies! Deprive not then of your aſſiſtance thoſe, who, to ſave you, have expoſed themſelves to the greateſt dangers; nor, through folly and raſhneſs, or imbecillity of mind, deſtroy at once the expectations of *Gaul*, and condemn her to perpetual ſervitude. If the expected ſuccours are not arrived exactly at the appointed time, ought you therefore to ſuſpect the fidelity and conſtancy of your countrymen? Can you think that it is for amuſement only that the *Romans* labour on thoſe lines towards the country? Though you hear not from your friends, becauſe all communication is interrupted, yet you may learn their approach from your enemies, who, through fear of them, work day and night on thoſe fortifications. What then do I propoſe? What, but to do as our anceſtors did in the war with the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*; a war much leſs important than the preſent? Compelled to ſhut themſelves up in their towns, and reduced to a diſtreſs equal to what we now ſuffer, rather than ſurrender to their enemies, they fed upon the bodies of thoſe whom age had rendered uſeleſs in war. Had we no ſuch precedent to follow, yet ſtill I ſhould eſteem it glorious, in the noble cauſe of liberty, to give one to poſterity. The *Cimbri*, after ſpreading deſolation over the country, at length withdrew their forces, and repaired to other regions; leaving us in the full enjoyment of our lands, laws, and liberties. But the *Romans*, envying a people ſo renowned and powerful in war, aim at nothing leſs than to take poſſeſſion of our cities and territories, and reduce us to perpetual ſervitude. This has ever been the object of

"their

" their wars. If you are unacquainted with what paſſes in diſtant countries, " caſt your eyes upon the adjoining *Gaul*, which, reduced into the form of " a *Province*, deprived of its laws and privileges, and ſubjected to the arbi- " trary ſway of *Rome*, groans under the yoke of endleſs ſlavery." When all had delivered their opinions, it was reſolved, that ſuch as were unfit for war ſhould be obliged to quit the town, and every expedient be tried, rather than agree to the propoſal of *Critognatus*; but if relief were long deferred, and neceſſity urged, they determined to ſubmit to his advice, rather than conſent to a ſurrendry. The *Mandubii*, natives of the town, were ordered to leave it with their wives and children. When they came to the *Roman* lines, they with tears petitioned to be received as ſlaves, and to be ſaved from periſhing by famine: but *Cæſar* having planted guards along the rampart, refuſed to admit them into his camp.

At length *Comius* and the other Generals of the *Gauls* appeared with their army before *Aleſia*, and encamped on a hill not above five hundred paces from the *Roman* lines. The next day they drew out their cavalry, and covered the whole plain under the hill: the infantry were ſtationed at ſome diſtance on the heights. Great was the joy of the beſieged at this ſight; they immediately came forth with all their forces, poſted themſelves before the town, and having filled up the neareſt ditch with earth and faſcines, prepared for a vigorous attack.

Cæſar, having diſpoſed his troops along both his lines, ordered the cavalry to march out and charge the enemy. The *Gauls* had interſperſed among their horſe ſome archers and light-armed troops, to ſuſtain them, and check the impetuouſity of the *Roman* cavalry. Many of theſe being wounded at the firſt onſet, were obliged to quit the battle. The *Gauls* ſeeing they had the advantage, and that the *Romans* were hard preſſed by numbers, ſet up a general ſhout, both within and without the place, to give new life to their troops. As the action paſſed in view of both armies, the deſire of applauſe and fear of ignominy ſpurred on both parties to exert their utmoſt bravery. After a conflict that laſted from noon till near ſun-ſet, victory ſtill continuing doubtful, the *Germans* in cloſe order charged furiouſly the *Gauls* upon one ſide, and routed them. Their flight leaving the archers expoſed, they were all ſurrounded and cut to pieces. The ſucceſs was equal in other parts of the field, where the *Romans*, purſuing the runaways to their camp, gave them no time to rally. The troops on the ſide of the town, deſpairing of victory, retired diſconſolate within the walls.

After the interval of a day, which was ſpent in providing a great number of faſcines, ſcaling-ladders, and iron hooks, the *Gauls* iſſued out of their camp about midnight, and approaching the *Roman* lines, ſet up a ſhout, to give notice to the beſieged of their arrival, threw the faſcines into the ditch, and endeavoured by a diſcharge of ſtones, darts, and arrows, to

drive the *Romans* from the rampart. At the ſame time *Vercingetorix* gave the ſignal, and led forth his men to the attack. While the *Gauls* kept at a diſtance from the *Roman* lines, they did great execution by the multitude of their darts; but in proportion as they advanced, they either entangled themſelves among the Caltrops, or tumbling into the pits, were wounded by the pointed ſtakes, or were pierced by the darts diſcharged from the towers and rampart. Finding, when day appeared, that they had not forced any poſt in the lines, and fearing to be taken in flank by ſome troops that were ſallying from the redoubts on the eminence, they retreated to their camp. The beſieged, on their ſide, after much time ſpent in making preparations for the aſſault, and filling up the advanced ditch, ſeeing their countrymen were retired, before they could ſo much as approach the works, returned into the town without effecting any thing.

The *Gauls*, thus twice repulſed with great loſs, thought it proper to change the plan of their attack. North of the town was a hill of too great compaſs to be taken into the *Roman* lines, and *Cæſar* had been obliged to place a camp on the aſcent, in a diſadvantageous ſituation, as it was commanded by the ſummit. *C. Antiſtius Reginus* and *C. Caninius Rebilus* guarded this quarter with two legions. The *Gallic* Generals, informed by their ſcouts of the ſituation of this camp, reſolved to form the attack on that ſide. Having concerted their plan, they ſelected fifty-five thouſand of their beſt men, and aſſigned the command of them to *Vergaſillaunus* of *Auvergne*, with directions to begin the aſſault at noon. This General, marching out in the evening, arrived before day-break at the back of the hill on which the *Roman* camp above-mentioned was ſituated. There lying concealed, he ordered his troops to take refreſhment. About noon he approached the quarters of the two legions. At the ſame time the *Gallic* cavalry advanced into the plain, and the reſt of the army drew out before their camp. *Vercingetorix*, obſerving theſe motions, led forth his troops from *Alеſia*, carrying with him faſcines, covered galleries, long poles, hooks, and other inſtruments prepared to force the lines. The fight began on all ſides at once, and was maintained by the *Gauls* with great ardour. The *Romans*, having ſuch extenſive works to guard, ſcarcely ſufficed for the defence of them all. What greatly contributed to diſturb them was the cries of the combatants behind, which informed them that their ſafety depended on the valour of others.

The chief ſtreſs of the battle lay at the higher fortifications, where *Vergaſillaunus* charged with his forces. The eminence which commanded the declivity of the hill gave his men great advantage. Some threw darts, others advanced under cover of their ſhields formed into a tortoiſe, freſh troops continually ſucceeded in the room of the fatigued. The earth they threw up againſt the lines not only enabled them to mount the rampart, but filled the pits and ditches, and fruſtrated the deſign of

of the works made in the ground. The *Romans*, thus continually preſſed, had neither ſtrength nor weapons left to make reſiſtance.

Cæſar, who had choſen a poſt from whence he could ſee all that paſſed, obſerving the danger his men were in on that ſide, ſent *Labienus* with ſix cohorts to their aſſiſtance; ordering him, if he was not able to defend the works, to draw off the troops, and ſally out upon the enemy; yet this only in caſe of extremity. He went in perſon to the reſt of his men, and exhorted them to bear up courageouſly under the preſent fatigue, repreſenting that the fruit of all their former victories depended upon the iſſue of that critical moment.

The *Gauls* under the command of *Vercingetorix*, deſpairing to force the intrenchments in the plain, on account of the great ſtrength of the works, attacked them in the higher and uneven ground, whither they brought all the inſtruments for the aſſault. They ſoon drove the *Romans* from the towers by a diſcharge of darts, filled up the ditches and pits with earth and faſcines, and began to pull down the rampart and breaſt-work with their hooks.

Cæſar firſt ſent young *Brutus*, with ſix cohorts, to the aid of his men; after him, *C. Fabius*, with ſeven more; and, as the conteſt grew warmer, led in perſon freſh troops to their aſſiſtance. Having reſtored the battle, and forced the enemy to retire, he haſtened to the ſide where *Labienus* was engaged. He drew four cohorts from the neareſt fort, ordered part of the cavalry to follow him, and commanded the reſt to take a circuit round the outward works, and fall upon the enemy's rear. *Labienus*, finding that neither the rampart nor ditch were ſufficient to ſtop the progreſs of the *Gauls*, drew together about thirty nine cohorts from the neareſt forts, and ſent to inform *Cæſar* of his deſign to ſally out upon the enemy. *Cæſar* immediately quickened his march, that he might be preſent at the action.

His arrival being known from the colour of his garments, by which he uſed to diſtinguiſh himſelf in a day of battle, and the troops and cohorts he had ordered to follow him appearing, the fight was renewed. The *Gauls* raiſed on all ſides a mighty ſhout, which, being returned from the rampart, was carried quite round the lines. The *Romans* having caſt their darts, fell furiouſly upon the enemy ſword in hand. At the ſame time the cavalry appeared unexpectedly in their rear; freſh cohorts flocked continually to the aſſiſtance of thoſe already engaged; the *Gauls*, unable to ſuſtain the violent ſhock, took to flight, and being met by the *Roman* cavalry, a dreadful ſlaughter enſued. *Sedulius*, chief and general of the *Lemovices*, was ſlain upon the field of battle; *Vergaſillaunus* of *Auvergne* was made priſoner in the purſuit; ſeventy-four colours were taken; and, of ſo numerous an army, very few returned to their camp. The rout and ſlaughter being obſerved from the towers, the beſieged, on their ſide deſpairing of ſucceſs, drew off their troops from the

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the attack. The reſt of the *Gauls* inſtantly abandoned their camp; and had not the *Romans* been exhauſted by the continual fatigue of the day, the whole *Gallic* army might have been deſtroyed. However, about midnight, *Cæſar* detached the cavalry to purſue them, who falling in with their rear, ſlew and took great numbers. The reſt fled to their ſeveral cities.

The next day, *Vercingetorix*, aſſembling a council, repreſented to the beſieged; "That he had undertaken that war, not from a motive of private "intereſt, but to recover the common liberty of *Gaul*; and that, ſince there "was a neceſſity of yielding to fortune, he was willing to become a victim "for their ſafety, whether they ſhould think proper to appeaſe the anger "of the conqueror by his death, or to deliver him up alive."

Deputies were immediately ſent to *Cæſar* to receive his commands. He ordered them to ſurrender their arms, and deliver up all their chiefs. Having ſeated himſelf at the head of his lines, their leaders were brought before him, and *Vercingetorix* was delivered up, together with their arms. *Cæſar*, reſerving the *Ædui* and the *Arverni*, as a means to recover thoſe two nations, divided among his ſoldiers the reſt of the priſoners.

Theſe affairs diſpatched, he marched into the territories of the *Ædui*, and received the ſubmiſſion of their ſtate. There he was addreſſed by the Ambaſſadors of the *Arverni*, who promiſed an entire obedience to his commands. Having exacted a great number of hoſtages, and reſtored to thoſe two ſtates twenty thouſand captives, he ſent his legions into different parts of *Gaul* to keep the country in ſubjection. *T. Labienus*, with two legions and the cavalry, was quartered among the *Sequani*, jointly with *M. Sempronius Rutilus*. *C. Fabius* and *L. Minutius Baſilus* were ordered with two legions into the country of the *Rhemi*, to defend it againſt the attempts of the *Bellovaci*, their neighbours. *C. Antiſtius Rhegnus* had his ſtation aſſigned him among the *Ambivareti*; *T. Sextius* among the *Bituriges*; and *C. Caninius Rebilus* among the *Rutheni*; each with one legion. *Q. Tullius Cicero* and *P. Sulpicius* were placed at *Cabillo* and *Matiſco* upon the *Arar* in the country of the *Ædui*, and were charged with the care of the proviſions. He himſelf took up his winter-quarters at *Bibracte*.

Thus ended this memorable campaign, in which *Cæſar* gave thoſe proofs of military ſkill and valour which have been the object of the admiration of the greateſt Generals in all ages. Having ſent an account of his victory to the *Roman Senate*, they decreed *a Thankſgiving of twenty days.*

The unſucceſsful event of this campaign had convinced the *Gauls*, that they were not able to reſiſt the *Romans* by any army they could bring together into one place; but they perſuaded themſelves, that if many ſtates revolted at once, and ſet on foot many ſeparate wars, the *Romans* would have neither time nor troops ſufficient to oppoſe them all.

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And though ſome of thoſe ſtates muſt be ſufferers, yet that misfortune, they thought, ſhould be borne with, ſince their particular loſs would purchaſe the liberty of the reſt. Many ſtates therefore agreed to this plan, and began to make preparations for renewing the war. To diſappoint their views, *Cæſar* judged it neceſſary to uſe the utmoſt expedition. Leaving *M. Antony*, the Quæſtor, to command in his winter-quarters, he ſet out on the laſt of *December* from *Bibracte* with his cavalry, and went to the camp of the thirteenth legion, which he had placed among the *Bituriges*, not far from the territories of the *Ædui*. To theſe he joined the eleventh legion, whoſe quarters lay neareſt; and, leaving two cohorts to guard the baggage, marched with the reſt of the army into the moſt fertile parts of the country of the *Bituriges*. By this ſudden and unexpected arrival he found them unprepared, and diſperſed up and down in the fields. He forbad ſetting fire to the houſes, the uſual ſign of an invaſion, that he might neither alarm the enemy nor expoſe himſelf to the want of corn and forage, if it ſhould be neceſſary to advance far into the country. Many thouſands of the *Bituriges* were made priſoners, ſurprized by the *Roman* cavalry before they could retreat into their towns. Such as eſcaped fled in great terror to the neighbouring ſtates. But *Cæſar* purſued them with great expedition, and thoſe ſtates, anxious for their own ſafety, ſubmitted, gave hoſtages, and were received into his protection. The *Bituriges*, ſeeing that his clemency left the way ſtill open to his friendſhip, followed their example, and were pardoned. *Cæſar*, to recompence the fatigue and labour of his ſoldiers, gave two hundred ſeſterces to every private man, and two thouſand to every Centurion; and, having ſent back the legions to their winter-quarters, returned again to *Bibracte*, after an abſence of forty-days. He had not been there above eighteen days, when Ambaſſadors arrived from the *Bituriges* to implore his aſſiſtance againſt the *Carnutes*, who were laying waſte their country. *Cæſar* ſet out to their relief with the ſixth and fourteenth legions, which had not been engaged in the laſt expedition. The *Carnutes*, hearing of his approach, abandoned their towns and villages, conſiſting then moſtly of little cottages, ran up in haſte to defend them from the cold, and fled different ways. *Cæſar*, thinking it ſufficient, in that ſevere ſeaſon of the year, to have diſperſed the forces that began to aſſemble, and prevented their rekindling the war, encamped at *Genabum* during the remaining part of the winter.

Year of Rome 702.*

A new and more difficult war gave him more ſerious employment in the beginning of the ſpring. The *Rhemi*, by frequent embaſſies, informed him, that the *Bellovaci*, the moſt diſtinguiſhed for bravery of all the *Belgic* or *Gallic* nations, with ſome of the neighbouring ſtates, under the conduct of *Correus*, General of the *Bellovaci*, and *Comius* the *Atrebatian*, were raiſing an army, and drawing their forces to a general rendezvous, with deſign to invade the territories of the *Sueſſones*, a people ſubject

* For what paſſed at *Rome* this year, ſee p. 549

to

to the jurisdiction of the *Rhemi*. Honour and intereſt required of him to undertake the defence of allies, who had deſerved ſo well of the Commonwealth. He marched therefore immediately, with four legions, into the country of the *Bellovaci*, which he found abandoned by its inhabitants. The few priſoners his cavalry made had been left as ſpies. Theſe informed him, "That all thoſe capable of bearing arms had aſſembled in "one place, and been joined by the *Ambiani*, *Aulerci*, *Caletes*, *Velocaſſi*, "and *Atrebates*; that they had choſen for their camp a riſing ground, "fortified with a difficult morafs, and diſpoſed of their baggage in "woods that lay behind them; that many of their chiefs were in the "army, but the principal authority reſted in *Correus*, becauſe he was "known to bear an implacable hatred to the *Roman* name; that a few "days before, *Comius* had left the camp to ſolicit aid of the *Germans*, "who were their neareſt neighbours, and abounded in troops; that it "had been reſolved among the *Bellovaci*, with conſent of all the chiefs, "and at the earneſt deſire of the people, to offer battle to *Cæſar*, if, "as was reported, he came at the head of only three legions, leſt they "ſhould be afterwards obliged to fight upon more unequal terms, when "he had got his whole army together; but, if he brought greater forces "with him, to continue within their camp, intercept his convoys, and cut "off his forage, which in that ſeaſon of the year was extremely ſcarce."

In conſequence of this information, *Cæſar* reſolved to try every method to draw the enemy into a contempt of his numbers, and thereby induce them to hazard a battle. He had with him the ſeventh, eighth, and ninth legions, all veterans of approved valour; and though the eleventh, which he had alſo drawn out of its winter-quarters, was not of equal ſtanding, nor had attained the ſame reputation of bravery, they were yet choſen men, of great hopes, and had ſerved under him eight campaigns. Calling therefore the army together, he laid before them the advices he had received, and exhorted the ſoldiers to behave themſelves with their uſual courage. He arrived before the enemy's camp much ſooner than they expected, and, as he approached, diſpoſed the legions in the following order. The ſeventh, eighth, and ninth legions marched in front, the baggage followed, and the eleventh legion formed the rear. Thus there appeared in view no more than three legions, the number the *Gauls* had determined to encounter. But, when they ſaw the *Romans* advancing againſt them with a ſteady pace, they did not think it proper to follow the reſolution which had been reported to *Cæſar*; and either fearing the event of a battle, or ſurprized at his ſudden approach, or deſirous to penetrate further into his intentions, they would not deſcend from the higher ground, but drew up in arms before their camp. *Cæſar*, though earneſt to come to an engagement, yet, conſidering the multitude of the enemy, and the advantage of their ſituation, contented himſelf for the preſent to encamp directly over-againſt them, being ſeparated from them by a deep but narrow valley. He threw up before his camp a rampart twelve feet high, ſtrengthened

ſtrengthened by a proportionable breaſt-work, and ſecured it by two ditches, each fifteen feet wide, with perpendicular ſides. Upon the rampart he raiſed, at ſmall diſtances, turrets of three ſtories, and joined them to each other by galleries, which had little parapets of oſier before them. Thus the works were defended by a double range of ſoldiers; one of which fighting from the galleries, and ſecured by their height, would with more boldneſs and advantage launch their darts againſt the enemy; the other, though nearer danger, and placed upon the rampart, were yet ſkreened by the galleries from the impending darts. All the entrances of the camp were ſecured by ſtrong gates, over which he placed turrets of a greater height than the reſt.

Cæſar had a twofold deſign in theſe fortifications; one, by the greatneſs of the works to make the enemy believe he was afraid of them, and thereby increaſe their preſumption; the other, to enable him to defend his camp with a few troops, when it ſhould be neceſſary to go far in queſt of corn and forage. There happened frequent ſkirmiſhes between the two camps, carried on for the moſt part with miſſive weapons at a diſtance, by reaſon of a moraſs that ſeparated the combatants. Sometimes the auxiliary *Gauls* and *Germans* in the *Roman* army croſſed the moraſs and purſued the enemy; ſometimes the *Bellovaci*, having the advantage, paſſed in their turn and drove back the *Roman* auxiliaries. And as the *Romans* daily ſent out parties to forage, who were obliged to diſperſe themſelves over the country, their men were ſometimes ſurprized and cut to pieces by the detachments of the enemy. In one of theſe encounters, the *Rhemi*, auxiliaries in *Cæſar*'s army, loſt a great part of their cavalry. The *Bellovaci*, having obſerved the daily ſtations of the horſe deſtined to guard the *Roman* foragers, placed a choſen body of foot in ambuſh in a wood, and ſent ſome ſquadrons of cavalry to draw the enemy into the ſnare. The cavalry of the *Rhemi*, upon guard that day, ſuddenly diſcovering the *Gallic* horſe, and deſpiſing their ſmall numbers, attacked and purſued them with ſuch eagerneſs, that, being ſurprized and almoſt ſurrounded by the foot, they fled with precipitation, loſt many of their men, and, among the reſt, their commander *Vertiſcus*, the chief man of their ſtate. This General, though ſo far advanced in years that he could hardly ſit on horſe back, yet, according to the cuſtom of the *Gauls*, would neither decline the command on account of his age, nor ſuffer his people to fight without him.

Cæſar, finding that the enemy kept within their camp, and conſidering that he could neither force their entrenchments without great loſs, nor with ſo ſmall an army incloſe them within lines, wrote to *C. Trebonius* to join him with three legions. Upon their arrival, the Generals of the *Bellovaci*, fearing a ſiege like that of *Aleſia*, ordered all thoſe who were weak, and leſs fit for ſervice, to be ſent away by night, and with them the baggage of the army. But, before this confuſed and numerous train could be put in order, day-light appeared; and the *Gauls*, to hinder

the *Romans* from diſturbing the march, drew up in arms before their camp. *Cæſar* did not think it proper to attack them in ſo advantageous a poſt, nor was he willing to let them retire without loſs. To be in readineſs for the purſuit, he paſſed the moraſs with his legions, and ſeized an eminence which commanded the enemy's camp, and was ſeparated from it only by a ſmall valley. The *Gauls*, confiding in the ſtrength of their poſt, did not decline fighting, if they were attacked, and both armies remained in order of battle the whole day. At night the *Bellovaci*, ſeeing the *Romans* prepared for the purſuit, made uſe of the following ſtratagem to ſecure their own retreat. Having collected and placed at the head of their line all the faſcines in the camp, they ſet fire to them at once, and, being concealed by the ſmoke, marched off with the utmoſt diligence to another advantageous poſt ten miles diſtant. *Cæſar*, though he ſuſpected that this was a contrivance to cover their flight, yet fearing alſo an ambuſcade, and that they might poſſibly continue in the ſame poſt, to draw his men into a place of diſadvantage, followed but ſlowly with his army, and ſuffered the enemy to eſcape.

The *Bellovaci* from their new camp carried on the ſame defenſive war, and in frequent ambuſcades attacked and cut to pieces the *Roman* foragers. *Cæſar*, having ſuffered many loſſes of this kind, was at laſt informed by a priſoner, that *Correus*, General of the *Bellovaci*, had choſen ſix thouſand of his beſt infantry, and a thouſand horſe, to form an ambuſcade in a place abounding in corn and graſs, and where it was therefore preſumed the *Romans* would come to forage. Upon this intelligence he ſent the cavalry, who formed the ordinary guard of the foragers, before, intermixed them with platoons of light-armed foot, and he himſelf followed with ſome legions to ſupport them. The *Gauls* had diſpoſed their forces in ambuſh round the plain where the *Romans* were to forage, which extended a mile every way, and was environed with thick woods or a deep river. The *Roman* cavalry entered the plain, troop by troop, with great reſolution, knowing that the legions were behind to ſuſtain them. *Correus* immediately appeared, but with a few men, and fell upon the neareſt ſquadrons. The *Romans*, prepared for the attack, did not flock together in crowds, which frequently happens among the cavalry on occaſions of ſudden ſurprize, and often throws them into confuſion; but, preſerving the proper diſtances, received the enemy in good order; nor did they ſuffer themſelves to be taken in flank. The reſt of the *Gallic* cavalry then broke from the woods, and advanced to the aid of thoſe who fought under *Correus*. The conteſt was maintained with great heat and equal advantage, till the infantry of the *Gauls*, advancing ſlowly in order of battle, obliged the *Romans* to give way; but their light-armed infantry, marching up ſpeedily, and poſting themſelves in the intervals of the ſquadrons, reſtored and continued the fight. Soon after, both ſides had notice that *Cæſar* was approaching with his forces in order of battle. The *Roman* cavalry then redoubled their efforts, leſt the legions ſhould ſhare with them the

the honour of the victory. The enemy, on the other hand, loſt courage, and fled different ways: But, being obſtructed by the ſame difficulties of the ground in which they hoped to have entangled the *Romans*, the greateſt part of them were put to the ſword. *Correus*, whoſe reſolution no misfortune could abate, would neither quit the field nor accept of quarter; but, fighting to the laſt with invincible courage, and wounding ſeveral of his enemies, forced them at length to tranſfix him with their javelins.

The *Bellovaci*, and the other ſtates in their alliance, finding that their General was ſlain, their cavalry and the flower of their infantry deſtroyed, and dreading the approach of the *Roman* army, ſpeedily aſſembled a council, in which it was reſolved, by common conſent, to ſend Ambaſſadors and hoſtages to *Cæſar*. *Comius* alone refuſed to join in the treaty, from a diſtruſt of the *Romans*, who had attempted the year before, by the order of *Labienus*, to aſſaſſinate him treacherouſly at an interview with *Voluſenus Quadratus*, where he was grievouſly wounded by a *Roman* Centurion.

Cæſar granted peace to the *Bellovaci* and their allies, and, having thus ſubdued the moſt warlike nations of *Gaul*, he divided his troops into ſeveral bodies, under the command of his Lieutenants, and ſent them into different parts, to keep the whole country in ſubjection. He himſelf marched into the territories of the *Eburones*, with a view to get *Ambiorix* into his power. But the *Gaul* flying before him, *Cæſar* deſtroyed the country with fire and ſword, killing or taking priſoners great numbers of the inhabitants, that he might render *Ambiorix* odious to his people, as the cauſe of ſo great a calamity, and preclude his being again received into the ſtate. He then diſpatched *Labienus*, with two legions, againſt the *Treviri*, who bordering upon *Germany*, and being exerciſed in continual wars with that nation, differed but little from them in barbarity and fierceneſs; nor ever ſubmitted to his commands, unleſs enforced by the preſence of an army. Leaving *M. Antony*, with fifteen cohorts, in the country of the *Bellovaci*, to prevent any new inſurrection among the *Belgæ*, he marched into the country of the *Carnutes*. They had been lately reduced by his Lieutenant *Fabius*, who had defeated *Dumnacus*, the General of the *Gauls* in thoſe parts, deſtroyed or diſperſed his army, and expelled him out of that and the neighbouring countries. *Cæſar* pardoned the *Carnutes*, on their delivering up *Gutervaulus*, the prime mover and incendiary of the war. This man had hid himſelf, even from his countrymen; but, being diligently ſought after by the people, deſirous to appeaſe *Cæſar*'s reſentment, they ſoon found him, and brought him to the camp, where he was beaten with rods and beheaded.

Caninius, one of *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants, had defeated the *Cadurci* in battle, under their Generals *Drapes* and *Luterius*, and was beſieging *Uxellodunum*, a ſtrong fortreſs in that country. Thither *Cæſar* repaired, and found the circumvallation completed. Many reaſons determined him

to continue the ſiege. He could not raiſe it without diſhonour; the obſtinacy of the garriſon, which conſiſted of only two thouſand men, deſerved exemplary puniſhment; and, if the place were not reduced, the *Gauls* might imagine that not ſtrength but conſtancy had been wanting to enable them to reſiſt the *Roman* arms; a perſuaſion which might perhaps induce other ſtates, who had the advantage of ſtrong towns, to endeavour again to aſſert their liberty; eſpecially as it was generally known that only one year of his government remained, during which if they could but hold out, they had no farther danger to apprehend. *Cæſar*, underſtanding from the deſerters that the beſieged were well ſtored with proviſions, determined, if poſſible, to deprive them of water.

Uxellodunum ſtood upon a ſteep rock, which was almoſt ſurrounded by a river, where the townſmen uſed to water. There was no poſſible way to turn the courſe of this river, becauſe it flowed ſo near the foot of the rock, and in ſo low a channel, that ditches could not be ſunk deep enough to receive it. But the deſcent to it from the town was ſo difficult and ſteep, and lay ſo open, that the people, in coming to it, could be eaſily annoyed by the *Romans*. *Cæſar*, taking advantage of this circumſtance, poſted archers and ſlingers, with ſome engines, over-againſt all the places of acceſs. This forced the townſmen to water at a fountain which iſſued cloſe under the walls, on the ſide where the town was not ſurrounded by the river. To deprive them of this reſource, *Cæſar* undertook to raiſe a terraſs over-againſt the fountain, which could not be performed without incredible fatigue, almoſt continual fighting, and much danger to the ſoldiers; for they were expoſed to the aſſaults of the enemy, who fought in ſafety, at a diſtance, and from the higher ground. A terraſs notwithſtanding was raiſed, ſixty feet high, and a tower of ten ſtories placed upon it; not indeed equal to the height of the walls, for which no works were ſufficient, but to command the fountain. From this tower the *Romans* continually played their engines upon all the acceſſes to the ſpring, which made it extremely dangerous to water there; inſomuch that not only cattle and beaſts of burthen, but great numbers of people, periſhed by thirſt.

The beſieged were not diſmayed by this diſtreſs. They filled many barrels with tallow, pitch, and dry wood, and, having ſet them on fire, rolled them down upon their works; and at the ſame time charged the *Romans* with great fury. The machines ſoon were on fire: But *Cæſar*, to give his men time to extinguiſh it, and to draw off the enemy, ordered ſome troops to aſcend the hill on all ſides, and raiſe a great ſhout, as if preparing to ſcale the walls. This alarming the inhabitans, they recalled their men to the defence of the town; and the *Romans*, being relieved from the attack, ſoon put a ſtop to the flames. The place continued to hold out with great obſtinacy, till *Cæſar* contrived to drain the fountain by mines. When the beſieged ſaw it ſuddenly become dry, they imagined it an event brought about not by human wiſdom but by the

the will of the Gods; and therefore, deſpairing of ſucceſs, they immediately ſurrendered themſelves.

Cæſar, ſatisfied that his clemency was known to all, and no way fearing that his ſeverity on this occaſion would be imputed to cruelty; as he perceived there would be no end of the war, if other ſtates of *Gaul* ſhould in like manner revolt; reſolved, by a ſignal example of puniſhment, to deter them from ſuch projects. He ordered the hands of all thoſe whom he found in arms to be cut off; granting them their lives, that their puniſhment might be the more conſpicuous. *Drapes*, who had been made priſoner by *Caninius*, either out of indignation for his captivity, or dreading a ſeverer fate, put an end to his life by abſtaining from food. *Luterius*, who had eſcaped out of the battle when *Drapes* was taken priſoner, falling into the hands of *Eparnactus* of *Auvergne*, a faithful friend to the *Romans*, was by him delivered bound to *Cæſar*.

About this time *Labienus* ſent intelligence that he had engaged the cavalry of the *Treviri* with ſucceſs, killed a great number on the field of battle, with many *Germans* who had joined them, and made priſoners the greateſt part of their chiefs; amongſt the reſt *Surus* the *Æduan*, a man of diſtinguiſhed birth and valour, and the only one of that nation who had till then continued in arms. Thus the whole country being pacified, *Cæſar* marched with two legions into *Aquitain*, which *P. Craſſus* had in a great meaſure reduced to his obedience. On his arrival, the ſtates ſent Ambaſſadors to him, and delivered hoſtages. At *Narbonne* he ordered his army into winter-quarters, under the command of his Lieutenants. *M. Antony*, *C. Trebonius*, *P. Vatinius*, and *Q. Tullius*, were quartered in *Belgium* with four legions; two were ſent into the country of the *Ædui*; two into that of the *Turones*, bordering upon the *Carnutes*, to hold the maritime ſtates in awe; and the remaining two were ſtationed amongſt the *Lemovices*, not far from *Auvergne*. He held at *Narbonne* the uſual aſſemblies of the province, decided the differences ſubſiſting among the ſtates, recompenſed thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their fidelity and ſervices, and, after diſpatching all thoſe affairs, repaired to the legions in *Belgium*, and took up his winter-quarters at *Nemetocenna**.

* Arras.

Here he found all quiet; even *Comius*, that bitter enemy to the *Romans*, had been received into friendſhip. This *Atrebatian* General, who had headed the armies of the *Bellovaci*, retired to his *German* allies, when matters were compounded with *Cæſar*, but always kept a watchful eye upon the motions of his countrymen, that, in caſe of a war, he might be ready to offer them his counſel and aſſiſtance. Finding that the ſtate now ſubmitted quietly to the *Romans*, he employed the troops that remained with him to ſupport himſelf and his followers by plunder, and frequently carried off the convoys that were going to the *Roman* winter-quarters. *M. Antony* ſent againſt him *C. Voluſenus Quadratus*, an officer of diſtinguiſhed valour; the man who, by the order of *Labienus*, had lately attempted

attempted to kill him at an interview, and who ſtill preſerved a particular hatred to him. Theſe two mortal enemies ſoon met in battle: *Voluſenus*, after a ſucceſsful engagement, urged by an eager deſire of making *Comius* priſoner, raſhly purſued him with only a few attendants. The *Gaul*, by a precipitate flight, drew the *Roman* a conſiderable way from the main body of his army; then, turning to his own men, he called upon them to revenge the wound he had ſo treacherouſly received. They inſtantly faced about, charged their purſuers, and repulſed them. *Comius*, clapping ſpurs to his horſe, ran furiouſly againſt *Voluſenus*, and drove his ſpear through his thigh. The *Romans*, ſeeing their Commander dangerouſly wounded, fought with redoubled fury, and put the enemy to flight a ſecond time, with conſiderable ſlaughter. *Comius* eſcaped by the ſwitneſs of his horſe; but, as he had loſt the greateſt part of his men, he ſent a deputation to *Antony*, offering to retire wherever he ſhould order him, to ſubmit to any terms that ſhould be impoſed on him, and to give hoſtages for his good behaviour; requeſting only that ſo much regard might be had to his fears, as that he ſhould not be obliged to appear in the preſence of any *Roman*. *Antony*, before the arrival of *Cæſar*, conſented, took hoſtages, and granted him peace.

This campaign effectually completed the reduction of *Gaul* and put an end to the *Gallic* war, in the courſe of which it is ſaid that *Cæſar* either took by force eight hundred towns, or made them yield to the terror of his arms; that he ſubdued three hundred different nations; that he defeated in battle three millions of men, of which more than one million were killed in the field, and another million made priſoners [c].

[Year of *Rome* 703 [d].]

The ninth and laſt year of his government was quite pacific. In his winter-quarters at *Nemetocenna* in *Belgium*, and in the following year, he made it his buſineſs to ingratiate himſelf with the *Gauls*, and deprive them of all pretence for a revolt. He treated the ſeveral ſtates with reſpect, impoſed no new burthens upon them, and was extremely liberal to their chiefs. By theſe means he prevailed with them, wearied and exhauſted by long and unſucceſsful wars, to embrace the eaſe and quiet, attendant on their preſent ſubmiſſion. Thus he had leiſure, in this laſt year, to fix his attention on *Rome*, where a conteſt for and againſt him was carried on with great vehemence; a conteſt which ended in that memorable civil war, that changed the form of the *Roman* government into *Monarchic Deſpotiſm*.

[c] Plut. in Cæſ. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. vii. 25.
[d] For the tranſactions at *Rome* in this year, 703, ſee p. 566.

The END of the THIRD VOLUME.